

THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE OVERSEAS WORLD IN THE DE BRY COLLECTION OF VOYAGES (1590-1634)

Michiel van Groesen



The Representations of the Overseas World
in the De Bry Collection of Voyages
(1590–1634)

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By

Michiel van Groesen



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INTRODUCTION

On 27 October 1788, the distinguished antiquarian bookseller Pieter van Damme from Amsterdam wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson, the American minister to France, to announce an auction.¹ Van Damme specialised in old books and manuscripts and routinely corresponded with bibliophiles across Europe, while Jefferson, during his five-year tenure as ambassador in Paris, was one of Van Damme's regular customers, and one of the most passionate collectors of books on either side of the Atlantic.² He had standing orders at bookstores in Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Madrid, and London during his time in Europe, and devoted many afternoons to visiting the principal bookstores of Paris, examining books on all subjects, particularly on the history of America. One prestigious work relating to America was the subject of Van Damme's letter to Jefferson. This item, which the diplomat had been hunting for in vain for years, had now surfaced at the sale of a library in Amsterdam:

Monsieur! I have the honour to send to you a catalogue of a small auction of extraordinarily rare books. Among these, I have found No. 228. This collection contains, among others, all the pieces on Virginia by Harriot. Send us your orders for this auction, for which a date is currently not yet fixed.³

¹ Much of the following is based on E. Millicent Sowerby, ed., *Catalogue of the library of Thomas Jefferson* (5 vols.; Washington DC 1952–59) IV 167–76. For the letters quoted here, the more accurate transcriptions in *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* (multiple vols.; Princeton 1950 ff.) are used: *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* XIV (Princeton 1958) 40–41: Van Damme to Jefferson, 27/10/1788.

² Recent, concise biographies on Jefferson include R. B. Bernstein, *Thomas Jefferson* (Oxford and New York 2003), and N. E. Cunningham jr., *In pursuit of reason: the life of Thomas Jefferson* (Baton Rouge 1987). On Van Damme: H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "Pieter van Damme, the first Dutch antiquarian bookseller" In: A. R. A. Croiset van Uchtelen, K. van der Horst, and G. Schilder, eds., *Theatrum Orbis Librorum: liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday* (Utrecht 1989) 416–36.

³ *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* XIV (1958) 40: Van Damme to Jefferson, 27/10/1788: "Monsieur! J'ai le Honneur de a Vous Expediée, une Catalogue de une Petite Vente, des Livres de la Rareté Extraordinaire. Entre icelle, je Trouvée N:228. Dans cette Collection entre autre Tout les Pieces de *Virgine, Par Harriot*. Voÿée Vostre Commissions à la Vente à nous Addressé, et qui est actuellement non fixé". Many of the books on sale had probably belonged to the Amsterdam bibliophile Pietro Antonio Crevenna,

On 19 January 1789, Van Damme could inform Jefferson that the sale was to take place in March.⁴ The auction catalogue, which the bookseller sent to Paris, reveals the nature of lot number 228.⁵ Van Damme's brief elaboration on the work's contents in the first letter must have been superfluous information for a bibliomaniac like Jefferson. He surely recognised the generic title *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem & Occidentalem* in the catalogue as a reference to the De Bry collection of voyages, published in Frankfurt between 1590 and 1634. Replying to Van Damme on 25 January, he immediately ordered the available copy.⁶

That collectors of American literature like Jefferson combed the bookstores of Europe for this work was understandable.⁷ The collection of voyages, named after the De Bry publishing family co-ordinating the project, was one of the most monumental geographical publications of the early modern period, ranking alongside treatises like Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, and Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior*. The collection encompassed twenty-five folio volumes containing nearly fifty travel accounts of European expeditions to the overseas world. These accounts were presented in two more or less identical series: thirteen volumes reported on the New World, the so-called *America*- or *India Occidentalis*-series, while the remaining twelve books, the *India Orientalis*-series, conveyed information on Africa and the Orient. The De Brys published each volume in both German and Latin, while the first *America*-volume was also issued—in a bout of early ambition—in English and in French. Around six hundred large copper engravings illustrating the narratives further ensured the collection's reputation.

born in Milan: J. J. van Heel, "Bolongaro Crevenna: een Italiaans koopman en bibliofiel in Amsterdam", *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 5 (1998) 73–93.

⁴ *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* XIV (1958) 474.

⁵ *Catalogus plusquam CLXX praestantissimarum saeculi XV editionum, Inter quas quam plurimae principes eminent, aliorumque rarissimorum librorum* (Amsterdam 1789) 19–20. The catalogue is also included in the microform collection *Book sales catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800* (H. W. de Kooker and B. van Selm, eds.) MF 1944. The auction took place on 10 March 1789. See also: www.bibliopolis.nl

⁶ *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* XIV (1958) 490–91: "Enclosure: List of books ordered".

⁷ Millicent Sowerby (1952–59) IV 171: Jefferson to Joseph Delaplaine, 28/8/1814: "I had orders lodged with several eminent booksellers, in the principal book-marts of Europe, to wit, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Frankfort, Madrid, several years before this copy was obtained at the accidental sale of an old library in Amsterdam, on the death of it's proprietor".

The engravings provided early modern Europe with the first comprehensive iconographic representation of the overseas world and its inhabitants. The images were of the highest artistic quality, made by the De Brys and their associate Matthaeus Merian, who were regarded as some of the best copper engravers in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe. Almost two centuries after its initial publication, the collection therefore still aroused considerable interest. Bibliophiles and bibliographers feverishly tried to assemble and describe “the perfect De Bry”, and even Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert, in the entry on the Indies in their *Encyclopédie*, noted that the De Bry collection was exceedingly rare, and an object of desire for many.⁸ Hence, when alerted to this opportunity by Pieter van Damme, Thomas Jefferson did not have to think twice. Although he was particularly anxious to obtain Volume I of the collection’s *America*-series, describing and depicting his native Virginia, Jefferson coveted all the *America*-volumes available in Amsterdam.

The auction catalogue informed him about the condition of the copies at hand. The auctioneer had written a bibliographical commentary on the composition of lot number 228, comprising eleven *America*-volumes and ten *India Orientalis*-volumes. The annotations divulged that the set was incomplete, with the last two volumes of each of the two series missing, as well as the appendix to Volume I of the *India Orientalis*-series. Otherwise the Amsterdam copy was a genuine and complete first edition, with the exception of thirteen engravings in Volume VI of the *America*-series, which had been transferred from a second edition copy to replace the first-edition engravings which had gone missing sometime in the previous two centuries.⁹ Such minor imperfections, however, were no obstacle for Jefferson. On 26 March, sixteen days after the auction had taken place, Van Damme assured him of his success in securing the *America*-volumes:

⁸ D. Diderot and J. le Rond d’Alembert, *l’Encyclopédie* (17 vols. & 11 vols. ill.; Neuchâtel 1751–72) VIII 662: “...je dirai seulement que déjà en 1602, Theodore de Bry fit paroître a Francfort un recueil de descriptions des Indes orientales & occidentales, qui formoit 18 vol. in-fol & cette collection complete est recherchée de nos jours par sa rareté”.

⁹ *Catalogus plusquam CLXX* (1789) 20: “In hoc exemplari desunt duae posteriores Partes utriusque Collectionis, sed XXI. Partes, quae in eo extant sunt Primae ac Originalis Editionis, atque integrae; excepta VI. Parte primae Collectionis, in qua 13. figurae intermixtae sunt, quae non sunt primae editionis. In prima vero parte secundae Collectionis deest Appendix”. It is unclear when exactly these thirteen illustrations were replaced.

The auction is finished. I have the honour to send to your address a box, marked *M. I. Libri*, containing the books according to the notice included. In total, [the price is] 170 guilders and 15 *stuivers* in the currency of Holland. The work *De Admiranda Narratio de Virginiae XI. Tom: 3 Vol:* is a topmost work, containing all the information on America, and ornated with very beautiful engravings. A work of exceptional rarity, and original.¹⁰

On 3 May Jefferson confirmed to Van Damme that the box had arrived in Paris in good shape, and instructed his bankers in the Dutch Republic to pay the required sum to the antiquarian bookseller.¹¹ According to the invoice, the De Bry volumes, at a price of 82 guilders and 10 *stuivers*, accounted for almost half the total amount, including packaging and other costs. Bound by one of the previous owners, the three tomes had a gilded binding of red Turkish leather.¹²

When Jefferson returned to Philadelphia later that year, a few months after the storming of the Bastille had heralded the end of the Ancien Regime in France, 15 of the 78 crates of possessions he shipped to America were filled with books.¹³ Even in his magnificent library at Monticello the collection remained a prized possession, and long represented the only copy of the work in America. Much later, after his presidency, Jefferson was still justifiably proud of his acquisition, as his correspondence repeatedly demonstrates. At the same time the letters show that the volumes were no longer the authoritative sources on European exploration they had been in the early 1600s. Whereas Jefferson used adjectives like “original” and “authentic” to describe the books, it is unlikely that the president relied on the collection in 1803, when he planned the Lewis and Clark expedition to find a North-West Passage to the Pacific, or that he meticulously compared its contents to his own *Notes on the state of Virginia*, written in the early 1780s. In a letter of June 1812 to his predecessor as President of the United States, John Adams, he stated bluntly that “in the three folio volumes of Latin

¹⁰ *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* XIV (1958) 706–07: Van Damme to Jefferson, 26/3/1789: “La Vente est finie. J’ai le Honneur de à Vostre Adresse Expedier, une Caisse Marqué *M. I. Libri*, Contenant les Livres, selon le Note Incluse. En Tout f 170–15–: Courant d’Hollande. Les Ouvrages, *De Admiranda Narratio de Virginiae XI. Tom: 3 Vol:* Est un Chef de Oeuvre, Contenant tout les faits en Amerique, et ornée des plus belle Planches. Ouvrage de une derniere Rareté. Et Original”.

¹¹ *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* XV (1958) 88: Jefferson to Van Damme, 3/5/1789; 88–89: Jefferson to (the bankers) Van Staphorst and Hubbard, 3/5/1789.

¹² *The papers of Thomas Jefferson* XIV (1958) 707: “Amiranda Narratio de Virginiae. Etc. Etc. XI. Tom: 3 vol. Corio Rubro Turcico Compact et Deaurat”.

¹³ Cunningham (1987) 159.

of De Bry, [...] fact and fable are mingled together”.¹⁴ In 1815, after British troops had burned the library at Capitol Hill in Washington DC, Jefferson sold his entire collection of books to Congress. Here his De Bry volumes remained until 1851, when another fire destroyed two-thirds of the library’s holdings.¹⁵

THE COLLECTION’S HISTORIOGRAPHY

These late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century anecdotes reveal many of the characteristics of a collection of voyages published around 1600, which are in turn reflected in the De Bry collection’s scattered historiography. Jefferson’s appraisal of the volumes as extremely rare and expensive was shared by his contemporaries who should now be considered the first generation of scholars responsible for writing the collection’s secondary literature. From the mid-eighteenth until well into the twentieth century, the De Bry collection served as a magnet for bibliographers attempting to describe its various editions and states in order to serve bibliophiles trying to assemble a perfect first-edition copy. Any historiographical overview of the collection should logically begin with these catalogues spelling out its contents. Thomas Dibdin, in 1824, captured the nature of most of these bibliographic publications. To the list of editions he identified, he added, in true Romantic fashion:

But the celebrity of all previous, if not of all succeeding similar collections, was eclipsed by that of Theodore de Bry and his sons [...]. What a bibliographical chord am I striking, in the mention of the Travels of De Bry! What a “*Peregrination*” does the possession of a copy of his labours imply! What toil, difficulty, perplexity, anxiety, and vexation, attend the collector—be he “young” or “old”—who sets his heart upon a perfect De Bry! How many have started forward on this pursuit, with gay spirits and well replenished purses, but have turned from it in despair, and abandoned it in utter hopelessness of achievement!¹⁶

¹⁴ Millicent Sowerby (1952–59) IV 176: Jefferson to Adams, 11/6/1812.

¹⁵ Cunningham (1987) 331–33. It is almost certain that Jefferson’s De Bry volumes were destroyed in the fire of 1851, as his copy is not currently available in the Library of Congress.

¹⁶ T. F. Dibdin, *The library companion; or, the young man’s guide, and the old man’s comfort, in the choice of a library* (2 vols.; London 1824) I 371–76.

While Dibdin discussed all the bibliographical gems available to him in a work full of similar rhetoric, his descriptions rarely rendered the excitement on display here. The collection's special significance in bibliographic circles can further be measured by the number of works specifically devoted to the De Bry volumes alone.¹⁷

Three of these treatises stand out. The first is Armand Camus' *Mémoire sur la collection des Grands et Petits Voyages* of 1802, which was the benchmark for the identification of De Bry volumes and their contemporary sources for many decades. His eye for detail was surpassed by Pieter Anton Tiele, whose *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs Néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de De Bry et Hulsius*, issued in 1867. Tiele not only traced the collection's textual sources, but also discussed editorial adjustments, and thus succeeded in making an inventory of the engravings the De Brys added. Unfortunately Tiele examined only the Dutch narratives included in the collection, as understanding the impact of these travel accounts was his prime objective. The third and final bibliographical encyclopaedia of De Bry volumes received scant distribution, but merits a good review. Co-ordinated by the antiquarian bookseller Henry Stevens from Vermont, it identifies no fewer than 186 different versions of the De Bry volumes, based on small adjustments made to the copperplates and to the printed texts.¹⁸ Stevens' exhaustive treatise has proved the final word in the bibliographical contest to describe the De Bry collection, and is invaluable for solving compositional problems analogous to those of Thomas Jefferson's copy, where thirteen plates in Volume VI of the *America*-series were replaced by illustrations from the second edition.

The American politician and his correspondents variously referred to the collection as *Collectiones peregrinationum*, to describe both series,

¹⁷ Special bibliographies not discussed here include: T. O. Weigel, *Bibliografische Mittheilungen über die deutschen Ausgaben von De Bry's Sammlungen der Reisen nach dem abend- und morgenländischen Indien* (Leipzig 1845) and J. Ludovic Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Collations and notes vol. 3: Grands et Petits Voyages of De Bry* (London 1884). Another general bibliography devoting many pages to the collection is J.-C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* (5th ed.; Paris 1865–66), the last revised edition to appear during his lifetime.

¹⁸ A. G. Camus, *Mémoire sur la collection des Grands et Petits Voyages, et sur la collection des voyages de Melchisédech Thévenot* (Paris 1802); P. A. Tiele, *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs Néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de De Bry et Hulsius et sur les anciennes éditions hollandaises des journaux de navigateurs étrangers* (photomechanic reprint 1960 [1st ed. Amsterdam 1867]); H. Stevens, et al., *Catalogue of a collection of De Bry's "Voyages", 1590–1644, in 186 volumes* (s. l. 1939).

and *Admiranda Narratio*, the first words on the title-page of the first *America*-volume, to refer to that series alone. The first volume-title thus became a *pars pro toto* for the entire series on the encounters with the New World—a good indication of the terminological confusion surrounding the collection. Likewise, scholars have struggled to christen the collection appropriately. The terms *Grands Voyages* for the reports on America and *Petits Voyages* for the narratives on Africa and Asia—coined by Charles d'Orléans de Rothelin, the first of the collection's bibliographers in the 1740s—have dominated the De Bry historiography for more than two and a half centuries despite being anachronistic.¹⁹ This study will therefore abandon the common terminology in favour of the titles used at the time of publication. The De Brys and their colleagues in the book trade referred to the two series as *India Occidentalis* or *America*, and *India Orientalis*. Alongside these titles designating the Latin editions, the German equivalents *Occidentalische Indien* and *Orientalische Indien* were used. For the sake of clarity, this study will confine itself to the Latin names.

Using the contemporary titles brings the benefits of neutrality and equality. The terminological division of the collection into great and small voyages, caused by the slightly larger format of paper used for the *America*-series, has fuelled the impression that the volumes on the New World are more important than the *India Orientalis*-series. This impression has gathered strength after American bibliophiles, following in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson, expressed an interest in the early modern iconography of their country, without paying comparable attention to the *India Orientalis*-volumes. The difference in valuation has persisted until the twentieth century: facsimile editions of the collection's engravings, offering limited commentary and, more often than not, omitting the idiosyncratic textual explanations of the engravings, have enhanced our familiarity with the *America*-series.²⁰ Studies of selected

¹⁹ Ch. d'Orléans de Rothelin, *Observations et détails sur la collection des Grands et des Petits Voyages* (Paris 1742). Equally pervasive have been their translated equivalents, such as "Great and Small Voyages" and "Grosse und Kleine Reisen".

²⁰ M. Alexander, ed., *The discovery of the New World: based on the works of Theodore de Bry* (London 1976); W. J. Faupel, *A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia ~ a study of the De Bry engravings* (West Sussex 1989); *De ontdekking van de Nieuwe Wereld/The discovery of the New World/La decouverte du Nouveau Monde* (Amsterdam 1979) and *Conquistadores, Azteken en Inca's/Conquistadores, Aztecs and Incas* (Amsterdam 1980) facsimilating *Ind. Occ.* IV and V, and *Ind. Occ.* VI and IX respectively. The latter volume only included the Acosta engravings, not the engravings to the report by Barent Jansz; and *De Bry's Americae* (Munich 1970), a photomechanic reprint by Kölbl publishers of the Staats- und

reports and ethnographic material subsequently included in the De Bry collection, most notably the depictions made by John White and Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, have added to the impression of the special nature of the *India Occidentalis*-volumes.²¹

Scholarly analysis of the collection, which has flourished in recent years, is also characterised by the tendency to concentrate on the *America*-series. The volumes of the collection that are studied time and again are those on Virginia and Florida, and those devoted to Girolamo Benzoni's indictment of Spanish conduct in the Americas. The narrative by Benzoni, a Milanese traveller who spent fourteen years in the New World, is often used to gauge the outlook of the De Brys. While in the service of Spain, Benzoni observed and recorded Spanish atrocities in Peru and collected many other first-hand reports on the inroads the conquistadors made elsewhere. His *Historia del mondo nuovo* (1565) is a critical assessment of the Spanish colonists popular with northern European Protestants. Yet the resulting De Bry volumes, *India Occidentalis* IV, V, and VI, are among the most untypical of the complete set of twenty-five, and are as such anything but representative of the collection as a whole. The accounts by the English traveller Thomas Harriot and the French Huguenots used for the first two volumes are often presented in the same overstrained manner.

The most reliable recent addition to the collection's historiography is Anna Greve's *Die Konstruktion Amerikas*,²² the first monograph devoted to the collection to appear in more than two decades. Greve confines her study to the first six volumes of the German *India Occidentalis*-series

Stadtbibliothek Augsburg copy of *Ind. Occ.* I–V, nr. 2 S 54. Two editors, in contrast, have published the illustrations of both series: F. Berger, ed., *De Bry Amerika oder die Neue Welt* (2 vols.; Leipzig and Weimar 1977–78), omitting *Ind. Occ.* III, and Idem, ed., *De Bry India Orientalis* (2 vols.; Leipzig and Weimar 1979–81). Both editions do include a scholarly introduction, but the texts are marred by their anti-capitalistic bias. G. Sievernich, ed., *America de Bry 1590–1634. Amerika oder die Neue Welt. Die 'Entdeckung' eines Kontinents im 346 Kupferstichen* (Berlin 1990), and Idem, ed., *Asia y Africa de Bry 1597–1628* (Madrid 1999). Sievernich's editions are mediocre. Johan Ludwig Gottfried's 1631 abridgement of the *America*-series has also been facsimilated (Fackelverlag; Stuttgart 1980).

²¹ P. Hulton and D. B. Quinn, *The American drawings of John White, 1577–1590, with drawings of European and Oriental subjects* (2 vols.; London and Chapel Hill 1964); S. Lorant, ed., *The New World. The first pictures of America* (2nd rev. ed.; New York 1965); P. Hulton, ed., *The work of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues* (2 vols.; London 1977); Idem, ed., *America 1585: the complete drawings by John White* (London 1984). I. L. Caraci, *La scoperta dell'America secondo Theodore de Bry* (Genoa 1991) was devoted to *Ind. Occ.* IV, the first of the three Benzoni-volumes.

²² A. Greve, *Die Konstruktion Amerikas. Bilderpolitik in den "Grands Voyages" aus der Werkstatt de Bry* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna 2004).

and the De Bry version of Bartolomé de Las Casas' account issued separately. Being an art historian, she builds her argument around the engravings which she discusses in isolation. The illustrations of the six opening volumes, she argues, present a program of the gradual appropriation of the New World to the European mindset, starting with depictions of natural riches, before moving on to indigenous culture, to cannibalism, and finally to life of Europeans in the Americas. The six volumes depict their progress from civilised bystanders to participants to colonists, and the cycle thus transmits European success in taking possession of the New World. Greve points out that the collection was a product of both Protestant and commercial motives and rightly alludes to its appeal across confessional boundaries.

Her interpretation supports the analysis of Pol-Pierre Gossiaux, who in 1985 wrote a sizeable article on the iconography of the *America*-series. Like Greve, he studied the series' first six volumes, and pointed to a progressive degradation of the societies encountered overseas. Using their depictions of the landscape as a point of departure, Gossiaux noted the decreasing fertility of the regions the De Brys described, and argued for the reflection of these degradations in the morals of the inhabitants visible, for example, in the increasing number of dancing rituals depicted in consecutive volumes. Meanwhile Gossiaux also highlighted the increasing presence of Europeans in the engravings. Volumes IV, V, and VI saw the program's culmination into a perfect equation between the barbarian behaviour of Europeans and Amerindian savagery. As a whole, according to Gossiaux, the cycle displayed the moralistic and even mystical objectives of the De Bry family also recurrent in their emblematic publications.²³

Other important recent additions to the collection's historiography are the fruits of Susanna Burghartz' De Bry research project at Basel University. *Translating seen into scene* also discusses the voyages to the New World in comparative isolation, but does venture beyond the stories included in the first six volumes.²⁴ The proceedings of a seminar on the

²³ P.-P. Gossiaux, "Hiérarchie du monde sauvage et eschatologie protestante selon l'Iconographie des Grands Voyages des de Bry" In: *Protestantisme sans frontières. La Réforme dans la duché de Limbourg et dans la Principauté de Liège* (Aubel 1985) 99–169.

²⁴ Results from the Basel research project other than the volume of articles published in 2004 (see note 25) include: S. Burghartz, "Aneignungen des Fremden: Staunen, Stereotype und Zirkulation um 1600" In: E. Huwiler and N. Wachter, eds., *Integrationen des Widerläufigen: ein Streifzug durch geistes- und kulturwissenschaftliche Forschungsfelder* (Münster 2004a) 109–37, and idem, "Alt, neu oder jung? Zur Neuheit der 'Neuen Welt'" In:

De Bry family and their collection organised in Basel in March 2003 reveal the group's wider agenda.²⁵ Both Maike Christadler's article on the title-pages of the volumes in the *America*-series, and Jutta Steffen-Schrade's discussion of the differences and resemblances between the collection and its counterpart issued by the Hulsius family announce a shift of scholarly attention towards the collection as a published book, rather than as a means to disseminate ethnographic representations.²⁶ Further articles address the concepts of inversion and gender in the volumes, and the Basel research project promises to produce more publications on the collection in the near future.

Earlier contributions have also focused on the *India Occidentalis*-series, going back to what was long the only monograph on the De Bry collection, Bernadette Bucher's Lévi-Straussian work *Icon and conquest* (1981).²⁷ Bucher's structuralist approach, which assumes that ethnographic readings in the engravings are of value for modern anthropological studies, is very schematic, using Lévi-Strauss' notions of raw and cooked food—to name only the most familiar binary example—to devise diagrams which apply more broadly. The native woman with the pendulous breasts whom Bucher presents as an icon of savagery thus comes to stand for fundamental attitudes of Europeans past and present towards wildness. Such clearly defined oppositions between the familiar and the unfamiliar are recognisable to cultural historians tracing the otherness of the overseas world in the Renaissance, but there are disadvantages too. The flurry of literature written in the 1990s emphasising the shifting conceptions of early modern travellers exposes Bucher's laconic information on the making of the collection and on the reports it re-issued.

A. von Müller and J. von Ungern-Sternberg, eds., *Die Wahrnehmung des Neuen in Antike und Renaissance* (Leipzig 2004b) 182–200.

²⁵ S. Burghartz, ed., *Inszenierte Welten. Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590–1630/Staging New Worlds. De Brys' illustrated travel reports, 1590–1630* (Basel 2004). Its contributions will be discussed separately.

²⁶ M. Christadler, "Die Sammlung zur Schau gestellt: die Titelblätter der 'America'-Serie" In: S. Burghartz, ed., *Inszenierte Welten. Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590–1630/Staging New Worlds. De Brys' illustrated travel reports, 1590–1630* (Basel 2004) 47–93, and, in the same volume: J. Steffen-Schrade, "Ethnographische Illustrationen zwischen Propaganda und Unterhaltung. Ein Vergleich der Reisesammlungen von De Bry und Hulsius", pp. 157–95.

²⁷ B. Bucher, *Icon and conquest. A structural analysis of the illustrations of De Bry's Great Voyages* (Chicago 1981). See also: H. Keazor, "Theodore de Bry's images for America", *Print Quarterly* XV (1998) 131–49; M. Duchet, ed., *L'Amérique de Théodore de Bry. Une collection de voyages protestante du XVI^e siècle. Quatre études d'Iconographie* (Paris 1987).

All these contributions, from the very recent to the slightly older, have emphasised the Protestant character of the collection that many scholars, specialists as well as occasional visitors to the volumes, have accepted as one of its prime features. These scholars see Theodore de Bry and his sons as Calvinists in an age of religious polarisation, forced to leave the Low Countries as a result of Catholic intolerance. Some of the most traditional notions the collection of voyages propagated, like the forceful combination of Spanish misconduct in the Americas and concerted Protestant and indigenous efforts to turn the tide, were notions which had also determined the personal fortunes of the collection's compilers. Private resentment, encouraged by the colonial ambitions of the geographer Richard Hakluyt, inspired Theodore de Bry to erect a printed monument against Spanish tyranny. Most of the articles and books on European expansion cursorily referring to the De Bry collection have presented this Protestant gaze as its most significant feature.

TRENDS AND METHODS: DISTRIBUTING REPRESENTATIONS

Ernst van den Boogaart, in two recent articles, has helped to widen the collection's scholarly record by studying several *India Orientalis* volumes.²⁸ In both interpretations, as well as in a related examination of the engravings in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*,²⁹ Van den Boogaart stresses the hierarchical classification of overseas societies in early modern European ethnography. Gestures, clothing, hairstyles, and other native features in contemporary illustrations served to enable comparison of the variety of human morals and customs, and to build a mental ladder of civility which measured and ranked overseas societies. Like Jan Huygen van Linschoten, the De Brys played their part in establishing this hierarchy, something Van den Boogaart substantiates by comparing the illustrations made in Frankfurt to the original iconography.

²⁸ E. van den Boogaart, "Heathendom and civility in the *Historia India Orientalis*. The adaptation by Johan Theodor and Johan Israel de Bry of the edifying series of plates from Linschoten's *Itinerario*", *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 53 (2002) 71–105; Idem, "De Brys' Africa" In: S. Burghartz, ed., *Inszenierte Welten. Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590–1630/Staging New Worlds. De Brys' illustrated travel reports, 1590–1630* (Basel 2004) 95–155.

²⁹ E. van den Boogaart, *Civil and corrupt Asia: image and text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Chicago 2003).

The engravings the De Brys added to the accounts, according to Van den Boogaart, were coded in order to specify, alter or affirm classifications put forward in some of the travellers' narratives.

Along the way Van den Boogaart borrows some of his terminology from Joan-Pau Rubiés, who in the 1990s devised an early modern model of ethnography centred around what he calls the "languages of Christianity and civility".³⁰ Travellers combined these two languages in an attempt to relate indigenous beliefs and human behaviour. Their assertions were conditioned, amongst other variables, by the observer's education. Since many of the accounts reporting on overseas encounters were written by men of modest background, concerns of a more theoretical nature, those he labels the "language of general natural law", were not normally part of tales of exploration. Nevertheless travellers managed to influence humanist culture especially when compilers or editors, through various adaptations, prepared their texts for a more educated audience. Rubiés thus responds to the minimalist thesis first launched by John Elliott in his masterpiece *The Old World and the New* (1970), widely embraced and refined by other scholars of early modern encounters between Europe and America.

Elliott's work, describing the blunted impact of the discovery of the New World on Renaissance Europe, proved to be an inspiration for dozens of cultural historians. Asked to deliver concluding remarks at a conference on the theme of America in European consciousness in 1995, Elliott re-examined his own thesis, and although he watered down some of the observations he made in *The Old World and the New*, he stuck to his conclusion that America was rather peripheral in the minds and lives of sixteenth-century Europeans. Elliott wrapped up his reflections by pointing to possible new approaches for scholars to pursue, such as the need for an interpretation of the European encounter with the New World from the perspective of the history of the book. He called for an interpretation of the distinctive kinds of readership for Americana by means of the systematic study of library catalogues, inventories, and the holdings of booksellers in order to grasp the anticipated demand for New World literature. Publishing decisions, Elliott asserted, could

³⁰ J.-P. Rubiés, "New worlds and Renaissance ethnology" In: A. Pagden, ed., *Facing each other. The world's perception of Europe and Europe's perception of the world* (2 vols.; Aldershot 2000a) I 81–121 [previously published in *History and anthropology* VI-2/3 (1993) 157–97]. Idem, *Travel and ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge 2000b).

give a good indication of the aspects of America most interesting to a European readership, before singling out Theodore de Bry as the perfect embodiment of this prospective approach.³¹

Elliott's argument leads to reflections on the chronology of impact. The appeal of collections of voyages in the early modern book market, intended to assemble and absorb the full scale of Europe's quest for expansion, suggests that the De Bry collection essentially tapped into the same state of mind which had conditioned perceptions of the initial discoveries. Key aspects of this form of anticipation included primary emotions like wonder and amazement. Stephen Greenblatt, one of those prominent scholars influenced by Elliott's writings, studied these initial reactions to America in *Marvelous possessions* (1991). He defined wonder as "an instinctive recognition of difference, the sign of heightened attention" and, quoting Descartes, as "a sudden surprise of the soul [...] in the face of the new".³² The expeditions of the sixteenth century softened the first wave of disbelief, and wonder naturally receded, but when the De Brys presented readers in the Old World with the first comprehensive set of pictorial representations of other continents, the images doubtlessly appealed to the same type of sentiment which had characterised the first reaction.

In his monumental multiple-volume *Asia in the making of Europe*, Donald Lach therefore considers wonder "the most general response of sixteenth-century Europe" to, in his case, the revelation of the East.³³ Lach's volumes are the best possible demonstration that the interdisciplinary study of Europe's representations of the overseas world is not the monopoly of scholars of early America. Lach and his collaborators assess the impact Asia made on sixteenth-century Europe's intellectual, cultural, and scientific life, and in doing so discuss the same body of literature and art as those studying Europe's response to America. Comparing European representations of the New World to their equivalents

³¹ J. H. Elliott, "Final reflections: the Old World and the New revisited" In: K. O. Kupperman, ed., *America in European consciousness 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill 1995) 396.

³² S. Greenblatt, *Marvelous possessions. The wonder of the New World* (Chicago 1991).

³³ D. F. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe* (3 vols.; Chicago 1965–93) II–1 xiii. Lach's cycle comprises three volumes, each divided into two or more books. The first volume carries the subtitle "The century of discovery", the second volume is named "A century of wonder", while the third volume discusses "A century of advance". Although the work's scope is the period 1500–1800, both the first and the second volumes deal with the period before 1600. Volume III and the prospective Volume IV will analyse the period 1600–1700.

of Africa and the Orient is important, as an increasing number of authors insist. One of them, Rubiés, asserted that “separating America from parallel developments in Asia and Africa distorts the perspective from which the growth of geographical literature and its effects in Europe can best be understood”.³⁴ Given the emphasis placed on the *America*-series, and given the contemporary assessment of the De Bry volumes as one collection consisting of two related series, the collection needs to be analysed as a single work describing the outer-European world, without geographical limitations.

Both in the eastern and western hemispheres the encounters failed to fully satisfy Europe’s predilection for tales of the marvellous. Some of the initial findings in America, Africa, and Asia were considered disappointments, which led to a continuation of attractive mythological representations. The Amazons, Prester John, and Eldorado are perhaps the three most memorable legends persisting well into the seventeenth century, and there are those who state that cannibalism belongs in the same category.³⁵ All of these legends feature in the De Bry collection. At the same time some of the cartographic material included was so accurate that it remained unsurpassed for almost a full century. Discrepancies between traces of medieval tales and preludes to a more scientific approach to travel were rife in the volumes, summarised by Jefferson in his remark that “fact and fable are mingled together”, and this range has drawn a wide variety of scholars to the collection’s illustrations. Some contributions stand out among the vast body of literature. In several publications, Frank Lestringant has focused on French travel accounts, most notably on the interchange between the Huguenot activities on distant shores and the Wars of Religion at home. In his study of the French royal cosmographer André Thevet, one of the participants in the parallel ‘war of representations’, Lestringant defined his own approach as

...philological, mythological, cartographical—[which] will allow an inventory to be established, in the course of a survey more systematic than chronological, of the different techniques used by the cosmographer and

³⁴ Rubiés (2000a) 81; see also: M. T. Ryan, “Assimilating New Worlds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”, *Comparative studies in society and history* 23 (1981) 519–38.

³⁵ A. Menninger, *Die Macht der Augenzeugen. Neue Welt und Kannibalen-Mythos 1492–1600* (Stuttgart 1995), who substantiates her thesis with the reports of Staden, Schmidel, and De Léry.

his assistants (researchers and stylists, scribes and engravers) in assembling the whole *oeuvre* and its various parts.³⁶

Lestringant, in other words, attempts to unravel the practical considerations behind the making of Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle*, which for reasons discussed below turned out to be a failure. He succeeds in showing that, despite the criticism received from contemporaries, Thevet contributed extensively to geographical knowledge in late sixteenth-century Europe. Lestringant allows us a look inside the cosmographer's workshop, giving an impression of the abundance of texts Thevet read, used, and preserved for later generations.

Numerous other important contributions, including many following the Columbian quincentenary in 1992, have improved our understanding of European representations of the Age of Discovery. Most authors emphasise an array of Old World expectations before analysing selected constructions of the New World in more detail. Anthony Grafton, Nancy Siraisi, and April Shelford point to the lasting tensions between classical scholarship and the experiences of early modern travellers, Benjamin Schmidt demonstrates how the struggle with Spain caused the Dutch to identify with 'innocent' Amerindians also at the receiving end of Spanish brutalities, and Denise Albanese and Mary Baine Campbell study science's gradual displacement of early modern Europe's bewilderment. These and other historians, delicately dissecting the transforming gaze of consecutive generations of Europeans, inevitably find a place in their works for the De Bry iconography when discussing the years around 1600. Nevertheless, Campbell's judgement—"it is as a material object—a purchasable commodity—that the book has been overlooked"—still holds true.³⁷

The interest in representations has dominated research in recent decades, and is also one of the mainstays of a fresh cultural history of the De Bry collection. This study attempts to bring together several methodological threads, and following Elliott's and Campbell's descriptions

³⁶ F. Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance world. The geographical imagination in the Age of Discovery* (Los Angeles 1994) 35–36.

³⁷ A. Grafton, A. Shelford, and N. Siraisi, *New worlds, ancient texts. The power of tradition and the shock of discovery* (Cambridge MA and London 1992); B. Schmidt, *Innocence abroad. The Dutch imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge 2001); D. Albanese, *New science, New World* (Durham and London 1996); M. B. Campbell, *Wonder & science. Imagining worlds in early modern Europe* (Ithaca and London 1999) 53.

of a scholarly hiatus, it takes early modern print culture as its vantage point. Practical considerations had a large impact on the making of the collection, and here its recent historiography has remained underdeveloped. Theodore de Bry and his two sons were publishers, and their everyday anxieties and concerns centred around the prosperity of their publishing firm, as this book will demonstrate. Although alongside interpretations of the collection as a vehicle for Protestant propaganda, scholars have pointed out the commercial incentives of the De Brys, this notion has never been evaluated based upon archival material.³⁸ In similar vein, the place and identity of the officina in the competitive early modern book market is a subject neglected since 1969, when Josef Benzing examined publishing activities in Oppenheim in the early seventeenth century.³⁹

Research interests in the field of print culture have since widened, with scholars no longer solely focused on texts, but also on the paratexts and contexts of printed works. Robert Darnton in the early 1980s proposed a contextualisation of the history of the book, arguing for an interpretation of books following the course from author to publisher, printer, shipper, bookseller, and reader.⁴⁰ In a complementary approach, Gérard Genette called attention to the paratext, emphasising that books should also be considered artefacts. He reasoned that our understanding of the texts, and the underlying objectives of authors and publishers could benefit from an analysis of title-pages, introductions, tables of

³⁸ These two elements are best combined by Greve (2004) 228, who concludes that "...die *Grands Voyages* in der bisherigen Forschung vorwiegend als protestantischer Beitrag zur Diffamierung des Katholizismus interpretiert [wurden]. Obwohl dies sicherlich ein wichtiger Aspekt der Serieneedition ist, konnte hier gezeigt werden, daß sowohl die (formale) Produktion als auch die Bild- und Textinhalte Indizien dafür sind, daß neben diesem protestantischen Interesse ebenso—oder vielleicht gerade deshalb?—eine Vermarktung des Werks in ganz Europa über die Konfessionsgrenzen hinweg angestrebt wurde".

³⁹ J. Benzing, "Johann Theodor de Bry, Levinus Hulsius Witwe und Hieronymus Galler als Verleger und Drucker zu Oppenheim (1610–1620)", *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* IX (1969) 590–642.

⁴⁰ R. Darnton, "What is history of books?" In: K. E. Carpenter, ed., *Books and society in history* (New York and London 1983) 3–26; re-issued in: Idem, *The kiss of Lamourette. Reflections in cultural history* (New York and London 1990) 107–35. For the resulting debate, see: Th. R. Adams and N. Barker, "A new model for the study of the book" In: N. Barker, ed., *A potencie of life. Books in society: the Clark Lectures 1986–1987* (London 1993) 5–44.

contents, covers, and bindings, as these peripheral elements determined the perception of a book's contents.⁴¹

The contextual approach and the paratextual analysis, both by now broadly accepted, can be regarded as supplements to one of the classic studies of book history, Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The printing press as an agent of change* (1979).⁴² Eisenstein's comprehensive argument centres around the assumption that the invention of the printing press transformed a world of knowledge previously dominated by manuscripts. Printed texts resulted in 'typographic fixity', as numerous identical copies of works allowed an intellectual discussion between readers who all had access to the same authoritative body of information. While the printing revolution certainly changed the dissemination of knowledge, Eisenstein's thesis has been criticised in recent years, most forcefully by Adrian Johns. In *The nature of the book* (1998), Johns presents a view diametrically opposed to Eisenstein's argument.⁴³ In spite of the printing press no two books were the same in early modern times, he argues. Variety was the rule, as a result of printing errors, deliberate textual corruptions, and so on. The printing revolution facilitated deception as much as it facilitated authority, depending on the intentions of publishers, and the relations they maintained with authors and readers. Johns' argument is much better aligned than Eisenstein's thesis to the perspectives and objectives of the De Brys when making their collection of voyages.

A NEW LOOK AT THE COLLECTION

This study, mimicking Lestringant's self-confessed methodology, examines the De Bry collection by adopting an approach that is at the same time iconographical, philological, and (book) historical. It aims to detect and interpret the precise changes made in the De Bry workshop to the original texts, as well as to the original iconography, and tries to understand these findings against the background of the De Bry publishing firm in early modern Frankfurt in the hope of working out the intentions

⁴¹ G. Genette, *Paratexts: thresholds of interpretation* (Cambridge 1997 [transl. from French, 1st ed. Paris 1987]).

⁴² E. L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change. Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe* (2 vols.; Cambridge 1979).

⁴³ A. Johns, *The nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making* (Chicago and London 1998).

of the publishers when re-issuing the accounts of voyages. In the process, it attempts to stay close to the surviving source material at all times—archives as well as actual printed books—in order to scrutinise some of the more sweeping claims regarding the collection.

The argument is divided into three parts. The first section of the book, comprising the first four chapters, discusses the cultural, religious, biographical, and bibliographical context of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the field of cosmographic literature and travel compendia in the years before the De Brys issued their first volume. What did sixteenth-century Europe know about the overseas world? What was the status of travel literature? Which books were regarded as authoritative? Which editors had been responsible for previous collections of voyages, and to what extent did these collections provide a framework for the De Bry enterprise? And what were therefore, broadly speaking, the expectations of readers around 1590, when the collection's first volume appeared?

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 concentrate on the De Bry family, on the *officina*, and on the significance of the collection of voyages in relation to the firm's wider catalogue of publications. In order to examine the personal and commercial considerations of the family, archival material in Frankfurt has been re-examined and hitherto unused documents disclosing the practice of publishing books in the Imperial Free City have been studied. The so-called 'Zensurzettel', letters requesting permission to publish printed material, provide information on the manner in which the publishers organised their business. These scattered sources, decimated by an Allied bombardment in March 1944, are combined with archival finds in Antwerp and Strasbourg, and in libraries across Europe. Not only does this information on the De Bry family make possible a revision of their biographies, it also puts their activities as editors and publishers of the collection of voyages in a different perspective. Humanists grumbled about the family's aggressive publishing strategy, and lamented the ineptness of the De Brys as publishers of learned treatises. Yet the quality of the illustrated books they produced was second to none, and other booksellers at the semi-annual Frankfurt fairs bought copies in great numbers to sell to their customers outside the German lands. The archives of the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp offer tangible evidence of the collection's allure in the years between 1590 and the mid-1620s. Chapter 4 incorporates this information into the analysis of the making of the collection.

The second part of the book is about representations. Here the additions, omissions, and modifications made to the original narratives in Frankfurt are interpreted in order to shed light on the editorial strategy at the heart of the collection. The four chapters are divided along thematic lines, treating the representations of the natural world (Chapter 5), the European encounters with native inhabitants (Chapter 6), the depictions and descriptions of heathendom and pagan rituals (Chapter 7), and the related and often contradicting representations of the Christian world in the De Bry volumes (Chapter 8). Unlike the studies discussed above, this representational analysis will not confine itself to the engravings, but will also compare the translated texts to the original versions used by the publishers. Despite the widespread acknowledgement that early modern readers were very text-oriented, at least until the end of the seventeenth century, and despite a rallying call of one of the De Bry collection's bibliophiles more than a century ago to pay more attention to the texts, this is the first attempt to do so in a systematic way.⁴⁴

The De Brys not only made changes to the accounts for their translations, they also transformed carefully selected parts of the translations to create explanatory captions to the renowned copper engravings. In both stages of this process of alterations, the textual representations of the overseas world could be modified. As analysis of both the full texts and the captions to the plates will demonstrate, the illustrations also render different representations when the corresponding texts and captions are taken into account. The alterations to the texts, in other words, are indications of where to look for editorial adjustments made to the engravings.

A related topic scholars have ignored is the activity of translating the accounts, not once but twice, before they were re-issued as part of

⁴⁴ Ludovic Lievsay (1884) iii, stated that although bibliographers had thoroughly examined the De Bry engravings, "no such care has been devoted to what is every whit as important, the text proper". The same assessment must be made with regard to scholarly studies. For complementing interpretations of the importance of texts during the Ancien Regime: A. Grafton, *Defenders of the text. The traditions of scholarship in an age of science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA 1991) and P. Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The uses of images as historical evidence* (London 2001). Yet in a rare article where the texts were at least mentioned, C. M. Cate, "De Bry and the Index Expurgatorius", *The papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* XI (1917) 136–40, the author concluded that the texts were "of rather unequal interest" to the engravings they illustrate.

the collection. In recent years Peter Burke has argued for the need to view the early modern translating process as an essential aspect of the period's cultural history, calling the De Brys "entrepreneurs of translation" when describing the collection of voyages.⁴⁵ On the surface, having available German and Latin texts enabled readers to acquire the travel accounts written in various European tongues in their language of choice. The vast contingent of international readers whose agents and booksellers visited the Frankfurt fairs to buy the latest literature, were interested in the Latin translations, while readers of German were in a position to obtain the vernacular volumes. But the policy of making two translations was not devised exclusively for practical purposes. Different languages carried different assumptions and different expectations from distinct groups of early modern readers, which were partly defined and conditioned by their language of preference.⁴⁶ The De Brys exploited this linguistic and cultural diversity wholeheartedly. In order to appreciate the resulting variations, this study will refer to both translations in the footnotes when applicable.⁴⁷

The third and final part of the book, comprising Chapters 9, 10, and 11, addresses the elusive subjects of reception and readership. Historians have long neglected the reader, but the influential publications of Roger Chartier and, again, Robert Darnton have persuaded new generations that it is possible to make his acquaintance, despite the comparative lack of sources.⁴⁸ Since there are no remaining copies of the collection with extensive handwritten marginalia or, better still, heated exchanges of letters between readers on the overseas adventures it comprised, the approach adopted is somewhat circumstantial. Yet some copies do contain the testimony of a specific type of reading

⁴⁵ P. Burke, "The Renaissance translator as go-between" In: A. Höfele and W. von Koppenfels, eds., *Renaissance go-betweens. Cultural exchange in early modern Europe* (Berlin and New York 2005b) 20.

⁴⁶ P. Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge 2004).

⁴⁷ I have chosen to use the German version as the main source for translations into English. Significant diversions in Latin are discussed in the main text, but the early modern translations do not always allow for one modern English translation which takes the intricacies of both versions into account. The footnotes enable readers to check the remaining idiomatic and intrinsic differences.

⁴⁸ R. Chartier, "Reading matter and 'popular' reading: From the Renaissance to the seventeenth century" In: Idem and G. Cavallo, eds., *A history of reading in the West* (Amhurst and Boston 2003 [1st ed. 1999]) 269–83; see also, in the same volume: A. Grafton, "The humanist as reader", pp. 179–212; R. Darnton, "First steps toward a history of reading" In: Idem, *The kiss of Lamourette. Reflections in cultural history* (New York and London 1990) 154–87.

activity in the form of expurgations. As reading spread in early modern Europe, facilitated by the printing press and better education, censorship laws were tightened, providing a natural starting point for studying the reception of the voyages.

The excisions in the volumes are the surviving manifestations of the politically inspired response from Iberian inquisitors who included the collection on their *Indices Librorum Expurgatorum*. Which accounts, or passages of accounts, were deemed controversial in Catholic corners of early modern Europe? How did the De Brys try to evade the restrictive measures of censorship? And did inquisitorial bodies have an impact on the marketability of the volumes? These matters allow another close look at some of the practical incentives when publishing a prestigious collection at a time of religious and confessional mayhem. And what happened next? How much did readers pay to possess the De Bry volumes, and did the price constitute an obstacle for enthusiasts willing to take in the reports on distant territories? Who purchased and owned the volumes when they were still considered reliable accounts of the overseas world? And when did new events and discoveries surpass the collection's authority? Once again, empirical evidence in the Plantin-Moretus archives will help to formulate answers to these questions, supported by printed inventories and auction catalogues of private and public libraries.

In addressing all the different practices on the road from the original traveller's report to the prestigious volumes on the bookshelves of affluent Europeans, it is necessary to take a broad approach. Only then can scholarship do justice to the diversity of themes the volumes alluded to in early modern Europe. The collection, after all, was not just an object of desire for bibliographers throughout the centuries. It was not just an assembled set of accounts on one clearly defined region, as contemporaries already recognised. It was not merely a collection of illustrations, or a collection of textual accounts translated into German and Latin. It was certainly much more than a printed instrument of confessional propaganda, just like it was more than a hostile work invoking the wrath of inquisitors in Spain and Portugal. It was all these things at once. And precisely because the collection was and is so vastly diverse, it has managed to extend its appeal from late sixteenth-century readers prepared to pay large sums to possess a copy to excited bibliophiles like Dibdin, and from enlightened minds like Thomas Jefferson to twenty-first-century scholars from various academic disciplines.

CHAPTER ONE

OPENING UP NEW WORLDS: SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TRAVEL LITERATURE AND COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES

1.1. EUROPE'S OVERSEAS EXPANSION

Although the first volume of the De Bry collection appeared nearly one-hundred years after the first discoveries, any discussion of European representations of the overseas world should begin in the late fifteenth century. Up to that point, classical treatises by the likes of Ptolemy and Pliny the Elder had dominated the geographical genre.¹ After the Iberian breakthroughs in both the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in the 1490s, the stage was set for a more systematic discovery of the overseas world. Having financed the first expeditions, Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic Kings of Spain, and King Joao II of Portugal were understandably averse to sharing the expected riches with their European rivals. In the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) they neatly divided the globe amongst themselves, after an earlier treaty brokered by Pope Alexander VI had favoured his native Spain disproportionately.

'Tordesillas' left both countries with plenty of as yet unexplored territories where various types of profitable commodities might sensibly be expected. The accidental discovery of Brazil by Pedro Cabral and the subsequent recognition that it belonged to the Portuguese sphere of influence proved a surprise for both countries. In 1529, nearly ten years after Magellan's circumnavigation, the Treaty of Zaragoza essentially confirmed the bilateral partition of the world by drawing another longitudinal line of division. Only the Philippines continued to be claimed by both crowns until well into the 1560s. In the first decades

¹ See: Grafton, Shelford, and Siraisi (1992); M. B. Campbell, *The witness and the other world. Exotic European travel writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca and London 1988); V. I. J. Flint, *The imaginative landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton 1992).

of the sixteenth century the Iberian powers were allowed to explore the overseas world, relatively undisturbed by other European nations.²

While the Portuguese steadily developed their network of factories in West Africa and Asia, administering the trade in spices from their headquarters in Goa, the Spanish conquistadors pushed deep into the American mainland in their eventually successful search for precious metals. In doing so, they encountered a mosaic of sophisticated indigenous societies, most notably the Maya in Yucatán, the Aztecs in the area around their metropolis Tenochtitlán, and the Inca in the Andes. In both Mexico and Peru, respective military commanders such as Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro swiftly resorted to violence to subjugate the local populations, as did Hernando de Soto in the south-eastern provinces of North America. Their collective operations earned the Spanish widely employed epithets like ‘tyrannical’ and ‘cruel’. Protestants across Europe were to use this ‘Black Legend’ as a reliable instrument of propaganda. Portuguese and Spanish embargoes on information regarding overseas expansion, meanwhile, were fastidiously upheld to prevent rivalling powers from learning of the avenues to the abundant natural resources the Iberians had found.³

Despite these efforts, news inevitably filtered through to other regions of the Old World. Amerigo Vespucci’s *Mundus novus* and his *Lettera* for example, although the authenticity of the latter is questioned, were issued in 1504 and 1507 respectively, and both were carefully written to meet European anticipations. The treatises were translated and reprinted several times in the first two decades of the sixteenth century. Inspired by rumours of unparalleled Spanish revenues, and increasingly envious of Portuguese dominance of the traffic in oriental spices, Italian, French,

² On early Spanish expansion in the Americas: H. Thomas, *Rivers of gold. The rise of the Spanish empire, from Columbus to Magellan* (New York 2004). Good general overviews of Europe’s overseas expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include: J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance. Discovery, exploration and settlement 1450–1650* (reprint; London 2000 [1st ed. 1963]); N. Broc, *La géographie de la Renaissance (1420–1620)* (Paris 1980); Lach (1965–93).

³ On Portuguese expansion: A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese empire, 1415–1808. A world on the move* (reprint; Baltimore 1998); S. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese empire in Asia, 1500–1700: a political and economic history* (London 1993); C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415–1825* (reprint; London 1991 [1st ed. 1969]); On Spain: Thomas (2004) for the first three decades; J. H. Parry, *The Spanish seaborne empire* (reprint; Berkeley 1990 [1st ed. 1966]). A recently published comparative study is: J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World. Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (New Haven and London 2006).

and English merchants were less and less likely to sit on their hands. In the 1520s and 1530s the Tuscan navigator Giovanni da Verrazzano, in the service of France, and the French explorer Jacques Cartier followed Vespucci to the New World, heralding a surge of maritime enterprises from outside Spain and Portugal.⁴

The Reformation dashed any remaining Iberian hopes of upholding the bilateral division of the overseas world. Early French expansion, commencing on a significant scale in the 1550s, was directed by Protestant sailors from the country's Atlantic ports. With the reluctant support of the French crown, the natural enemy of Habsburg Spain, Gaspar de Coligny co-ordinated the Huguenot dream of finding a refuge abroad, while furthering the monarchy's political interests. The ephemeral French settlement in Guanabara Bay near Rio de Janeiro, however, suffered from internal conflicts between Calvinists and Catholics, a foreboding of the schism developing at home. Another Protestant venture into the New World, the colony in the area currently known as South Carolina and Florida, came to an abrupt and brutal end when Spanish soldiers massacred the majority of the colonists. The Huguenot lamentations to King Charles IX fell on deaf ears. When France plunged into a period of bitter religious wars, its interests in developments overseas were temporarily put on hold.⁵

The English, in contrast, increasingly became a force to be reckoned with as the sixteenth century progressed. Privateers like Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Cavendish demonstrated English maritime intent by circumnavigating the world in the 1570s and 1580s, destroying Spanish fleets and fortresses in the process. Meanwhile Martin Frobisher and John Davis attempted to discover the North-West Passage to Asia, while an official English trading syndicate stumbled upon a regular trade route to Archangel when searching for a North-East Passage to China. When the attempts to find northern routes proved fruitless, the Tudor courtier Sir Walter Raleigh set out on an ambitious programme to

⁴ R. Romeo, *Le scoperte americane nella coscienza italiana del Cinquecento* (2nd ed.; Milan 1971).

⁵ F. Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage. L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale, en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555–1589)* (Paris 1990); Idem, "Geneva and America in the Renaissance. The dream of the Huguenot refuge 1555–1600", *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXVI–2 (1995a) 285–95; L. Fishman, "Old World images encounter New World reality. René Laudonnière and the Timucuan of Florida", *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXVI–3 (1995) 547–59; J. T. McGrath, *The French in early Florida: in the eye of the hurricane* (Gainesville 2000).

found English plantation settlements in North America. The colony on Roanoke Island, in Virginia, was vociferously publicised as a success in order to attract English immigrants, but the project proved short-lived. In 1607, the Virginia Company founded the settlement of Jamestown. Raleigh shifted his attention to Guyana hoping to find the elusive gold mines of Eldorado.⁶

Merchant adventurers from the United Provinces too, locked in a struggle against the King of Spain who after 1580 also ruled in Portugal, targeted Iberian hegemony overseas. In the first phase of expansion the Dutch directed their activities at the Portuguese trading network in the Indian Ocean, where they expected to gain immediate results. After Jan Huygen van Linschoten, in the service of the Archbishop of Goa, had mapped and described the trade routes and customs in the Orient in great detail, the Portuguese were no match for Dutch maritime prowess. Within ten years of the first fleet's departure from Amsterdam in 1595, the Dutch East India Company outmuscled the Portuguese in the Spice Islands, and monopolised the trade in cloves, mace, and nutmeg, while cornering large shares of the important pepper and cinnamon trades. The Dutch were the final entrants in the early modern struggle for political and economic profits overseas.⁷ The odd German or Scandinavian navigator completes the picture of Europe's first century of engagement abroad.

Unlike the Iberian colonisers, explorers from other European territories did publish accounts of their observations. The impact on the Old World of the discoveries and their reports has been heavily debated. Like the retrieval of classical knowledge, the discovery of the New World in 1492 shook the foundations of geographical learning, with, to make matters more complex, the latter increasingly proving at odds with some

⁶ S. Miller, *Invested with meaning. The Raleigh circle in the New World* (Philadelphia 1998); D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke voyages, 1584–1590: documents to illustrate the English voyages to North America under the patent granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584* (2nd ed.; London 1967); K. Andrews, *Trade, plunder, and settlement: maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge 1984). See also: Elliott (2006).

⁷ F. S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company: expansion and decline* (Zutphen 2003); J. van Goor, *De Nederlandse koloniën. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse expansie 1600–1975* (2nd rev. ed.; The Hague 1997); C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch seaborne empire, 1600–1800* (reprint; London 1990 [1st ed. 1965]); R. van Gelder, J. Parmentier, and V. Roeper, eds., *Souffrir pour parvenir. De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Haarlem 1998).

of the former's certainties.⁸ This sudden confrontation of traditional wisdom and first-hand experience at sea left many disorientated, but there were various ways to come to terms with the discoveries. Many authors intended to shrink the geographical and cultural distance between Europe and the overseas world, appropriating their experiences to existing models of explanation. Favourite techniques included identifying the New World as the earthly Paradise, as Columbus did, or projecting onto the newly encountered peoples myths that had long been making the rounds in Europe.⁹

The response in academic circles was to retain a belief in the authority of Greek and Roman scholars, regardless of the conflicting evidence from seamen like Columbus and, to a lesser extent, Bartolomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama. In order to accommodate the reports of the navigators into their intricate web of expectations, scholars only gradually discarded Ptolemy and Pliny. "Amerigo Vespucci is said to have discovered that New World", a Nuremberg scholar wrote in 1512. "Whether it is true or a lie has nothing [...] to do with Cosmography and History. [...] It is of no interest to geographers at all".¹⁰ So despite the expanding possibilities of the printed book, and the readiness of publishers, most notably in a maritime printing centre like Venice, to open up previously unknown worlds to large numbers of readers, the full weight and impact of the discoveries took many decades to filter through to a broad readership.¹¹

⁸ For an elaborate discussion of the conflict between classical literature and the discovery of America: Grafton, Shelford, and Siraisi (1992).

⁹ A. Pagden, *European encounters with the New World. From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven and London 1993) 17–24, describing what he calls the 'principle of attachment'.

¹⁰ Johannes Cochlaeus, quoted in J. H. Elliott, "Renaissance Europe and America: a blunted impact?" In: F. Chiappelli, ed., *First images of America* (2 vols.; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976) 14.

¹¹ J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New 1492–1650* (Cambridge 1970) has rightfully gained canonical status, followed up by two related articles: J. H. Elliott, "The discovery of America and the discovery of man", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 58 (1972) 101–25, and Elliott (1976) 11–23. Elliott's essays generated a vast response: many contributions in Chiappelli's collection of essays discuss the impact of the discovery of America on Europe. All these publications subscribe to a 'minimalist' impression of the New World(s) on the Old. S. Greenblatt, ed., *New World encounters* (Berkeley 1993) reproduces articles previously published in the journal *Representations*. An excellent volume of essays appeared in the wake of the quincentenary of Columbus' discovery: K. O. Kupperman, ed., *America in European consciousness 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill 1995). A. Pagden, ed., *Facing each other: the world's perception of Europe and Europe's perception of the world* (2 vols.; Aldershot 2000) also covers the two other continents.

Hence the other continents long remained on the fringes of historical and scholarly interest in Europe. Over the course of the sixteenth century, printed works on the Ottoman Empire overwhelmingly outnumbered treatises on the New World. When Van Linschoten composed his *Itinerario*, the late sixteenth-century trader's companion to Asia, he based part of his information on Luís de Camões' poem *Os Lusíadas* in the absence of more studious Portuguese literature.¹² But the continued paucity of literature is most striking in relation to the New World, as many learned writers referred to America in a brief and casual way. Johannes Boemus' account of the customs of all nations, first published in 1520, discussed three continents, and an appendix on the New World was only added in 1560 after numerous reprints and translations. Jean Bodin, who in the 1570s rekindled the classical theory of climatic zones—some habitable, some 'torrid'—only scantily mentioned America. Around 1605, Jacques-Auguste de Thou allotted a single paragraph to America in his *Historia sui temporis*, while William Camden, in his *Annales rerum Anglicarum* of 1615, also restricted information on English progress in the New World to several pages.¹³

While vigilant Iberian inquisitors and conservative scholars thwarted the progress of geographical knowledge based on eye-witness accounts, the crumbling of classical authority was nevertheless inescapable. Like Vespucci's narratives, Antonio Pigafetta's report describing Magellan's circumnavigation of the world did reach an international public, as did the *Decades de orbo novo* of the Spanish-based Italian Peter Martyr, issued in separate volumes between 1511 and 1530. Another Italian, Ludovico di Varthema brought Europe the first report on the Far East in 1510, although his overland travels almost certainly did not stretch beyond India. Publishers in Venice increasingly succeeded in circumventing Iberian embargoes. With the assistance of Spanish *literati* living in Italy, they distributed influential treatises such as Francisco López de Gómara's *La Historia generale dell Indie Occidentali* (1556). Gómara's work, proscribed in Spain because it praised Cortés and other conquistadors

¹² A. Pos, "So weetmen wat te vertellen als men oudt is. Over het ontstaan en de inhoud van het *Itinerario*" In: R. van Gelder, J. Parmentier, and V. Roeper, eds., *Souffrir pour parvenir. De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Haarlem 1998) 139–42.

¹³ P. Burke, "America and the rewriting of world history" In: K. O. Kupperman, ed., *America in European consciousness 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill 1995a) 35–36.

resisting the monarchy's hierarchical command structure, was considered authoritative partly because it came from a Spanish author.¹⁴

Elsewhere Martin Waldseemüller developed a relatively reliable world map as early as 1507, including the new continent which he labelled 'America'. French and English expeditions to the New World further provided accurate reports on the newly-found lands, allowing Northern European cartographers like Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius to refine the outlines of the fourth continent in their atlases.¹⁵ Increasingly consistent information on America, Africa, and Asia in the later decades of the sixteenth century gradually pushed ancient geographers and medieval myths into the background. Obtaining a comprehensive and correct picture of remote societies, however, was still not straightforward for the average European scholar or enthusiast, as travel literature remained both limited and scattered. Only the systematic cooperation of navigators and publishers in England and the Dutch Republic, as the century neared its close, opened the door to knowledge of the overseas world for a broader readership.¹⁶

1.2. COSMOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

As an awareness of the variety of the overseas world began to sift through to more educated circles, the demand for knowledgeable editors to make sense of these revolutionary developments increased: collections of voyages were obvious follow-ups to singular travel accounts. Since these collections were large-scale enterprises by definition, sometimes requiring decades of careful compiling and planning before the assembled information was fit to print and distribute, making a collection demanded persistence, patience, and time. Hence the absolute number of titles in the genre is limited. In the first two hundred years after the voyages of Columbus and Da Gama roughly ten compilations

¹⁴ A. Pallotta, "The New World and Italian readers of the Spanish *Historie* in the sixteenth century", *Italica* 69–3 (1992) 345–58.

¹⁵ P. D. Burden, *The mapping of North America: a list of printed maps 1511–1670* (s.l. 1996).

¹⁶ For England: A. Hadfield, *Literature, travel, and colonial writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford 1999); L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas handbook. Studies on the life, times and writings of Samuel Purchas 1577–1626* (2 vols.; London 1997); D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (2 vols.; London 1974a). For the Dutch Republic: Van den Boogaart (2003) and Schmidt (2001).

were published. The genre's heyday started in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century and lasted until approximately 1650 when, following the general northward momentum of European maritime expansion, the most important Dutch collection of travel accounts appeared.

The compendia of voyages are indicative of intellectual culture in the period between 1550 and 1650. Efforts to systematically compile all available knowledge in various fields dominated scholarly activities during this 'Age of Curiosity'.¹⁷ Sandwiched between the eras when first theology and later science dictated the intellectual agenda, early modern curiosity was characterised by a period of discovery and wonder followed by an erudite pleasure in classification and order. Both sentiments synchronised with an overall trend of putting more emphasis on the study of nature, and an increased awareness of the factual and often unfamiliar world. The impact of the discoveries and of the attempts at observation and experimentation in fields such as anatomy, botany, and physiology was further enlarged by the expanding possibilities of the printed book. As more and more knowledge gradually appeared in print, much of the information in a sense continued to be topical. Fresh discoveries ensured continued public interest throughout the sixteenth century. Around 1600, the Dominican friar Tommaso Campanella observed that

In this century of ours, more history has been made in one hundred years than the world has seen in the previous four-thousand. And more books have been made in these hundred years than in the previous five-thousand.¹⁸

The rich supply of knowledge brought greater differentiation and specialisation. In order to come to terms with the amount of new and freshly recovered insights, the need for a method of structuring information became urgent from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. Initial efforts were made to divide the novelties into categories, like *antiquitates*, *artificialia*, and *naturalia*. In each of these fields a tendency to collect all the available knowledge in an encyclopaedic manner

¹⁷ Much of the following is based on M. Swann, *Curiosities and texts. The culture of collecting in early modern England* (Philadelphia 2001) 16–27; W. Muensterberger, *Collecting. An unruly passion* (Princeton 1994) 183–203; K. Pomian, *Collectors and curiosities. Paris and Venice, 1500–1800* (Cambridge 1990) 45–64.

¹⁸ Quoted in Romeo (1971) 115: “Di questo secolo nostro, c’ha più istoria in cento anni che non ebbe il mondo in quattro mila; e più libri si fecero in questi cento che in cinque mila”.

increased at the close of the sixteenth century. This period was the true zenith of the art of collecting for collecting's sake, epitomised by the cabinets of curiosities which aimed to reduce the entire universe to the scale of the human eye, without diverting the attention from the intimate features of the assembled artefacts and natural objects. Items from distant lands often formed a major, if not the most important ingredient of such collections of rarities, and hence the endeavour of classifying exotica in a personal cabinet, accessible to a selected group of admirers, became one of the most common ways of making sense of the Discoveries.¹⁹

The encyclopaedic momentum was also understood and endorsed by publishers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the catalogue of De Bry publications, which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3, is as good an example as any of the tendency to amass and organise the swelling wealth of available knowledge. The relatively large number of serial publications produced by the family, as well as the themes of these and other works they issued are a good reflection of scholarly fascinations around 1600. A compendium of herbs and flowers, effigies of famous men, a collection of antiquities, books of medical curiosities, assembled letters on isolated health issues and representations of different alphabets, as well as works on instruments to be used for experimentation and hermetic attempts to reduce the world to human proportions formed the core of the De Bry catalogue.

The efforts to compile a collection of voyages are firmly rooted in this encyclopaedic tradition, and the fact that the major works in this genre appeared in the period between 1550 and 1650 indicates the close affiliation between the collecting of exotic curiosities, the publication of comprehensive anthologies on various subjects, and the assembling of travel accounts. Such activities and publications rounded up the achievements of the Renaissance, and the volumes were devoured by a relatively broad, curious group of readers.²⁰ The collections of voyages to the overseas world were an obvious way to close the full circle of early modern discoveries, bringing together the sources which, from

¹⁹ See the various articles in: O. Impey and A. MacGregor, eds., *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe* (Oxford 1985).

²⁰ D. Defert, "Les collections iconographiques du XVI^e siècle" In: J. Cécard and J.-C. Margolin, eds., *Voyager à la Renaissance* (Paris 1987) 532.

the end of the fifteenth century onwards, had started the craze of collecting in the first place.

The collections of travel reports differed from other compendia of knowledge in one important respect: they largely appeared in the vernacular, as the authors were men whose distinctions were defined by experience rather than by traditional forms of education. Accounts of expeditions to America, Africa, and Asia were commonly written in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and later also in English, French, and Dutch; this accessibility probably partly explains their immense popular success. Compilations of accounts predictably followed suit, even before they can justifiably be labelled collections of voyages. The cosmographical works by Sebastian Münster and André Thevet initially appeared in German and French respectively, whereas similarly conceived works in fields outside geography were all being published first, or more often exclusively, in Latin.

The cosmographical literature of the sixteenth century is, for various reasons, an interesting reference point for the collections of voyages of a slightly later period.²¹ Sebastian Münster (1489–1552), a Lutheran theologian in Basel, was the Old World's prime figure in the field of cosmography. His works relied on the information provided in the writings of Ptolemy, and his first publication, true to form, was a revised and updated edition of the Greek scholar's *Geography* in 1540. This edition, in line with the Renaissance imperatives of translation, imitation, and emulation, formed the first step towards Münster's epic masterpiece of 1544, *Cosmographia: Beschreibung aller Lender*. It went through forty-six editions—a stunning number—by the mid-seventeenth century, including translations into at least five languages including Latin.²²

Münster's *Cosmographia*, the benchmark for the cosmographic genre after 1550, was based on a renovation of ancient geographical knowledge, without making clear discriminations between the value of classical and more modern accomplishments or between the feats of cartographic scholars in their studies and unschooled adventurers at

²¹ For much of the following: Lestringant (1994), and other publications of this author listed below; Grafton, Shelford, and Siraisi (1992) 97–111; Broc (1980) 61–99, esp. 77–84.

²² M. McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the world in the Reformation* (Aldershot 2007).

sea.²³ Ancient myths and Plinian monsters were presented alongside the experiences of Marco Polo and Amerigo Vespucci. And although Münster surpassed the medieval tendency to rely solely on what was considered authoritative literature, he did still display the desire to compile his knowledge of the world into a grand synthesis. Münster's all-encompassing method of assembling and presenting material was immediately followed, however, by a period of specialisation. Numerous empirically inspired efforts to make sense of the wider world by botanists, topographers, and historians soon made the cosmographical efforts look outdated to well-informed scholars of geography.²⁴

The fortunes of André Thevet (1503–1592) are a good indication that the end of the cosmographical genre was near by the late sixteenth century. Thevet had travelled to Asia Minor and South America in the 1550s, and his first two works, titled *Cosmographie du Levant* (1554) and *Singularitez de la France antarctique autrement nommée Amerique* (1558) were largely based on his own recollections. The two treatises, published when the genre was at its apogee,²⁵ earned Thevet the position of official cosmographer and historiographer of Henry II of France. Thevet, unlike Münster, stressed that experience was more dependable than authority, reflecting similar developments in other fields of knowledge. The Frenchman, as a result of his travels no doubt, further devoted considerable attention to the overseas world, and thus signalled the direction for the next generation of compilers: whereas only 150 pages of a total of 1475 in Münster's *Cosmographia* were dedicated to Asia, Africa, and the New World combined, more than half of Thevet's two-volume *Cosmographie Universelle* (1575) concerned the second, third, and fourth continents.²⁶

This latter work, which was supposed to be the French answer to Münster, nonetheless harmed Thevet's reputation, announcing as it did the end of cosmography as an activity in the frontline of scholarship. Several reasons for the failure of the *Cosmographie Universelle* can be pointed out. The royal cosmographer's work, published in times of extreme religious and political tension, was unfavourably looked upon by

²³ Lestringant (1994) 104.

²⁴ F. Lestringant, "Le déclin d'un savoir. La crise de la cosmographie à la fin de la Renaissance", *Annales. économies, sociétés, civilisations* XLVI-2 (1991a) 239–40.

²⁵ Lestringant (1994) 126.

²⁶ The hefty section on Asia was largely dedicated to what we would presently call the Middle East.

influential contemporaries like the Huguenot traveller Jean de Léry and Thevet's arch-rival François de Belleforest who, also in 1575, produced an extended yet uncritical French version of Münster's *Cosmographia*. Both men strongly criticised Thevet's efforts. Just as unfortunate was the development of individual curiosity among intellectuals, which replaced the demand for a universal compilation under the authority of a single scholar, regardless of his experiences. Thevet's proud assertion, in the *Cosmographie Universelle*'s dedicatory letter to Henry III, that he

had followed so elaborately the cosmographical order, that there was not a country, province, sea, coast, beach, cape, gulf, port, river, mountain or island, which he had not carefully described²⁷

inadvertently explains the lukewarm reception by humanists. The continued presence of the Plinian races did nothing to contribute to his credibility either, despite repeated claims by Thevet that his work had been based on personal experiences, and numerous occasions when he did distance himself from classical follies. After the violent death of Henry III, France plunged into religious turmoil, and after Thevet, French geographical knowledge declined for several decades.²⁸ Not one of the major collections of voyages was to be published in France.

Münster, and to a lesser extent Thevet, had still considered the overseas world an extension of the Old World, and had treated it accordingly by trying to incorporate it into inclusive geographical models of interpretation. But even before their cosmographical works received acclaim, and later criticism, the distinctly different collections of voyages had started to emerge. The compilers of these works paid exclusive attention to navigations to distant shores, and reaped instant rewards. The small-scale nature of the first collections should not obscure their success as they spread familiarity with the earliest expeditions to both the West and the East.

²⁷ A. Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle* (2 vols.; Paris 1575) I [a2r]: "...poursuivant si amplement l'ordre Cosmographique, qu'il n'y a país, province, mer, coste, plage, promontoire, goulfe, havre, rivière, montagne, ou isle, qui ne soit par moy diligemment descrite...". On Thevet: F. Lestringant, *André Thevet. Cosmographie des derniers Valois* (Geneva 1991b).

²⁸ F. Lestringant, "La littérature géographique sous le règne de Henri IV" In: *Les lettres au temps de Henri IV* (1991c) 281–85.

1.3. THE FIRST COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES

The credit for producing the first collection of voyages belongs to Fracanzio da Montalboddo, who published the modest *Paesi novamente ritrovati* in 1507.²⁹ Montalboddo, professor at the University of Vicenza, assembled and translated the cream of available accounts on travels to America, Africa, and Asia. After opening his collection with a Portuguese outing to West Africa, under the supervision of Henry the Navigator, he included reports which acquired canonical status throughout the early modern era, like Da Gama's venture around the Cape of Good Hope, Cabral's voyage to Brazil, Columbus' first three westward expeditions, and Vespucci's letters to Lorenzo de' Medici relating the events of his third voyage to America. One of Montalboddo's main purposes in collecting this material was to entertain readers.³⁰

Several editions and translations of the *Paesi* appeared within a few years. The original Italian edition went through at least five reprints before 1520, published alternately in Milan and Venice, while translations in Latin, High German, Low German, and French testified to its international appeal. The French version alone experienced four reprints prior to 1530.³¹ Practical reasons partly explain why the collection was in vogue: firstly the Iberian embargoes on information regarding the overseas territories made obtaining travel accounts difficult for individuals.³² Even if a reader could successfully acquire one or more of these reports, the language of the text presented him with a second stumbling block. Montalboddo provided the answers to these concrete problems by working vigorously to evade the suppression of information, and by subsequently making selected accounts available in a single tome, issued in one language of choice. The publication

²⁹ Little has been written on this work and its author, sometimes also known as Fracanzano da Montalboddo: G. Bruzzo, "Di Fracanzio da Montalboddo e della sua raccolta di viaggi", *Rivista geografica italiana* 12 (1905) 284–90; Lach (1965–93) I–1 163–64; M. Böhme, *Die grossen Reisesammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung* (Amsterdam 1968 [photomechanic reprint; 1st ed., Strasbourg 1904]) 15–47. Böhme lists two earlier collections (pp. 3–15), but their scope is limited and they will not be discussed here.

³⁰ Lach (1965–93) I–1 164; Böhme (1904) 42.

³¹ Böhme (1904) 23–36. The titles are listed here as they are not easily recognisable as translations of Montalboddo's *Paesi*: *Itinerarium Portugalle[n]siu[m]*... (Lat); *Neue unbekante landte Und ein neue Wölte*... (Ger); *Nye unbekande Lande unde eine nye Werlde*... (Dutch); *S' Ensyet le Nouveau mo[n]de et navigations*... (Fre).

³² *Infra*, Ch. 9, pp. 284–86.

of travel narratives in a uniform language remained one of the prime assets of any collection of voyages.

Practical advantages aside, the collections also had intrinsic values which accounted for their increasing popularity. The role of the editor was markedly different from that of the omnipresent cosmographer. Whereas Münster and Thevet clearly left their mark on the process of interpretation, Montalboddo and his followers published reports of discoveries with no overt intention of modifying these accounts, which shielded them from the kind of criticism Thevet was later to encounter. The editor generally limited himself to writing a preface to explain why and how he had gathered the information he was about to present, which as the sixteenth century progressed, was ever more attuned to the demands of the learned readership. Only the selection of suitable reports, and the composition of interpretative discourses permitted the compiler to influence his readers, and although this situation had changed by the time the De Brys issued their collection of voyages, the illusion of presenting original travel reports was maintained.

Thanks to its innovative notions of editing, and its reiteration of all the fundamental accounts of the early discoveries, Montalboddo's *Paesi* remained an influential work in the field of geography for decades. As the collection's title suggests, Montalboddo felt he had only recorded the renewed discovery of distant lands. Elaborating on this idea in the preface to his work, he argued that the recent discoveries of animals, plants, herbs, and minerals, as well as the diversity of the newly-found places and the quality of the air should all be considered a confirmation of what Pliny had described in his *Historia naturalis*.³³

The same reliance on ancient authors can be observed in the second extensive collection of voyages, *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, edited by Simon Grynaeus and Johan Hüttich, who were assisted by Sebastian Münster. This collection was published simultaneously in Basel and Paris in 1532, and was reprinted several times in the 1530s. Its most eye-catching feature was the use of Latin in the original

³³ F. da Montalboddo, *Paesi novamente ritrovati e Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitolato* (2nd ed.; Milan 1512 [1st ed. Vicenza 1507]) [A4v]: "...le presente Navigatione in diversi paesi dal nostro continente disiuncte: mai piu per memoria de homo cognosciute appertamente el dechiarano. Dove o veramente che tu consideri le moltiplice specie deli Animalì: dele piante: dele herbe: deli Metalli & pietre: o veramente la diversità de li lochi: & qualità del cielo: non meno cose ammirande: & quasi incredibile se ritrovano: che appresso della Naturale historia pliniana."

editions.³⁴ Hüttich—the actual compiler—and Grynaeus, the humanist who wrote the introductory remarks, included Montalboddo's *Paesi* in their collection, indicating that they were not going to drift away from his eulogy of the ancient geographers. Grynaeus even complained that a traveller like Marco Polo, in order to make the account of his visit to China available for interested scholars, had not written about it in Latin. Although Hüttich and Grynaeus added plenty of new voyages to the Vicenza compilation, including Polo's account, the maps displayed in the *Novus Orbis* were still based on Ptolemy's by now outdated cartographic material. The efforts of Grynaeus and Hüttich nevertheless continued to be reprinted until 1616.

Although hugely popular, the sixteenth-century cosmographies and the two earliest collections of voyages were still rooted in the commanding tradition of classical wisdom. When the efforts of humanists in other fields like medicine and astronomy unsettled the assumptions made in ancient writings, it became apparent that Greek and Roman geographical and cartographical treatises, too, needed to be reconsidered. The encompassing, even conceited, format of the cosmographical genre was ill-equipped to respond to the demands of late sixteenth-century humanists. The innovative collections of voyages formed a genre much better suited to their expectations, with navigators rather than scholars, and original reports rather than interpretations taking centre stage. By persisting with the authority of classical tracts, however, it did not reach its full potential in the first fifty years after Columbus and Da Gama. The promise of the genre and the adaptations to the requirements of the 'Age of Curiosity' were to be fulfilled only in the 1550s, by the groundbreaking collection of Giovanni Battista Ramusio.

1.4. RAMUSIO'S *NAVIGATIONI ET VIAGGI*

Ramusio (1485–1557) was a respected civil servant of the Venetian Republic. After studying in Padua, he worked as secretary first to the Chancellery, then to the Senate, and from 1553 onwards to the Council of Ten, an important governing body. A man of aristocratic

³⁴ M. Korinman, "Simon Grynaeus et le 'Novus Orbis': les pouvoirs d'une collection" In: J. Cécard and J.-C. Margolin, eds., *Voyager à la Renaissance* (Paris 1987) 419–31; Böhme (1904) 48–60.

descent, he travelled widely as a member of diplomatic delegations, and established personal contacts with courtiers throughout Europe, most notably in France. At home, his closest friends included the influential cardinal Pietro Bembo, and the versatile scholar and physician Girolamo Fracastoro, best known for writing the first treatise on syphilis. Much of Ramusio's life, according to his correspondence with these and other humanists, was devoted to literature and classical learning, and he was a central figure in intellectual circles in Venice. Several scholarly friends dedicated their publications to him.³⁵

From around 1520 onwards, Ramusio displayed an interest in travel literature. His enthusiasm was inspired by his friendship with Andrea Navagero, Venetian envoy at the Spanish and French courts, who, while in Toledo in 1525, wrote to Ramusio that he could "find no books here on the Indies; but in time I will send enough matter to weary you", indicating that the two men shared a passion for Spain's overseas ventures.³⁶ After Navagero's death in 1529, Ramusio assisted with the publication of his friend's Italian translations of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Sumario*, two treatises on Spanish expansion in the Americas. This marked the start of his independent career as an editor of travel literature; he added an account of Peru to Navagero's posthumously published books in 1534. Many years of writing letters, and compiling, reading, and translating travel accounts followed, as Ramusio collected a wealth of material, mainly relating to Spanish and Portuguese expeditions. He postponed their publication until 1550, when the first volume of his compendium appeared.³⁷

Ramusio's three-volume folio-sized *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550–59) was acknowledged by contemporaries as a landmark publication. The *Navigationi*, unlike the two preceding collections of voyages, was based on a well-defined intellectual framework. The editor, assisted by the distinguished Venetian mapmaker Giacomo Gastaldi, had chosen to abandon the traditional Ptolemaic projection. The maps of the world and of the four separate continents were based instead on the most recent cartographic information available. While some cartographic

³⁵ L. Horodowich, "Armchair travelers and the Venetian discovery of the New World", *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXXVI-4 (2005) 1042–43; M. Donattini, "Giovanni Battista Ramusio e le sue 'Navigationi'. Appunti per una biografia", *Critica storica* XVII (1980) 81–83, 92–95; M. Milanesi, ed., *Giovanni Battista Ramusio Navigationi e viaggi* (6 vols.; Turin 1978–88) I xiv–xvii.

³⁶ G. B. Parks, "Ramusio's literary history", *Studies in philology* 52 (1955a) 134–35.

³⁷ Donattini (1980) 83–89; Milanesi (1978–88) I xvii–xxi.

decisions, on matters such as whether America and Asia were connected overland were still to be made, Gastaldi's maps superseded those of his immediate predecessors.³⁸ Being an admirer of classical learning, Ramusio was not prepared to discard all the merits of antiquity at once. In order to argue for the continuity between those pioneers and the imitating and emulating feats of Renaissance travellers, however, Ramusio refrained from copying ancient geographical scholarship. As an alternative, he included several classical travel narratives, written by navigators. Supposedly factual accounts of the legendary voyages of Hanno of Carthage (fifth century BC) and Alexander the Great's admiral Nearchos (ca. 320 BC), and the fictitious journal of the Roman adventurer Iambolo recounting a voyage to Ceylon thus appeared alongside Renaissance descriptions of expeditions to the same regions.³⁹

Such ingenious literary ploys and a more questioning approach towards classical authority were supported by resolute editorship. By adding critical *discorsi* to most of the selected narratives, Ramusio displayed none of the reluctance of earlier editors to interfere with the original reports, while steering well clear of the amalgamation of sources and analysis which undermined the reputation of cosmography. His strict separation of descriptions and interpretative editorials enabled learned readers to draw their own conclusions about the state of overseas explorations. The *discorsi*, additionally, provided Ramusio with an opportunity to infer the literary and historical meaning of the different travel accounts, to examine the value of these reports for the advancement of geographical knowledge, and to stress the superiority of Venetian exploration.⁴⁰ Due to practical problems, the frequency of the editorial discourses was reduced after the first volume had appeared in 1550. The third volume, published in 1556, had few clarifying texts, possibly because of Ramusio's time-consuming duties as secretary to the Council of Ten, and some of the material for the second volume went up in flames while in the possession of the printer Tommaso Giunti.

³⁸ R. W. Karrow jr., *Mapmakers of the sixteenth century* (Chicago 1993) 216–49, esp. 227–30; M. Minella, *Il mondo ritrovato. Le tavole sudamericane di Giacomo Gastaldi* (Genoa 1993) 39–51. The debate regarding a possible land-bridge between Asia and the New World remained a hotly disputed topic. Jose de Acosta, whose treatise is included in the De Bry collection, was one of the prime authors in favour of the land-bridge thesis, which helped explain the Asian origin of the Indians.

³⁹ G. B. Parks, "The contents and sources of Ramusio's *Navigazioni*", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 59 (1955b) 282–89, nrs. 3, 11, and 14 respectively.

⁴⁰ Horodowich (2005) 1042–50.

Volume II therefore only emerged posthumously in 1559, probably edited by Ramusio's son Paolo, who may also have been responsible for the revised editions in the following decades.⁴¹

Ramusio's untimely death prevented the collection from expanding beyond three volumes, although the editor and his collaborators had pencilled in a fourth and final tome. The theme of this elusive Volume IV of the *Navigazioni* has been the subject of discussion. Some have argued that the fourth part was devised for accounts on travels in the Pacific, others have suggested South America was the designated focal point,⁴² and both assumptions are more or less backed up by Giunti, who stated in the preface to the second edition of Volume I (1554) that

If God allows, one day, when it will be discovered and enough is known about this part [of the world], which lies towards midday below the Antarctic Pole [...] everything possible will be done to obtain an account, and to publish the fourth volume as well.⁴³

Speculation regarding the unpublished material alludes to the importance Ramusio attached to the arrangement of his compilation. His clear division of the selected accounts into geographically defined parts, a feature missing from earlier collections, henceforth provided the blueprint for the genre. Ramusio devoted Volume I of the *Navigazioni* to voyages to Africa and the Orient, ranging from the Arabian peninsula to the Moluccas. The third book was dedicated entirely to the New World and to circumnavigations, whereas the belatedly completed Volume II consisted of travels to Central Asia and Russia. Freshly published narratives were added accordingly to later editions of the collection.

Credible illustrations formed another asset of Ramusio's compendium. Although their number was limited, fifty-four in total in the complete first edition, they were not based on ancient and medieval myths like many designs in the cosmographies by Münster and Thevet. The majority of the woodcuts in the *Navigazioni* depicted exotic crops

⁴¹ M. Milanesi, "Giovanni Battista Ramusios Sammlung von Reiseberichten des Entdeckungszeitalters, 'Delle Navigazioni e viaggi' (1550–1559) neu betrachtet" In: A. Mączak and H. J. Teuteberg, eds., *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte. Aufgabe und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung* (Wolfenbüttel 1982) 40; Donattini (1980) 90–91.

⁴² Milanesi (1982) 35–36, and Böhme (1904) 86 respectively.

⁴³ G. B. Ramusio, ed., *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi...* (2nd ed.; Venice 1554) [*4v]: "Così Iddio ne conceda gratia, che un giorno sia scoperta & pienamente conosciuta quella parte, che è verso Mezo di sotto il Polo Antartico, che farei ogni opera d'haverne la relatione, per poter dar fuori anche il Quarto volume".

such as maize and pineapples, or animals previously unheard of, like the iguana.⁴⁴ Almost thirty plates were derived from sketches Ramusio received from Oviedo, the official Spanish chronicler of the Indies.⁴⁵ On the one hand, the insistence on the reliability of his material probably resulted in the relatively modest number of illustrations in Ramusio's series: he may have rejected a large amount of iconographic information in his efforts to avoid the pitfalls which eluded his contemporaries. It was precisely this highly critical method of collecting, on the other hand, which earned Ramusio the praise of early modern humanists.

The investigative efforts behind the *Navigazioni*, whether with regard to illustrations or to actual travel accounts, were not matched by any of Ramusio's successors. His network of correspondents and co-operators included the finest geographical minds of his era, like Gastaldi, Oviedo, and Girolamo Fracastoro, to whom he eventually dedicated the collection. Ramusio's painstaking attempts to side-step the Iberian embargoes on information, and his critical attitude to the sources which did become available meant that realising the collection's publication took the best part of three decades. The fruits of his commitment were consequently reprinted three or four times until 1613.⁴⁶ A French translation by the publisher Jean Temporal, in 1556, did not materialise beyond Volume I.⁴⁷ The *Navigazioni* were nevertheless eagerly read in Northern Europe: Ramusio's successors knew the collection well, and in the late seventeenth century, John Locke still considered it the best and most gracious exponent of the genre.⁴⁸

1.5. HAKLUYT'S *PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS*

After Ramusio's collection had appeared, a small band of followers published collections of their own. The Frankfurt publisher Sigmund

⁴⁴ G. B. Ramusio, ed., *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi...* (Venice 1556) 131v, 136r, and 157r respectively.

⁴⁵ K. A. Myers, "The representation of New World phenomena. Visual epistemology and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's illustrations" In: J. M. Williams and R. E. Lewis, eds., *Early images of the Americas. Transfer and invention* (Tucson and London 1993) 183–213.

⁴⁶ Parks (1955b) *passim*; S. Albertan-Coppola and M.-C. Gomez-Gérard, "La collection des 'Navigationi et viaggi' (1550–1559) de Giovanni-Battista Ramusio: mécanismes et projets d'après les para-textes", *Revue des études italiennes* 36 (1990) 59–60.

⁴⁷ Böhme (1904) 91–95.

⁴⁸ Lach (1965–93) I–1 208.

Feyerabend, ever alert to new trends in the international book market, even published two: *Warhafftige Beschreibung aller theil der welt* (1567), based on Sebastian Franck's popular and often re-issued *Weltbuch*, followed in 1584 by *Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands*. Although Feyerabend, a business partner of Theodore de Bry in the late 1580s, showed an astute awareness of the genre's expanding possibilities by referring to the fashionable concept of *curiositas*, his collections were either too carelessly reprinted or too singularly focused on a specific geographical region to stand comparison to Ramusio's work.⁴⁹ In England, the compilation of Richard Eden, titled *Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (1554) was more adequate, assembling many recent foreign treatises. Extended and re-issued by Richard Willes in 1577, as *History of Travayle in the West and East Indies*, it was eventually merely a leg up to what was to become the second cornerstone of the genre, Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*.⁵⁰

Richard Hakluyt the Younger (ca. 1552–1616), the foremost of European geographers in the late sixteenth century, was one of the driving forces behind early English overseas expansion. A minister and scholar in Oxford, he devoted most of his time to geography from the mid-1570s onwards, when he discussed plans for an expedition to find a North-West Passage to Asia. He continued his enquiries during the 1580s in the service of Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State at the Elizabethan court. After publishing his *Divers voyages* in 1582, Hakluyt resided in Paris for five years, as chaplain and secretary to the English ambassador in France, Sir Edward Stafford. Despite his diplomatic duties he managed to carry on his geographical undertakings by making the acquaintance of André Thevet, who loaned him De Laudonnière's manuscript on Florida. From France, Hakluyt continued to play a leading role in English geography as the key adviser to Sir Walter Raleigh's circle of explorers.⁵¹

In *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584) Hakluyt revealed his strategy of expansion. He proposed to send English settlers to the New World,

⁴⁹ A. Simon, *Sigmund Feyerabend's 'Das Reyßbuch deß heyligen Lands'. A study in printing and literary history* (Wiesbaden 1998); Böhme (1904) 96–120.

⁵⁰ D. Gwyn, "Richard Eden. Cosmographer and alchemist", *Sixteenth Century Journal* XV–1 (1984) 29–34; Böhme (1904) 146–52.

⁵¹ D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt chronology" In: D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (London 1974a) 263–331.

and designed many of his subsequent works with the aim of tempting his countrymen to move abroad, and effectively colonise parts of America. In the 1580s these attempts were focused on the English-ruled Roanoke Island in Virginia. Hakluyt's assignment to Theodore de Bry to publish Thomas Harriot's account on the province in four different languages must certainly be understood with these objectives in mind. The geographer hoped to enhance the English claims on Virginia while at the same time attracting more attention to the fertility of the region through the dissemination of the illustrations by John White. In order to make his fellow-Englishmen aware of the tradition of expansion from their shores, Hakluyt devised his collection of voyages, the *Principall Navigations* (1589).⁵²

The *Principall Navigations* first appeared in one volume in 1589, before expanding to three volumes for the second edition, published between 1598 and 1600. Hakluyt, adhering to the developments in travel literature, chose to copy Ramusio's format of the *Navigazioni* as the best means to impose his philosophy on readers. While dismissing the universal aspirations of the cosmographical genre, remarking in 1589 that "...those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie [...] beyng indeed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together",⁵³ he appreciated Ramusio's work, using accounts from the Venetian collection for his own purposes.⁵⁴ Hakluyt followed Ramusio's division of material along geographical lines, dedicating the first of three parts to voyages to the South and South-East—meaning Africa and the East Indies, the second part to navigations to the North and North-East (the polar region, Russia and the Far East), and the final part to the New World. The same structure was transferred to the three-volume *Principall Navigations* of 1598–1600, with each part of the first edition making up a full volume of the second.⁵⁵

⁵² Quinn (1967) *passim*. For a comprehensive list of Hakluyt's publications: D. B. Quinn, C. E. Armstrong, and R. A. Skelton, "The primary Hakluyt bibliography" In: D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (London 1974) 461–575.

⁵³ Cited in Lestringant (1991a) 257, n. 2.

⁵⁴ D. F. Lach, "Hakluyt's use of the materials available to him. The Far East" In: D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (London 1974) 218, 222. Hakluyt owned a copy of Ramusio's collection before 1580: Quinn and Quinn (1974a) 272.

⁵⁵ A. M. Quinn and D. B. Quinn, "Contents and sources of the three major works" In: D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (London 1974b) 341–377, 378–460. The order of the three parts changed for the second edition, with Volume I consisting of

These similarities cannot obscure more fundamental differences between the two collections of voyages. Hakluyt's intentions, most importantly, diverged markedly from Ramusio's. Whereas the Venetian had compiled narratives to emphasise continuity from antiquity to the Renaissance, in both a scholarly and a literary sense, Hakluyt's efforts to write a comprehensive history of English expansion revealed an unmistakably political objective. He included diplomatic writings and letters, as well as uninspiring ships' logs and journals, sacrificing much of the fluency of Ramusio's volumes. And while the Italian collection received praise for its unambiguous and critical approach to source material, Hakluyt deliberately preferred positive descriptions of certain territories, even if more critical yet better-informed texts were available.⁵⁶ In a project little short of empire-building, the Oxford minister included English accounts and documents exclusively, and adjusted his editorial guidelines only marginally for the second edition. Unlike Ramusio, he did not include any interpretative discourses, making the selection of suitable voyages, and its overriding criterion, even more compelling. Hakluyt himself was unapologetic about his motivations:

I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discovery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet unknownen, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes.⁵⁷

Elsewhere Hakluyt's ambitions outstripped those of Ramusio. He aimed with his collection to present all English travel accounts, whereas the Venetian had selected only the most significant reports. Many of the journals in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* were unpublished before the collection appeared in 1589, a further testimony to the editor's central position among English explorers and merchant adventurers. The extended second edition also provided numerous documents,

the voyages to the North and North-East, and Volume II devoted to the South and South-East. Volume III concerned expeditions to the New World.

⁵⁶ J. P. Helfers, "The explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern critical opinion and the editorial methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas", *Studies in philology* 94 (1997) 164–65, 178–84; see also: J. Schleck, "'Plain broad narratives of substantial facts': credibility, narrative, and Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*", *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006) 768–94, who criticises Hakluyt's reputation for factuality.

⁵⁷ R. Hakluyt, ed., *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation* (2nd ed.; 3 vols.; London 1598–1600) I [*3v].

mostly written in the 1590s, which had not been made public before.⁵⁸ Hakluyt's efforts thus saved many manuscripts from oblivion, and this can be considered a surplus value to the inherent strengths of the genre. By making recently written descriptions available, he gave his collection a topical touch. Topicality had not been one of Ramusio's prime concerns, let alone in the cosmographies, but it was to decisively influence subsequent collections of voyages.

Hakluyt devoted at least two decades to the conception and creation of his collection, discussing matters of geography at length with leading cartographers like Mercator and Ortelius, and explorers like Sir Francis Drake. Yet his biased focus on the English cause resulted in a relatively limited continental reputation.⁵⁹ As English was anything but a *lingua franca* in early modern Europe, his monotonous volumes did not enjoy the wide acclaim which Ramusio's *Navigazioni* had received. No translations of the *Principall Navigations* appeared, and after its initial, albeit strictly English success around 1600, the collection was not particularly appreciated again until the early nineteenth century. Much of Hakluyt's stature in the early modern period, even in England itself, depended on the modified and more accessible version of his collection of voyages by Samuel Purchas, which appeared in 1625.

Notwithstanding the increasing awareness of the audience, one potentially appealing aspect was missing from both English collections. Unlike the *Navigazioni*, and in stark contrast to contemporaneous compilations, neither Hakluyt nor Purchas included illustrations of any sort. Hakluyt, according to his collection's preface, seemed to regret not having had the opportunity to add plates: "...assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more lively and exquisite colours".⁶⁰ Whether Hakluyt was not in the position to have engravings or woodcuts made, as he claimed, or was instead simply not prepared to sacrifice texts to make room for illustrations is uncertain, but the contrast between the English collections and their German counterparts of the late 1590s and early 1600s is nevertheless striking.

⁵⁸ G. B. Parks, "Tudor travel literature" In: D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (London 1974) 98, 101.

⁵⁹ D. B. Quinn, "Hakluyt's reputation" In: Idem, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (London 1974b) 133–46.

⁶⁰ Hakluyt (1598–1600) III [A3v].

1.6. THE DE BRY COLLECTION AND ITS PLACE WITHIN THE GENRE

Beautiful engravings were the most distinctive feature of the De Bry collection. Ramusio and Thevet may have fitted their works with a few illustrations, but the size, the number, and the quality of the engravings in the De Bry volumes was unprecedented. Relatively few printed travel accounts of the overseas world had contained iconographic material before the publication of the De Bry collection. Many of the narratives that had, such as Hans Staden's account of cannibalism in Brazil, Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil*, and Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del mondo nuovo* were incorporated into the *America*-series, or, in the case of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, into the *India Orientalis*-series.⁶¹ Only Van Linschoten's work included copper engravings, whereas the remaining publications contained crude woodcuts. Almost overnight, the De Bry collection became indispensable for Europeans who wanted to have a state-of-the-art iconography of the overseas world.

As such, the collection represented a crossroads in the development of the genre. On the one hand, the De Bry volumes resembled the magnitude and ambitions of the *Navigazioni* and the *Principall Navigations*. The De Bry collection consisted of 49 accounts while Ramusio and Hakluyt had included 57 and a staggering 217 reports respectively, as the many ships logs in the English volumes were generally very brief.⁶² Whereas Hakluyt's collection was almost exclusively made up of English documents, the De Bry collection followed the example set by the Venetian compendium, based as it was on sources from a wide range of backgrounds. Ramusio obtained exactly one-third of his material from Italian sources and another third from Spain. The remaining nineteen voyages were mostly acquired from Portugal and France.⁶³ The De Bry

⁶¹ On the New World: W. C. Sturtevant, "First visual images of native America" In: F. Chiappelli, ed., *First images of America* (2 vols.; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976) 420–44; on Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*: Lach (1965–93) II–1 94–95; Van Gelder, Parmentier, and Roeper (1998); Van den Boogaart (2003).

⁶² Based on Ramusio's first edition, and its classification by Parks (1955b), and Hakluyt's full three-volume edition of 1598–1600, and its description by Quinn and Quinn (1974b) 378–460. The letters, discourses, and other additional material included in both Ramusio's and Hakluyt's collections have not been included. The figure for the De Bry collection includes the three narratives only translated into either Latin or German, see App. 2.

⁶³ Based on Parks (1955b) and Albertan-Coppola and Gomez-Gérard (1990) 67, n. 20, who used Ramusio's second edition and therefore found 63 accounts. I deducted

collection displays a somewhat comparable pattern. Approximately forty percent of the collection, published at a time when the pendulum of overseas expansion had decisively swung north, consisted of Dutch accounts. English narratives were second, making up some fifteen percent of the De Bry collection, while Italian, French, German, and Spanish sources were all represented at least twice.

With Dutch maritime expansion experiencing a dramatic take-off from the mid-1590s onwards, just when the *India Orientalis*-series appeared, the option to include recently composed reports became ever more attractive. Although the De Bry volumes, unlike the earlier compilations, offered little added value in terms of unpublished material—the account of Johan Verken for *India Orientalis* IX being the only exception—at least half of the accounts incorporated into the collection had been published within the five years preceding the appearance of the De Bry volume. The first book of the Asian and African series to include older printed material, two of the four Vespucci letters, was not published until 1618. Neither Hakluyt's nor Ramusio's volumes could even remotely match the levels of topicality of the De Bry collection.

Thus, with respect to topicality and the diversity of source material, the De Brys maintained and even upgraded the inherent qualities of the genre. Their collection, moreover, brought together reports in two principal languages, and also, temporarily, in two different sizes. Such practical adaptations characterise the German enrichment of the genre, and re-defined the outlook and the scope of collections of voyages. Many of the modifications to the genre made by the Frankfurt family can easily be attributed to their occupation as booksellers and engravers, and their keen eye for commercial opportunities. The De Brys left the intellectual framework of the preceding collections largely unaltered. Not only did they refrain from giving information on the Old World, which distinguished earlier collections from cosmographies, but they also divided the selected travel accounts into geographically defined sections. Whereas Hakluyt had neatly followed Ramusio's subdivisions, the De Brys created two instead of three separate parts, and therefore ended up with a slightly different classification. The voyages to America were all concentrated in one series, while the other series was devoted

the six newly added reports, meaning Ramusio acquired nineteen narratives in both Italy and Spain. The 'background' in this context refers to the background of the accounts, not of the travellers themselves.

to reports on the Eastern hemisphere. The relative weight attached to navigations to the New World was thus increased, which was not entirely surprising as the European interest in America gained real momentum at the end of the sixteenth century.⁶⁴

Looking first at the editors, the differences between Ramusio and Hakluyt, on one side, and the De Brys and subsequent collectors, on the other, are palpable. Ramusio and Hakluyt, like earlier compilers, were well-informed and erudite geographers. Both had studied and selected travel accounts for several decades before embarking on their respective collections. The Venetian humanist in particular had assembled a host of experts to assist him in the process of collecting information, from cartographers to the official chronicler of the Indies to the Spanish crown. Although a number of humanists from the United Provinces advised and assisted the De Brys, not one of these scholars was a true specialist in the field of geography. Nothing, moreover, points to a wealth of knowledge on travel and geography inside the family workshop.

The shift from humanists to booksellers as editors of such collections corresponds to a broader development in the sixteenth century. Jean Temporal, the proposed translator of Ramusio's *Navigazioni* in the 1550s, also worked as a publisher in Lyon. In the Empire, furthermore, the centre of attention for travel accounts gradually drifted away from a specialised, mercantile audience in the towns of Augsburg and Nuremberg,⁶⁵ where most early sixteenth-century narratives had been published, towards Frankfurt, the city of the international book fairs. This change of location precipitated a change in the methods of collecting and presenting travel accounts, which first became visible on a large scale in the De Bry collection.

One of the resulting transformations was the introduction of a serial aspect to the genre, something which was incidentally not copied by later seventeenth-century compilers apart from Levinus Hulsius. This sequential element was in all likelihood designed to entice readers to purchase follow-ups to the initial books. It enabled Theodore de Bry to immediately recoup some of his early investments, an objective not shared by Ramusio and Hakluyt. The serial element, ideal for drawing attention to recently published accounts, did not render the element of

⁶⁴ Elliott (1995) 395–96.

⁶⁵ W. Neuber, *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont. Zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin 1991) 249.

continuity which had characterised earlier publications. Whereas the cosmographers had argued for geographical continuity, fitting information and hearsay on America, Africa, and Asia into their already existing models of European geography, and Ramusio and Hakluyt had attempted to demonstrate chronological links between ancient and medieval undertakings and the early modern discoveries, the De Brys forfeited both. Instead of presenting a coherent ideological programme to readers in their prefaces, the De Brys systematically stressed the time and money which had been devoted to the making of their collection. The emphasis on such practicalities demands an analysis of the De Bry collection which looks into the editorial strategy of the family as booksellers. Investigating the De Bry family's preoccupations, and examining the catalogue of books they published are therefore essential steps towards an understanding of their collection of voyages.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM GOLDSMITHS TO PUBLISHERS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE DE BRY FAMILY

2.1. THE EARLY YEARS: LIÈGE AND STRASBOURG (1528–1577)

When Theodore de Bry was born in Liège in 1527 or 1528, nothing foretold he was to be the founder of one of the most remarkable publishing firms of early modern Europe (ill. 1).¹ Like many generations of De Brys before him,² he was trained as a goldsmith, and it was in the 1530s and 1540s in the local goldsmiths' guild that he served his apprenticeship, almost certainly with his father. In a singular reference to his youth in the preface to one of his publications of the 1590s, De Bry writes that he was "the offspring of parents born to an honourable station and was in affluent circumstances and in the first rank of the more honoured inhabitants of Liège".³ Theodore's father of the same name had indeed been a prominent guild member and magistrate since the early 1520s,⁴ responsible for making a reliquary and several chalices for St. Lambert's cathedral around 1550.⁵

¹ The best studies available are: M. Sondheim, "Die De Bry, Matthaeus Merian und Wilhelm Fitzer", *Philobiblon* 6 (1933) 9–34; Idem, "Die De Bryschen Grossen Reisen", *Het Boek* 24 (1936–37) 331–64; W. K. Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler 1223–1700* (Frankfurt 1935) 365–68, 439–42; P. Colman, "Un grand graveur-éditeur d'origine liégeoise: Théodore de Bry", *La Wallonie* II (1978) 189–93; Gossiaux (1985) 111–20.

² Colman (1978) 189; J. Brassinne, "Les trois Thiry de Bry", *Chronique archeologique du pays de Liège* I (1906) 13–17; Th. Gobert, *Liège à travers les ages* (11 vols., 2nd ed.; Brussels 1975–78) IX 438.

³ App. 1, nr. 39 [A3v]: "...qui & parentibus honesto loco natis progeneratus, & opibus affluens, atque adeò inter honorationes Leodii vel primarius fuerim". The English translation is taken from: M. S. Giuseppe, "The work of Theodore de Bry and his sons, engravers", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* XI (1915–17) 204.

⁴ Brassinne (1906) 14, describes Theodore's father as a 'commissaire de la cité' from 1536. On his position in the guild: J. Breuer, *Les ofèves du pays de Liège. Une liste de membres du métier [Bulletin de la Société des bibliophiles liégeois XIII]* (Liège 1935) nr. 174; E. Poncet and E. Fairon, "Liste chronologique d'actes concernant les métiers et confréries de la cité de Liège", *Annuaire d'histoire liégeoise* III (1943–47) 649.

⁵ X. van den Steen de Jehay, *Essai historique sur l'ancienne cathédrale de St.-Lambert à Liège* (Liège 1846) 201, 210.



Ill. 1. Portrait of Theodore de Bry (1597)

De Bry never entered the guild as a master, and apparently worked for his father until his departure from Liège before 1560. No work from this period survives, and information on these years is limited. Prominent artists could have exerted influence on the young Theodore, and one such suggestion, De Bry's supposed relationship with the Liège-born painter Lambert Lombard, has proved attractive.⁶ After returning from Italy in 1539, Lombard founded the 'Académie Liégeoise' to kick-start the Renaissance in the Prince-Bishopric. Members of this informal school of art and architecture included the engravers Lambert Suavius and Hubertus Goltzius, as well as the geographer Abraham Ortelius.⁷ Theodore's acquaintance with Ortelius should have awakened his

⁶ Gossiaux (1985) 111–13, esp. n. 17; J. Yernaux, "Lambert Lombard", *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois* LXXII (1957–58) 360.

⁷ On the academy of Lambert Lombard: S. Collon-Gevaert, ed., *Lambert Lombard et son temps* (Liège 1966a); G. Denhaene, ed., *Lambert Lombard: renaissance en humanisme te Luik* (Liège 1990).

interest in geography and the voyages of discovery, as early as the 1550s, but there is no definite trace of the goldsmith's interest in travellers and their literature until well into the 1580s.

Theodore's departure to Strasbourg was by all accounts a pivotal moment in his life. The exact date of emigration remains uncertain, but De Bry had arrived and settled in the city by 1560, for in this year he was recorded in the registers of the local goldsmiths' guild as well as in the marital records.⁸ His marriage to Katharina Esslinger, a descendant of a local family, entitled De Bry to citizenship of Strasbourg in October 1560, but he does not feature in the list of men who received this status through marriage,⁹ implying that he had already obtained citizenship prior to the wedding. Unfortunately the records of those who received these rights on their own merits go back only to 1559, and the name of De Bry cannot be traced.¹⁰ Since citizenship was a condition for entering the guild,¹¹ De Bry must have arrived before 1559.¹²

To the autobiographical statement regarding his departure from Liège, De Bry added that

...stripped of all these belongings by the accidents, cheats, and ill terms of fortune and by the attacks of robbers, I had to contend against adverse chance that only by my art could I fend for myself. Art alone remained to

⁸ Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Strasbourg, inv. nr. 5504/1 (the touchplate of the guild of 1567, on which De Bry inscribed himself with his marks, and the date 1560). For the marital records: AMS, nr. 243, f163r; Colman (1978) 189.

⁹ AMS, 'Burgerbuch' nr. 2 ('les acquisitions de la bourgeoisie par mariage' 1543–1618).

¹⁰ AMS, 'Burgerbuch' nr. 3 ('la bourgeoisie par achat' 1559–1713). Both 'Burgerbücher' listing new citizens appear to be complete from 1560 onwards.

¹¹ H. Meyer, *Die Strassburger Goldschmiedezunft von ihrem Entstehen bis 1861* (Leipzig 1881) 203, 207.

¹² This is as precise a determination as possible. R. Reuss, "Catalogue des Français qui sont bourgeois de la ville de Strasbourg. 1553", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 28 (1879) 303–04 lists the French citizens of Strasbourg in 1553. De Bry was not included, but it is uncertain whether—had he arrived in Strasbourg as early as 1553—he would have qualified as a 'Liègeois', as the relation between this list of French citizens and the 'French congregation' of which De Bry was a member in the 1560s is unclear. The so-called 'Busboek' of the guild of St. Luke in Antwerp mentions the membership of a certain 'Dierick de Brey' in 1555: Academy of Fine Arts, Antwerp, nr. 243/4, f170r. This artist—the document does not mention his exact profession—is married to "Berbelken" his housewife, a name not mentioned elsewhere in Theodore's biography. This must be the same Dierick de Brey recorded as one of the guild brothers involved in preparations for a meeting of rhetoricians in Antwerp in 1561: C. van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570): leven en werken* (2 vols.; Brussels 1975) I 442–43. By then Theodore was already a resident of Strasbourg.

me of the ample patrimony left me by my parents. On that neither robbers nor the rapacious bands of thieves could lay hands.¹³

If the goldsmith is to be believed, it is tempting to argue that he was forced to leave Liège. De Bry had evangelical sympathies, and the tightening of restrictions on Reformed dissenters after the accession of Robert de Berghes as Prince-Bishop in 1557, could have led him to pursue his interests elsewhere.¹⁴ De Berghes' policies did not include large-scale persecutions, however, nor were the possessions of dissenters confiscated, which raises doubts over De Bry's testimony.¹⁵

Regardless of his motives for moving, Strasbourg would have been a likely destination. After the confessional strife in the German States had been settled in 1555 with the Peace of Augsburg, many Protestants arrived in the Lutheran city.¹⁶ Yet the promising situation for Calvinists rapidly deteriorated. Staunch Lutherans persuaded the city council to limit the religious freedom of the Reformed, and in 1563, St. Andrew's church was closed for public worship.¹⁷ De Bry figures on a list, drawn up in 1562, of twenty-six members of the Reformed congregation prepared to challenge the restrictive measures, signing a petition requesting the magistrates to re-open the church, and install a French-speaking minister.¹⁸ Although the initial decision was not overturned, private worship of Calvinists in Strasbourg was tolerated, and the indulgence of the magistrates was re-affirmed in 1569.

¹³ Preface to App. 1, nr. 39 [A3v]: "...fortunae tamen casibus, imposturis, malis nominibus & latronum insidiis omnibus iis ornamentis exutus, adeo adversam aleam expertus sum, ut nisi ex arte mea mihi prospicere potuissem, vel litus, quod aiunt, rerum omnium egeno arandum fuisset. Ars sola mihi post tam amplam à parentibus relictam rem remanserat, quam nec latrones nec furum manus rapaces invadere potuerant". The English translation is based on Giuseppi (1915–17) 204–06.

¹⁴ C. Tihon, *La principauté et le diocèse de Liège sous Robert de Berghes (1557–1564)* (Liège 1922) 164–67; J. Daris, *Histoire du diocèse et de la principauté de Liège pendant le XVI^e siècle* (Liège 1884) 206–13.

¹⁵ Ph. Denis, "Les réfugiés Protestants du pays de Liège au XVI^e siècle" In: *Protestantisme sans frontières. La réforme dans la duché de Limbourg et dans la Principauté de Liège* (Aubel 1985) 83. Tihon (1922) 161–62, 213–14.

¹⁶ C. Wolff, "Strasbourg, cité du refuge" In: G. Livet and F. Rapp, eds., *Strasbourg au cœur religieux du XVI^e siècle* (Strasbourg 1977) 321–30.

¹⁷ Ph. Denis, *Les églises d'étrangers en pays Rhenans (1538–1564)* (Paris 1984) 135–45; R. Reuss, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de l'église française de Strasbourg 1538–1794* (Strasbourg 1880) 55–57.

¹⁸ AMS, Série II, 84b, nrs. 54 & 56; Also: L.-E. Halkin, "Protestants des Pays-Bas et de la principauté de Liège réfugiés à Strasbourg" In: G. Livet and F. Rapp, eds., *Strasbourg au cœur religieux du XVI^e siècle* (Strasbourg 1977) 303.

In January of that year, De Bry took into his house in the Kesselgasse a Huguenot family which had fled from religious persecution in the Champagne area. The head of this extended family, Claude Pioche, was a regional financial adviser of King Charles IX of France.¹⁹ Pioche was grateful to the Strasbourg city council for the shelter one of its citizens provided. He had been staying with De Bry for a while, but in the Kesselgasse his family had only had three rooms at their disposal, and in a letter he expressed the hope for larger and more permanent lodgings.²⁰ De Bry's hospitality towards Pioche is further testimony to the former's religious allegiance, but at the same time an indication that the goldsmith could house a substantial number of visitors. The possession of a large house was in itself a remarkable feat for someone who, only some ten years before, had allegedly been deprived of all his belongings. But doubts over De Bry's claim of depredations and robbery, only reversed by art alone—a Renaissance artist's typical way of expression—suggests that other reasons for moving to Strasbourg must be considered.

De Bry's omission from the guild records in Liège, although he was well into his thirties by the time he emigrated, is significant in this respect. Possibly Theodore's father was still alive around 1560, leaving De Bry unable to fully display his own skills. As Liège was hardly the hub of North-European craftsmanship, many goldsmiths left the Prince-Bishopric in the third quarter of the sixteenth century to explore more commercially attractive options elsewhere, mainly in Antwerp and Strasbourg.²¹ The discrepancy between the artist who encountered such 'adverse fortune' and the unmistakably successful goldsmith a few years later, and the possible impediments to develop his abilities as an independent craftsman, indicates that religion was not the main reason for his move.

The hypothesis that some of De Bry's publications of the 1590s were religiously biased as a result of earlier intolerance of his beliefs, was enhanced by the misconception that it was not in 1560 that De Bry

¹⁹ AMS, Série II, 84b, nr. 67. On refugees from the Champagne in the 1560s: R. Zuber, "Strasbourg, refuge des Champenois" In: G. Livet and F. Rapp, eds., *Strasbourg au cœur religieux du XVI^e siècle* (Strasbourg 1977) 309–20.

²⁰ AMS, Série II, 84b, nr. 62.

²¹ Halkin (1977) 304; P. Colman, *L'Orfèvrerie religieuse liégeoise du XV^e siècle à la Révolution* I (Liège 1966) 55.

left Liège for Strasbourg, but rather in 1570, as a result of the alliance between the Prince-Bishop and the Duke of Alva.²² Hence the assertions that Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry were born in Liège can be found in secondary literature on the family and on the collection of voyages.²³ The baptismal records in the archives of the Strasbourg parish of St. Thomas, however, affirm that all four children of Theodore de Bry and Katharina Esslinger were born there: Ottilia in 1562, Johan Theodore in 1563, Johan Israel in 1565, and Johan Jakob in 1566.²⁴ Of the youngest son, no further evidence exists, and he almost certainly died in infancy. De Bry also suffered the loss of his wife, probably shortly before 1570, when he re-married in Frankfurt.²⁵

The wedding between De Bry and Frankfurt-born Katharina Rölinger in February 1570 is the first archival connection to the city where he was later to enjoy success as a publisher. The marriage strengthened ties between De Bry and Frankfurt, which probably already existed. In the early 1570s he was a regular visitor to the semi-annual fairs.²⁶ He also conducted trade in Frankfurt in between fairs, always explicitly being referred to as a goldsmith from Strasbourg.²⁷ De Bry's commercial network in this period extended to the Netherlands: in 1573 the Antwerp merchant Balthasar van de Perre ordered the goldsmith Jacob Drale, who was about to move to Strasbourg,²⁸ to make 'Diderick Brie tot Straesborch' pay off his debts.²⁹

²² Alexander (1976) 8; Berger (1977–78) I 20; Bucher (1981) 6–7. Yet Sondheim (1936–37, 332) already pointed out De Bry's residence in Strasbourg from 1560.

²³ Berger (1977–78) I 20–21; J. F. Hayward, "Four prints from engraved silver standing dishes attributed to J. T. de Bry", *The Burlington magazine* 95 (1953) 124; Idem, "Engraved silver dishes", *Apollo Miscellany* I (1950) 35; Zülch (1935) 365, 439, 441.

²⁴ AMS, nr. 245, f194r, f219r, f242v, f267v. Also: Colman (1978) 189, who doesn't mention Ottilia.

²⁵ StAfr., Traubuch 1533–73, f215r, often quoted in secondary literature. For speculations on the earlier connections between the De Bry and Rölinger families of goldsmiths: Gossiaux (1985) 115. Again there is no archival material to back up his claims.

²⁶ Zülch (1935) 365 states that De Bry was in Frankfurt at the September fair of 1571, where he made a complaint against a merchant from Deventer. I have not been able to find this document in the Frankfurt city archives, yet most of Zülch's information has proved accurate and the document may have been destroyed in 1944.

²⁷ StAfr., RPr 1570 (8 June), f13v; RPr 1574 (21 Dec.), f70v. Corresponding references in Bmb 1570, f31v; Bmb 1574, f134r. There is no further evidence of De Bry's connections to Frankfurt in the city archives between the late 1550s and De Bry's arrival in the town in 1588, except the requests by Katharina Rölinger discussed below.

²⁸ AMS, Burgerbuch nr. 2, f379 (14/4/1573); Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Strasbourg, inv. nr. 5504/1.

²⁹ StAA, SR 335, f583r (15/5/1573). De Bry owed Van de Perre 300 Brabant guilders.

Meanwhile the religious freedom of the Reformed in Strasbourg was further restricted. Under continued pressure from Lutherans, the magistrates forbade worship in private surroundings in February 1577, leaving members of the French congregation no option but to divert to Bischweiler, eighteen kilometres away, to practise their religion.³⁰ The first Calvinists had already left the town permanently by then, among them the Huguenot engraver Etienne Delaune. Although no documents have survived to confirm their relationship, the ornamental illustrations of De Bry and his sons—perhaps their very first engravings—seem to have been influenced by the Parisian refugee, who had arrived in Strasbourg in 1573. When Delaune left Strasbourg for Augsburg three years later, De Bry and his sons were deprived of their source of inspiration.³¹ Religious intolerance and the departure of Delaune were the deciding impulses for De Bry to leave the city.

2.2. FROM GOLDSMITHS TO ENGRAVERS: ANTWERP AND LONDON (1578–1588)

De Bry decided to emigrate to Antwerp.³² After the Pacification of Ghent of November 1576, many Calvinists had been drawn to the commercial metropolis, even though the Reformed church was not officially recognised until January 1578. As early as 1580, the Reformed community in Antwerp, which had been strongly persecuted until a mere three years before, had risen in size to 21,000, making up more than a quarter of the overall population.³³ Having arrived in Antwerp in late 1577 or 1578, and without obtaining citizenship, De Bry entered

³⁰ Wolff (1977) 326; Reuss (1880) 58.

³¹ On Delaune: *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* (Munich and Leipzig 1996–) XXV 398; C. Eisler, “Etienne Delaune et les graveurs de son entourage”, *L’œil. Revue d’art mensuelle* 132 (Dec. 1965) 10–19 & 78; P. Bjurström, “Etienne Delaune and the academy of poetry and music”, *Master drawings* XXXIV–4 (1996) 351–64. On the influence of Delaune on the De Bry family: C.-P. Warncke, *Die Ornamentale Grotteske in Deutschland 1500–1650* (2 vols.; Berlin 1979) I 36; M. de Jong and I. de Groot, eds., *Ornamentprenten in het Rijksprentenkabinet I, 15^{de} & 16^{de} eeuw* (The Hague 1988) 42–52, 238–44.

³² On the period in Antwerp: M. van Groesen, “De Bry and Antwerp, 1577–1585. A formative period” In: S. Burghartz, ed., *Inszenierte Welten. Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590–1630/Staging New Worlds. De Brys’ illustrated travel reports, 1590–1630* (Basel 2004) 19–45.

³³ G. Marnef, “The changing face of Calvinism in Antwerp 1550–1585” In: A. Pettegree, A. Duke, and G. Lewis, eds., *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1620* (Cambridge 1994) 156–58; Idem, “Brabants calvinisme in opmars: de weg naar de calvinistische

both the local goldsmiths' guild and the guild of St. Luke, where artists, publishers, and skilled craftsmen gathered. The subscription to the latter, the earliest available evidence of Theodore's presence in the city, is problematic because the newly accepted artist only referred to himself as "Dierick the copper engraver and silversmith", without using a surname.³⁴ The registration in the goldsmiths' guild unequivocally confirms De Bry's arrival in Antwerp by 1578 or 1579.³⁵ "Dierick" can only be identified by a further reference to De Bry in relation to the guild of St. Luke. In October 1581 the painter Peeter Leys acted on behalf of the deans of the guild to stand surety for De Bry before the city magistrates, thus confirming his membership.³⁶

Initially De Bry lived alone in Antwerp, without his wife and children. Katharina Rölinger requested permission from the city council in Frankfurt in June 1581 to reunite with her husband, "Dietrich Brij goltschmit zu Antorff".³⁷ Apparently Katharina, and De Bry's children, had temporarily returned to Frankfurt after De Bry had left Strasbourg four years earlier. Shortly after the requests, Johan Theodore entered the goldsmiths' guild in Antwerp as an apprentice of his father. In 1582 Johan Israel also joined the workshop, and three more apprentices followed.³⁸ After his wife and children had rejoined De Bry in Antwerp, the family rented a sizeable house in the Huydevetterstraat, where they lived at least until 1584.³⁹ In August, the goldsmith Hans van Balen

republieken te Antwerpen, Brussel en Mechelen, 1577–1580", *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 70 (1987) 7–21.

³⁴ P. Rombouts and T. van Lierus, eds., *De liggeren der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde* (Antwerp 1884) I 263. The original text is: "Dierick de coopersnyer ende silversmit". It was not common for goldsmiths to enter the guild of St Luke: Van Groesen (2004) 43, n.37. De Bry cannot be found in the Antwerp 'Poorterboeken', but after the Spanish Fury 'foreigners' could obtain membership of the guilds without becoming a citizen.

³⁵ StAA, GA 4487, f168r. "...ontfangen eenen meester van bute slants genaempt Thierry de Bry". The costs for the subsequent banquet were paid for by the guild: StAA, GA 4487, f174r. On the Antwerp goldsmiths: D. Schlugleit, *De Antwerpse goud- en zilvermeden in het corporatief stelsel (1382–1798)* (Wetteren 1969).

³⁶ StAA, V 1403, f185v.

³⁷ StAfr., RPr 1581, f9v, f11r, and Bmb 1581, f21v–22r, f26v.

³⁸ StAA, GA 4487, f194r. StAA, GA 4487, f198v. Confusingly, Johan Theodore de Bry was also recorded by the guild as an apprentice of his father as early as 1579. Perhaps this first reference is the result of some sort of formal visit of Theodore's oldest son, 15 or 16 years old at the time, and an early indication of the important position he was quickly to acquire in the De Bry engraving and publishing firm. For the other apprentices: StAA, GA 4487, f178r, f194r, f198v, f202r.

³⁹ StAA, R 2246 shows that De Bry paid one of the highest rents in the Huydevetterstraat. Before 1581 no mention is made of De Bry in these archival records.

informed the city magistrates that “he had heard a few days ago that Diricken de Brey, who had been working for him, was planning to leave Antwerp soon, and that he, Van Balen, was therefore not going to assign more work to him”.⁴⁰

Van Balen’s statement is more than just an indication of De Bry’s intention to leave Antwerp in 1584, shortly before the mass exodus of Protestants after Spanish troops would recapture the city. It also provides a clue to De Bry’s economic position in the later years of his stay in Antwerp. The city had established a reputation as a centre for the craft and trade in precious metals. In 1566, the Tuscan merchant Lodovico Guicciardini had observed that as many as 124 gold- and silversmiths were among the most skilful artisans of Antwerp.⁴¹ The Spanish Fury of 1576, when royal soldiers sacked the town, severely damaged the guild’s prosperity, and by 1580 its members were competing for an ever smaller number of assignments.⁴² The fact that no new apprentices registered in De Bry’s workshop after 1582, while De Bry himself was employed by another goldsmith in and before 1584 indicates that he may have been among the artisans to suffer from the economic decline. Yet his emigration to London in 1584 or 1585, and the subsequent employment of his family as copper engravers by Tudor courtiers hardly implies a lack of success in the early 1580s.

In order to correctly interpret the nature of the seven or eight years De Bry spent in Antwerp, then, it is vital to understand his gradual development from goldsmith to engraver. Etienne Delaune’s influence may have inspired De Bry to join the guild of St. Luke, but his eventually recognisable style of engraving had not been fully developed at that time. It is significant that no De Bry illustrations are known from the period before 1577, whereas a gilded silver goblet from the period between 1560 and 1567 confirms his employment as a goldsmith in

⁴⁰ StAA, Cert.B 45, f357v. “Hans van Balen [...] juravit dat hij over sekere dagen hewaerden [...] heeft hooren seggen Diricken de Brey silversmit (den welcken hij affirmant te wercke gestelt heeft ende noch werck van hem onder heeft) dat hij Dirick van meyninge was binnen corten dagen van hier te vertrecken, waeromme hij geen nieuw werck meer mee bij hem deponert.” The word ‘silversmit’ was later crossed out.

⁴¹ L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (D. Aristodemo, ed., Amsterdam 1994 [1st ed., Antwerp 1567]) 278: “gli orefici, oltre a molti intagliatori di gioie et d’altre pietre pretiose, sono centoventiquattro; i quali fanno veramente lavori et cose maravigliose, con intraprese et compere di gioie stupende et incredibili, onde in questa terra sola se ne truova più che in alcune provincie intere.”

⁴² Schlugleit (1969) 107–20.

Strasbourg.⁴³ For Antwerp, the opposite can be noted. No goldsmith's work has survived, but engravings have. Although it is difficult to ascertain the dates of the illustrations, many of the engraved forms and ornaments, such as the circular depiction of 'Charity', and portraits of William of Orange and Alva should be dated around 1578.⁴⁴ They still reveal the influence of Delaune, but the theme of the Dutch Revolt and its figure-heads was already distinctly Netherlandish. Prints such as these were in demand among goldsmiths in Northern Europe. A contemporary ink stand was made after ornamental prints by Theodore de Bry,⁴⁵ and his engravings for jewellery and knife-handles were probably even more widely used.⁴⁶ Designing ornaments for other artisans was a common intermediate activity for goldsmiths-turning-engravers in the late sixteenth century.⁴⁷

The members of the guild of St. Luke in Antwerp included leading Netherlandish artists like Gerard de Jode, Maarten de Vos, and Phillip Galle.⁴⁸ Their widely successful style inevitably impressed De Bry. His transition from the ornamental method to the more figurative designs of the later Antwerp period is especially apparent in a sequence of propaganda prints made around 1580. The De Bry engravings for which designs were made by Netherlandish artists displayed a much more open style than the smaller ornaments after Delaune, but a similar propaganda print of which Theodore de Bry was the 'inventor' already demonstrated the impact of the fashionable Antwerp manner (ill. 2). In comparison this print is more elaborate and crowded than analogous work by De Vos and Hieronymus Wierix: De Bry focuses not just on the main scene, but also on smaller Biblical narratives in the top-right

⁴³ Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Strasbourg, inv. nr. XXIV-58; H. Haug, *L'orfèvrerie de Strasbourg dans les collections publiques françaises* (Paris 1978) nr. 15; M. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen* (Berlin 1922-28) IV nr. 6974a.

⁴⁴ Van Groesen (2004) 26-28; D. R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand 1566-1584* (Zutphen 2003) 193-97; J. Tanis and D. Horst, *De tweedracht verbeeld. Prentkunst als propaganda aan het begin van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog/Images of discord. A graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr [Penn.] 1993) 82-85.

⁴⁵ Victoria & Albert Museum, London, Jones Collection, inv. nr. 840-1882; M. Darby, et al., eds., *The Victoria & Albert Museum* (London 1983) 201.

⁴⁶ *Zilver uit de Gouden Eeuw van Antwerpen* (Antwerp 1988) 41, 131 ff. For an engraving for jewellery: Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. nr. 89.GA.20.

⁴⁷ Van Groesen (2004) 28.

⁴⁸ Rombouts and Van Lierus (1884) I 159, 209, and 240 respectively. On the flourishing art of engraving in early modern Antwerp: J. van der Stock, *Printing images in Antwerp. The introduction of printmaking in a city, fifteenth century to 1585* (Rotterdam 1998).



Ill. 2. *Depiction of William of Orange, Phillip II, and Pope Gregory XIII* (ca. 1580)

and top-left corners of the engraving. The centre still exemplifies the *horror vacui*-element of ornamentalist designs. Yet the depiction of human figures, the composition of the drawing as a whole, and the size and subject matter of the print are Netherlandish.⁴⁹ It was this type of engraving, elaborate yet fashionable, that may well have aroused the interest of potential clients in England, and prints such as these must have gradually become De Bry's main source of income in Antwerp.

Another reason why English patrons may have hired De Bry from 1586 onwards was the technical progress made in Antwerp in using copper engravings as illustrations for printed books.⁵⁰ Until the late 1560s book illustrations were, without exception, woodcuts. While the technique of producing woodcuts gradually became more refined, the

⁴⁹ Van Groesen (2004) 32–35; Horst (2003) 183–93.

⁵⁰ H. Schilling, "Innovation through migration: the settlement of Calvinistic Netherlanders in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Central and Western Europe", *Histoire sociale—social history* XVI (1983) 11; W. Brulez, "De diaspora der Antwerpse kooplieden op het einde van de 16^e eeuw", *Bydragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* XV (1960) 282.

introduction of copper engraving around 1565 was an important step forward. A two-stage printing process was required for using engravings. After printing the text using traditional relief-printing methods, the engravings were inserted by using an ‘intaglio press’. Hence prices of publications increased, but the higher quality of the illustrations ensured the interest of an affluent readership. Several books in this period were published in two editions, a cheap version with woodcuts, and a more upmarket edition with copper engravings. Soon woodcuts were seen as outdated, and by the time De Bry had arrived in Antwerp, the famous printer-publisher Christopher Plantin regularly used copper engravings to wide acclaim.⁵¹ Both De Bry’s distinctive style and his technical know-how were assets which would have facilitated his move to England. Yet arguably the most important fruits of the Antwerp period were the personal contacts De Bry established. It was not old friends from Liège or guild brothers from Strasbourg but rather the likes of Franciscus I Raphelengius, Phillip Galle, Quintin Massys the Younger, and the Hoefnagel and Van der Heijden families from Antwerp who were to have an impact on both the rapid integration of the De Brys into Frankfurt’s religiously segregated society from 1588, and on the success of their publishing firm from 1590 onwards.⁵²

Instead of moving straight to Frankfurt, however, De Bry and his family first went to London. If the goldsmith Hans van Balen is to be believed, they must have arrived in England around the beginning of the year 1585. The presence of the family in England between 1585 and 1588 can be confirmed only because of Theodore’s dated work and his sparse testimonies in prefaces to publications in the 1590s.⁵³ The

⁵¹ L. Voet, *The golden compasses: a history and evolution of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (2 vols.; Amsterdam 1969–72) II 204; Idem, “Kopergravure en houtsnede in de boekillustratie van het Plantijnse huis in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw”, In: *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de grafische kunst opgedragen aan Prof. dr. Louis Lebeer* (Antwerp 1975) 388.

⁵² Van Groesen (2004) 36–40; on the close-knit ties of the Reformed in Antwerp: G. Marnef, *Antwerp in the age of Reformation. Underground Protestantism in a commercial metropolis 1550–1577* (Baltimore and London 1996) 150. Galle provided De Bry with material (illustrations for emblem books?) in December 1592 (Arch. MPM 69, f148v), and again in March 1595 (Arch. MPM 72, f30r).

⁵³ *Ind. Occ.* I (Lat) (page not signed or numbered, titled “Benevolo Lectori S.”); *Ind. Occ.* II (Ger) [a3v]; *Ind. Occ.* II (Lat) [14v]. The list of edited documents in which De Bry is not mentioned seems endless: J. Hessels, ed., *Archives of the London-Dutch church: register of the attestations or certificates of membership, confessions of guilt, certificates of marriages, betrothals, publications of banns etc., preserved in the Dutch Reformed church, Austin Friars, London*,

claim that the De Brys visited London to reunite with emigrated relatives from Liège cannot be ascertained, but seems plausible.⁵⁴ However, the suggestion that De Bry temporarily left England for the continent in or around 1587 only to return in 1588 should be dismissed,⁵⁵ as the thought of the already feeble sixty-year-old engraver travelling back and forth seems highly unlikely.

De Bry's reason for going to England was probably the intended project to translate Lucas Waghenaeer's navigational work *Spiegel der Zeevaert*, originally published in Dutch in 1584. The responsibility for properly reworking this important book rested on the shoulders of Anthony Ashley, clerk of the Privy Council.⁵⁶ To achieve the same high-quality illustrations which had made the original version a success, Ashley needed copper engravers and understandably looked to artists from Antwerp. De Bry was chosen as the main illustrator of the project. He copied ten of the fourteen engraved charts, originally designed by the Dutch Van Doetecum family, while slightly modifying the title-page of Waghenaeer's work. *The Mariners Mirrour* did not appear until 1588, despite the apparent urgency of the assignment. Ashley apologised for the delay in the preface: "I was forced to take such time for this worke, as I could, by stealth, both for the translation itselfe and for the

1568 to 1872 (London and Amsterdam 1892); W. Page, *Letters of denization and acts of naturalization for aliens in England 1509–1603* (Lymington 1893); W. J. C. Moens and Th. Colyer, eds., *The registers of the French church, Threadneedle Street, London* (4 vols.; Lymington 1896–1906); R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk, eds., *Returns of aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London II, 1571–1597* (Aberdeen 1902).

⁵⁴ M. Martens and N. Peeters, "A tale of two cities': Antwerp artists and artisans in London in the sixteenth century" In: *Dutch and Flemish artists in Britain 1500–1800* [*Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 13] (Leiden 2003) 31–42 for general information on Dutch artists and artisans in London; C. H. C. Baker and W. G. Constable, *English painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Florence 1930) 35, and *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* (1996–) XIV 31 mention Jacques or James de Br(a)y as a relative. This is feasible, as the first name James (Jacques, Jacob) was current in the De Bry family. This James de Bry was indeed a London-based painter, and a member of the French church (Kirk and Kirk (1902) II 266, 310), yet his relation to De Bry, if any, is unclear.

⁵⁵ Hulton (1977) I 11; R. A. Skelton, ed., *Lucas Jansz. Waghenaeer. The Mariners Mirrour, London 1588* (Amsterdam 1966) ix; A. M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries I* (Cambridge 1952) 314; S. A. Colvin, *Early engraving and engravers in England (1545–1695): a critical and historical essay* (London 1905) 38.

⁵⁶ Skelton (1966) vii. On the importance of *The Mariners Mirrour*: D. W. Waters, "Waghenaeer's *The Mariners Mirrour*, 1588, and its influence on English hydrography" In: *Lucas Jansz. Waghenaeer van Enckhuysen. De maritieme cartografie in de Nederlanden in de zestiende en het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Enkhuizen 1984) 89–95.

over-seeing of the negligent gravers”.⁵⁷ That De Bry was one of these negligent engravers in the later stages of the project is indicated by the 1588 dates of two of his illustrations.

Theodore was preoccupied with other work, for in 1587 he contributed to the portrayal of Sir Philip Sidney’s funeral procession, which took place in February in London. Drawings of the occasion were made by the English artist Thomas Lant, but again the skilled art of engraving was left to a foreigner. One of the engravings of the prestigious work was dated 1587, “graven in Copper by Derick Theodor de Brij in the Cittye of London”.⁵⁸ The only other remaining De Bry engraving of this period is a portrait of Henry of Navarra, the future King of France, also dated 1587.⁵⁹ Although they must already have been active as engravers at the time, no independent work of either Johan Theodore or Johan Israel de Bry is known for this period. The presence of Theodore’s sons in England, however, is documented in letters by several Englishmen to the botanist Carolus Clusius, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, as will the connections between De Bry, Hakluyt and Le Moyne in the build-up to the collection of voyages.

2.3. FROM ENGRAVERS TO PUBLISHERS: THE DE BRY FIRM IN FRANKFURT (1588–1609)

The De Brys went to Frankfurt in September 1588 to set up their publishing firm. By the end of October, De Bry applied for citizenship of Frankfurt as “Bürger zu Strassburg”.⁶⁰ The city magistrates informed him that he was to be granted the status of citizen as soon as he renounced his citizenship of Strasbourg, which delayed his full acceptance in Frankfurt for another two and a half years.⁶¹ One of

⁵⁷ Preface to *The Mariners Mirrour* (London 1588) [π3r]; also cited in Hind (1952) 26. The other engravers were the Englishman Augustine Ryther, Jodocus Hondius, and Johannes Rutlinger. Hondius later bought the original copperplates and published another edition in Amsterdam in 1605.

⁵⁸ ‘*The funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney*’ (London 1587) plate 2; also cited in: S. Bos, M. Lange-Meyers, and J. Six, “Sidney’s funeral portrayed” In: J. van Dorsten, D. Baker-Smith, and A. F. Kinney, eds., *Sir Philip Sidney; 1586 and the creation of a legend* (Leiden 1986) 58.

⁵⁹ Hind (1952) 23.

⁶⁰ StAfr., Rpr 1588, f47r. Also: Zülch (1935) 365.

⁶¹ StAfr., Bürgerbuch 1586–1607, f80v; February 1591. Also: Zülch (1935) 366.

several documents now lost recorded that De Bry was taxed from the moment he arrived in Frankfurt in 1588.⁶² In 1589 he acted as a co-executor of the will of Quintin Massys the Younger.⁶³ Two years later De Bry purchased a house in the Schüppengasse, in a district where many Calvinists lived.⁶⁴

The position of the Reformed in the Imperial Free City of Frankfurt was an awkward one. The Lutheran magistrates had welcomed affluent Calvinists from the Netherlands in the second half of the sixteenth century, as the merchants boosted the city's economic position. In doing so, however, the skilful Netherlanders took over the manufacturing and local-trading commercial sectors without conforming to the existing guild structure. Frankfurt artisans, later supported by anxious patricians, vehemently complained to the magistrates about the lenient immigration procedures. The tension between the local population and the immigrant entrepreneurs resulted in an exodus of the Reformed around 1560, but in the early 1570s a new wave of immigrants proved determined to exploit Frankfurt's central place in the European trade network, despite their social and religious isolation. The Netherlandish population increased from 1,500 in the mid-1570s to 2,800 around 1590, and then to some 4,000 in 1600, making up one-fifth of Frankfurt's inhabitants.⁶⁵ Foreigners were still accepted as new citizens on commercial grounds by the late 1580s, but a warm welcome was out of the question. Carolus Clusius, who arrived in Frankfurt from Vienna in 1588, remarked that "...the authorities are not very keen on strangers [...]. All of them are businessmen, and as they are looking for profit only, they feel no affinity at all for the Muses".⁶⁶

De Bry left tolerant London for antagonistic Frankfurt as one of these 'businessmen' that Clusius described. In line with earlier Netherlandish

⁶² Zülch (1935) 365. The taxation records ('Schatzungsbücher') were lost as a result of the Allied bombardments of Frankfurt in March 1944.

⁶³ StAfr., Insatzbuch 1591–94, f72v. Also: Zülch (1935) 366.

⁶⁴ StAfr., Insatzbuch 1586–91, f345v–346r; 1591–94, f3r–v. Also: A. Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte* (3 vols.; Frankfurt 1921) II 64–65.

⁶⁵ H. Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh 1972) 35–36, 52, 132.

⁶⁶ J. de Landtsheer, "Justus Lipsius and Carolus Clusius: a flourishing friendship", *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* LXVIII (1998) 287. On the acceptance of only affluent Calvinists: H. Bott, *Gründung und Anfänge der Neustadt Hanau 1596–1620* (2 vols.; Marburg 1970–71) I 35.

immigrants, he did not enter the guild system,⁶⁷ but instead opted for establishing a publishing house. Many of the contacts of the De Brys in the early years of their Frankfurt residence can be traced to relationships from the Antwerp period. Quintin Massys the Younger was a close friend, and together with the jeweller David van Brussel, the De Brys continued to oversee the execution of Massys' will in the 1590s.⁶⁸ The artists Joris and Jacob Hoefnagel also co-operated with Theodore and his sons between 1592 and 1596.⁶⁹ De Bry dedicated one of his early publications in 1593 to the influential wool trading Soreau brothers, referring to their long-standing friendship.⁷⁰ The Soreaus in turn were related to the rich silk merchant Balthasar van der Hoijken, another acquaintance of the De Brys.⁷¹ Most importantly, De Bry arranged a lucrative double marriage for his sons in 1594, to the daughters of the fur trader Marsilius van der Heijden.⁷² All these Calvinists had their roots in Antwerp, most of them moving directly to Frankfurt after 1585, and their presence must have made the integration of the De Brys around 1590 a relatively smooth one.⁷³ The immediate social

⁶⁷ De Bry is not mentioned in the records of the Frankfurt goldsmiths' guild: F. Rupp, "Das Meisterbuch der Frankfurter Goldschmiede-Zunft", *Alt-Frankfurt I* (1909) 117–18; P. Colman, "Rétrospective Théodore, Jean-Théodore et Jean-Israel de Bry" In: *Première biennale internationale de gravure de Liège* (Liège 1969) 76.

⁶⁸ Van Groesen (2004) 37–38; Zülch (1935) 402.

⁶⁹ Th. Vignau-Wilberg, ed., *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii 1592. Nature, poetry and science in art around 1600* (Munich 1994) 12–13, 46–47. Also: Idem, "Niederländische Emigranten in Frankfurt und ihre Bedeutung für die realistische Pflanzendarstellung am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts" In: K. Wettengl, ed., *Georg Flegel 1566–1638. Stilleben* (Stuttgart 1993) 160–63. (Another?) Jacob Hoefnagel entered the Antwerp goldsmiths' guild in the same year as De Bry: StAA, GA 4487, f168v. The Hoefnagels may well have been the designers of some of the illustrations of the De Bry alphabet books and for App. 1, nr. 30.

⁷⁰ Dedicatory letter in App. 1, nr. 10 [A4v]: "Jedoch hat mich auch insonders hiezu bewoget, die selige Gedächtnuß angeregtes E. libten Vatters, als der mein viel günstiger Herr und guter Freund, jeder zeit von alter Kundschaft gewesen. Dieses erfreuwet mich nun desto mehr, Nemlich daß ich solche Freundschaft mit seinen geliebten Söhnen zu vernewern verursacht werde". On the social status of the Soreaus: Dietz (1921) II 28, 41.

⁷¹ Dietz (1921) II 35. The De Bry brothers referred to Van der Hoijken in a letter to Clusius, UBL ms. Vulc. 101.

⁷² StAfr., Rpr 1594, f47v. Also: H. Meinert, ed., *Die Eingliederung der Niederländischen Glaubensflüchtlinge in die Frankfurter Bürgerschaft 1554–1596* (Frankfurt 1981) 529; Zülch (1935) 366. On the Van der Heijdens: Dietz (1921) II 345.

⁷³ For a survey of the Antwerp immigrants and their occupations in Frankfurt: F. Berger, ed., *Glaube macht Kunst. Antwerpen—Frankfurt um 1600/Faith power(s) art. Antwerp—Frankfurt around 1600* (Frankfurt 2005).

network of the family remained largely confined to the members of the Reformed community.

As had been the case earlier in Strasbourg, Calvinists in Frankfurt were to suffer ever increasing intolerance. After July 1596, the congregation was forced to practise its religion several kilometres outside the city walls.⁷⁴ Many of the faithful thereupon decided to leave for nearby Hanau, where the young Count Phillip Ludwig II of Hanau-Lichtenberg eagerly welcomed their contribution to the economy. The De Brys, after initially promising to change their domicile to Hanau as well, eventually decided to remain in Frankfurt, as did many others.⁷⁵ The fierce debate on moving to Hanau divided the Reformed congregation, and the relation between the De Brys and the Soreaus, who did go to Hanau, may well have deteriorated. In March 1601, the remaining Calvinists were again granted private worship by the Frankfurt magistrates.⁷⁶ Several requests for a further alleviation of measures followed, some testifying to the increasingly prominent position of Johan Theodore de Bry in the congregation in the early 1600s.⁷⁷ Until 1608, the fragile liberties of the Reformed community were preserved.

The baptismal records in the Frankfurt archives show that the relations of Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry with other immigrant families continued after their father's death on 27 March 1598. Maria van der Heijden, probably their sister-in-law, and the wives of Servatius Marell, Cornelius Martins, Jacob van Gerven, Gerhard Peters, and Balthasar van Sittert, wealthy merchants without exception, agreed to be godparents to the children of the De Bry brothers.⁷⁸ Johan Israel

⁷⁴ Bott (1970–71) I 40.

⁷⁵ HStAM, 86/16843, Bl. 118 (6/9/1596), a letter from Theodore de Bry requesting permission to move to Hanau. The De Brys seem to have quickly changed their mind, for in January 1597 they were not listed among the 146 Calvinists who promised to move to Hanau (Bott (1970–71) I 399–400). After pressure from Hanau on the increasingly reluctant Calvinists, Johan Theodore and Johan Israel in 1600 denied having promised to move (Bott (1970–71) I 237).

⁷⁶ Bott (1970–71) I 255.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, II 34. In this document of 18/1/1603, De Bry and three others represent the entire congregation.

⁷⁸ StAFr., Geburtsbuch 1597–1605, f50v (Maria Magdalena de Bry, 1598), f159v (Susanna I de Bry, 1601), f180r (Johan Jakob de Bry, 1602), f206r (Margaretha de Bry, 1603), f265v (Anna Gertraud de Bry, 1605), f266r (Susanna II de Bry, 1605). Maria Magdalena, Susanna I, Margaretha and Anna Gertraud were daughters of Johan Theodore de Bry, Johan Jakob and Susanna II were Johan Israel's children. For a relatively accurate De Bry family tree: Sondheim (1936–37) 364 ff. On Marell, Martins, and Peters: Dietz (1921) II 24/259, 98, and 40/44 respectively. The jeweller Marell was married to Margaretha van der Heijden, in all likelihood a sister-in-law of Johan

in turn provided the same gesture of intimate friendship to the son of the Southern Netherlandish businessman Peter de Bary in 1609.⁷⁹ Even after spending so many successful years as Frankfurt publishers, the congregationally defined social network was still notably different from the commercial network of the De Brys, suggesting that their business connections and imperatives were not necessarily related to religious and other private considerations.

After 1590 the De Brys devoted their attention to publishing books; they returned to their original profession of goldsmiths only on special occasions. In 1604, Johan Theodore de Bry presented Archduke Maximilian of Tirol with an engraved bowl, hoping to impress him with a view to selling an extensive set of silverware.⁸⁰ Although this attempt was unsuccessful, Johan Theodore engraved at least three more bowls around 1605.⁸¹ Two other pieces of silverware are attributed to him,⁸² and he did continue to make designs for key chains, cutlery, and dishes for the benefit of other goldsmiths at least until 1608.⁸³

In spite of these sporadic assignments, the self-image of the De Brys quickly changed after the family's move to Frankfurt. Theodore de Bry continued to refer to himself as 'goldsmith' well into the 1590s. But after 1593, he also had 'copper engraver' listed as his profession, even evolving into a proper 'artist' just before his death in 1598.⁸⁴ Others also began to regard copper engraving as De Bry's main occupation. Whereas the Englishmen James Garet jr. and Richard Garth still called

Theodore and Johan Israel (App. 1, nr. 41). On Van Sittert: Zülch (1935) 451–52. On their respective roles within the Reformed community: Bott (1970–71) *passim*.

⁷⁹ StAfr., Geburtsbuch 1606–16, f97v. On De Bary: Dietz (1921) II 32; Bott (1970–71) II 239–40. On the vital social role of godparents and connections through baptisms in early modern society: J. Bossy, "Blood and baptism: kinship, community and Christianity in Western Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries" In: D. Baker, ed., *Sanctity and secularity: the church and the world* (Oxford 1973) 129–43.

⁸⁰ *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses XVII* (1896) nrs. 14562/14564.

⁸¹ Hayward (1950) 35–38.

⁸² Rosenberg (1922–28) I nr. 2032d, c.

⁸³ Hayward (1953) 126; De Jong and De Groot (1988) 42–45.

⁸⁴ De Bry used the word 'Kunststecher' in the preface to *Ind. Occ.* VI (Ger). On Theodore's self-image and self-portrait: H. Keazor, "'Charting the autobiographical, selfregarding subject?' Theodor de Brys Selbstbildnis" In: S. Burghartz, M. Christadler, and D. Nolde, eds., *Berichten, erzählen, beherrschen. Wahrnehmung und Repräsentation in der frühen Kolonialgeschichte Europas* [*Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit VII*, 2/3] (2003) 395–428.

De Bry a goldsmith in 1589,⁸⁵ by 1590 the Antwerp bookseller Jan Moretus referred to him as an engraver,⁸⁶ as did the Frankfurt censors in 1592.⁸⁷ Theodore's sons went one step further, calling themselves 'booksellers and copper engravers' when applying for citizenship in Frankfurt in 1594.⁸⁸ Despite having enjoyed a goldsmiths' education in Antwerp, Johan Theodore de Bry never referred to himself as such any more: he and his brother had definitively become book merchants.

2.4. PUBLISHERS AMONG HUMANISTS

Within two years of arriving in Frankfurt, the De Brys published their first books. At first they co-operated closely with the renowned booksellers Sigmund Feyerabend and Johan Wechel, whose deaths in 1590 and 1593, respectively, left the De Brys with a completely independent enterprise.⁸⁹ Theodore, weakened by gout and old age, was assisted by his two sons from the first day,⁹⁰ and it is difficult to overestimate the contributions of Johan Israel and especially Johan Theodore even in these early years. Theodore's composure seems to have been further dented by an increasingly disturbed relationship with his sons. He testified to this in a letter to the Leiden humanist and publisher Franciscus I Raphelengius: "I do not receive any assistance from my two sons", Theodore complained in September 1595. "Their ingratitude

⁸⁵ UBL, ms. Vulc. 101; Gareit/Garth to Clusius, 1589–1590.

⁸⁶ Arch. MPM 43 I, f156v.

⁸⁷ StAfr., ZBBP 16, f59v.

⁸⁸ StAfr., Bürgerbuch 1586–1607, f133v; Zülch (1935) 440.

⁸⁹ On Feyerabend and Wechel: H. Pallmann, *Sigmund Feyerabend* (Frankfurt 1881); R. J. W. Evans, *The Wechel presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572–1627* (Oxford 1975).

⁹⁰ Preface to *Ind. Occ.* I (Ger) (Page not numbered or signed, titled "Den günstigen Leser Glück und Heyl"): "Zu Londen hab ich sie alle beyde [the illustrations by White and Le Moyne, MvG] bekommen, und hieher gen Franckfurt gebracht, alda ich mit meynen zweyen Söhnen, auffß aller fleissigste die Figuren in Kupffler gestochen hab". On De Bry's awkward illness: StAfr., Insatzbuch 1586–91, f61v; Zülch (1935) 366; Keazor (2003) 416, n.48. Theodore de Bry was referred to as "aetatis iam provectae" by Richard Garth (UBL, ms. Vulc. 101, Garth to Clusius, 20/12/1589), as "bonum senem" by Clusius in 1594 (*Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* VII (J. de Landtsheer, ed.; Brussels 1997) 242) and as "vir optimus senex" and "extremae senectae vir" by his sons in the preface to *Ind. Or.* I (Lat) and App. 1, nr. 45 [(2r)] just before his death. Theodore must have been aware he had only a short time to live when, in 1597, he added the inscription "Domine doce me ita reliquos vitae meae dies transigere ut in vera pietate vivam et morier" to his self-portrait (see ill. 1).

outweighs their appreciation". More importantly, De Bry wrote to Raphelengius that his sons were opening their own branch of the family firm.⁹¹ That same year, the first books with the imprint of the two brothers appeared.⁹²

The firm remained divided until Katharina Rölinger's death in 1610, as the different imprints assert. In her will, she left nothing to Theodore's children.⁹³ Yet the division between father and sons did not take on dramatic proportions, as Johan Theodore certainly contributed to the remaining publications of his father after 1595. He also sold books from both branches of the officina at the Frankfurt fairs, without making any distinction between the two. Visitors to the fairs, like Jan Moretus, followed suit,⁹⁴ and in the catalogue of the De Bry officina from 1609, no distinction was made either, with publications of Theodore's heirs being listed alongside works published by the brothers alone.

The poster catalogue with the portrait of the old De Bry is the most important source for the publications of the firm.⁹⁵ It was first published in 1609, and was used as a placard inside or outside the bookshop.⁹⁶ The titles were conveniently arranged by size, to enable less affluent readers to search for books within their spending limits. After 1609, over forty new publications were added to the catalogue, and placed in order of appearance in two columns flanking Theodore's portrait, the last of these titles having been published in 1620. Apparently the poster

⁹¹ H. Lempertz, ed., *Bilder-Hefte zur Geschichte des Bücherhandels und der mit demselben verwandten Künste und Gewerbe* (Cologne 1853–65) nr. 15; De Bry to Raphelengius (19/9/1595): "Il font asteure leure cas a part". The present whereabouts of the letter are unknown. For a transcription: Giuseppi (1915–17) 220–21. On Raphelengius: E. van Gulik, "Drukkers en geleerden—De Leidse Officina Plantiniana (1583–1619)" In: Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *Leiden University in the seventeenth century: an exchange of learning* (Leiden 1975) 367–93.

⁹² App. 1, nr. 18 is in all likelihood already the product of the brothers' efforts alone. The statement on the title-page that it was published "durch die Bryen" is ambiguous yet clearly different from earlier publications which only referred to Theodore de Bry. Unlike any of the officina's publications between 1590 and 1595, this work contained engravings signed by Johan Theodore.

⁹³ Zülch (1935) 440.

⁹⁴ Arch. MPM 984, f59v; 986, f63r.

⁹⁵ G. Richter, *Verlegerplakate des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 1965) nr. 20.

⁹⁶ R. Engelsing, "Deutsche Verlegerplakate des 17. Jahrhunderts", *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* IX (1969) 217–38; G. Richter, "Die Sammlung von Drucker-, Verleger- und Buchführerkataloge in den Akten der kaiserlichen Bücherkommission" In: E. Geck and G. Pressler, eds., *Festschrift für Josef Benzing zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden 1964) 323; Idem, "Buchhändlerische Kataloge vom 15. bis um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts" In: R. Wittmann, ed., *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 1984) 37, 51.

catalogue was in permanent use until then. Other sources providing information on the family firm's books include the semi-annual Frankfurt fair catalogues, the lists of acquisitions by the Officina Plantiniana from Antwerp between 1590 and 1623, and the prefaces and dedicatory letters in the almost 250 De Bry publications from this period.⁹⁷

The reasons for the rift between father and sons in the mid-1590s may have been twofold: firstly the credit for some of the work was divided unequally, and secondly, disagreements arose about the nature of the firm's publications. The collection of voyages opened with an engraving of Adam and Eve, signed 'Theodore de Bry fe[cit]', after a design by the Netherlandish artist Jodocus van Winghe. After De Bry's death in 1598, Johan Theodore added 'Jo[han]' to his father's name, indicating that it was he who deserved the credit for it. Although the brothers assisted their father from the beginning in 1590, their names never appeared on any of the title-pages. Resentment over these matters was aggravated by a book the brothers desired to publish in 1595. The turmoil around the publication of *Opera misericordiae ad corpus pertinentia*, written by the Jesuit Julius Roscius,⁹⁸ may well have been unacceptable for Theodore de Bry. A mere month after the Frankfurt censors rejected the brothers' request for publication on religious grounds for the second time—it was considered 'papist' literature⁹⁹—De Bry voiced his discontent to Raphelengius. Considering his predicament as a Reformed immigrant, Theodore de Bry had always taken care not to aggrieve the Frankfurt magistrates, as analysis of early volumes of the collection of voyages will reveal. The collision with the local censors, apparently the first for the De Bry officina, must have irritated him.

Yet Theodore's physical strength diminished in the 1590s, and he had to entrust the daily affairs of the firm more and more to his sons. When in charge of the officina, the two brothers divided responsibilities. Johan Theodore, the skilful artist, concentrated on engraving while Johan Israel was in control of financial and legal matters. Only two signed illustrations by the younger brother are known, and a negligible

⁹⁷ See App. 1.

⁹⁸ App. 1, nr. 23, eventually published in Montbéliard.

⁹⁹ StAfr., ZBBP 24, f8r (15/8/1595). For the first request: StAfr., ZBBP 20, nr. 35 (10/7/1595): "Of dise Censuram is Johann Israheln de Brij. als pabtsch alhie zutrucken abgeschlagen worden".

number of engravings are attributed to him.¹⁰⁰ In 1594, however, it was Johan Israel who collected the inheritance of Dorothea Esslinger in Strasbourg,¹⁰¹ and represented his father for the payment of a house.¹⁰² He also requested and received permission for the publication of books in Frankfurt, and Johan Israel was also the person taxed on behalf of the firm.¹⁰³ When in 1601 the De Brys accused their colleague Jonas Rosa of reprinting a work to which they had the exclusive publication rights, Johan Israel appeared before the city magistrates to explain the matter.¹⁰⁴ For outsiders, the brothers must have appeared an inseparable partnership: all imprints carried two names, and letters were invariably signed by both.¹⁰⁵

Few of these letters remain. Communication between the publishing firm and its authors and co-operators must, nonetheless, have been of cardinal importance to its success. The De Brys, artists rather than humanists themselves, relied on the creativity and ingenuity of others. In this as in many other respects, the officina mirrored the firm of the most prominent Frankfurt bookseller of the late sixteenth century, Sigmund Feyerabend. The De Brys published several emblem books which could be used as ‘alba amicorum’ in the 1590s, as Feyerabend had done in the late 1580s.¹⁰⁶ They meticulously copied his design for a poster catalogue, and re-used woodcuts by Feyerabend’s long-serving artist Jost Amman for an emblem book in 1594. After the publisher’s death in 1590, De Bry continued working with his cousin, the printer Johan Feyerabend. By dedicating the octavo-edition of *Emblemata nobilitati* to

¹⁰⁰ Warncke (1979) II nr. 843/845.

¹⁰¹ Zülch (1935) 440. Dorothea may have been the brothers’ aunt.

¹⁰² StAfr., Insatzbuch 1591–94, f61v.

¹⁰³ StAfr., ZBBP 20, nr. 35. Dietz (1921) II 38; Zülch (1935) 442, based on the now lost taxation records. Neither Dietz nor Zülch quotes similar details for Johan Theodore.

¹⁰⁴ StAfr., RPr 1601, f43v; Bmb 1601, f138v; ZBBP 37, nr. 21. It concerned Andreas Laurentius’ *Historia anatomica* (1599/1600), App. 1, nrs. 53, *60 & *61. Rosa’s octavo-edition, for which he had obtained permission from the Frankfurt magistrates, appeared in 1602 and was printed by Palthenius.

¹⁰⁵ Only the two different hands and the two different seals show that the responsibility for writing letters was shared. For the seals HDVB and HIVB (Hans Dietrich von Bry and Hans Israel von Bry): StAD, A2 Urkunden Rheinhessen, 197/368 (3/6/1609), and HStAM, 81/A33 nr. 7, 22–23 (22/5/1596) respectively.

¹⁰⁶ C. Kemp, “Nachwort” In: W. Harms and M. Schilling, eds., *Johann Theodor de Bry Emblemata secularia* (Hildesheim 1994) 206; on these alba amicorum: M. Lavoye, “A propos des album amicorum des de Bry”, *Bulletin de la Société des bibliophiles liégeois* XVI (1942) 65–76. De Bry’s ‘alba amicorum’ are: App. 1, nrs. 8 & 10.

Sigmund's son Karl in 1592, Theodore openly expressed his gratitude for the assistance provided.¹⁰⁷

To enlarge their circle of erudite and creative minds, the De Brys turned to two intellectuals in the mainstream of international humanism, the botanist Carolus Clusius and the antiquarian Jean-Jacques Boissard.¹⁰⁸ Boissard's contribution to the prosperity of the De Bry firm in the final decade of the sixteenth century was immense. Not only did he present almost all his illustrated manuscripts to the De Brys to be engraved and published, he also directed several other scholars to the Frankfurt firm. Works by Denis Lebey de Batilly, Julius Roscius, and Benito Arias Montano, and popular titles on the history of Pannonia were printed in Frankfurt as a result of Boissard's mediation.¹⁰⁹ Including his own writings, Boissard thus co-operated on more than a quarter of all titles of the De Bry firm between 1590 and 1600. Boissard's friend Petrus Lepidus further supplied the volumes of the collection of voyages with poems in praise of De Bry, as did Boissard himself.¹¹⁰ De Bry in return dedicated one of his alphabet-books to his friend,¹¹¹ and employed Boissard's nephew Robert as a copper engraver between 1597

¹⁰⁷ Pallmann (1881) passim. For the dedication: App. 1, nr. 8. For Feyerabend's poster catalogue: Richter (1965) 28. De Bry used Amman's woodcuts for App. 1, nr. 15. De Bry further imitated Feyerabend by including coats of arms in his dedications: K. Schottenloher, "Widmungsvorreden deutscher Drucker und Verleger des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1942–43) 176. I have not been able to establish similar connections between De Bry and other Frankfurt publishers in the 1590s.

¹⁰⁸ On Clusius: F. W. T. Hunger, *Charles de l'Escluse. Nederlandsch kruidkundige 1526–1609* (2 vols.; The Hague 1927–43). There is as yet no biography of Boissard. For references: *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* (1996–) II 320–21; M. van Groesen, "Boissard, Clusius, De Bry and the making of 'Antiquitates Romanae', 1597–1602", *LLAS. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas* 29–2 (2002) 195–213; C. Callner, "Un manuscrit de Jean-Jacques Boissard a la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm", *Opuscula Romana* IV (1962) 47–49.

¹⁰⁹ App 1., nrs. 23, 26, 27, 29 & 40. Boissard was credited in the preliminaries and on the title-pages. On Lebey de Batilly: P. Choné, *Emblèmes et pensée symbolique en Lorraine (1525–1633)* (Paris 1991) 681 ff.

¹¹⁰ Prefaces to *Ind. Occ.* III and IV (Ger/Lat, 1592–95). Petrus Lepidus = Pierre Joly.

¹¹¹ Preface to App. 1, nr. 18 [A2r]: "Beid diese Kunst unnd Schöne Lehren/Schenck ich mein Herrn Boyssart zu ehren/Denn er ist selbs gar hoch gelehrt/Unnd diese Kunst selbst ubt unnd ehrt./Wenn ihm nun wird diß Werck gefallen/So gilt sein Stimm für andern allen/Wer selbst ein Kunst ubt und verstehet/Deß Urtheil für all andre gehet." The same dedicatory poem is also printed in a Latin version.

and 1609.¹¹² Although the relationship between Boissard and Theodore de Bry was fruitful for both parties, its moments of discomfort provide a rare insight into the relationship between humanists and booksellers.

Writing to Clusius in the 1590s, and to Janus Gruterus, antiquarian and custodian of the famous Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg in 1602, Boissard relentlessly complained about the unfair treatment he received from Theodore de Bry and his sons. The De Brys, against the scholar's wishes, had come into the possession of his manuscript on ancient Roman inscriptions, only to transform it into a series of publications of which the author strongly disapproved. The separation of the manuscript into small parts, the exaggerated use of engravings, secretive attempts to make Justus Lipsius contribute to the work, and the publisher's supposed lack of knowledge on the subject matter of *Antiquitates Romanae* were the main reasons for Boissard's distress.¹¹³ Such aggressive publishing tactics, with little compassion for the integrity of the humanist's work, were not uncommon. Sigmund Feyerabend's style of purchasing material considered suitable for publication was very similar, and probably served as the example followed by the De Brys.¹¹⁴ Their approach had not changed by 1615, when the complaints of another author, Johan Jacob Wallhausen, echoed those of Boissard.¹¹⁵

These lamentations put the position of publishers in early modern Europe in perspective. On the one hand, they were essential to the humanist cause for providing access to a wide readership and a glorious reputation in the Republic of Letters. Additionally, they were useful sources of information and often performed a central role in regulating flows of learned correspondences, widening their own circles of contacts

¹¹² UBL ms. Vulc. 101; Boissard to Clusius (3/4/1600): Van Groesen (2002) 213; *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* (1996–) II 321 dates his last known work 1601 yet some illustrations for Schönwetter's *Biblia sacra* (1609) still carry his monogram RB.

¹¹³ UBL ms. Vulc. 101; Boissard to Clusius, 1593–1600: Van Groesen (2002) 195–213. Also: BAV, Cod. Pal. Lat. 1905, f 228rv; Boissard to Gruterus (8/7/1602): “Gratissimum mihi accedit, quod Bryani fratres tibi communicarint sextum mearum Antiquitatem volumen: quodque in eo aliquid inveneris, quod ad rem tuam faciant. Nullas ab iis literas extorquere possum: paulo sunt erga me morosiores, quam per esset. Mercatores omnes lucri sunt appetentiores: praeter quod nihil magnopere aestimant”.

¹¹⁴ Pallmann (1881) esp. 55–62.

¹¹⁵ Preface to App. 1, nr. 156 [(4r)]: “Wisse guthertziger, günstiger, lieber Leser, das dieses Erste Buch, so die Kriegskunst zu Fuß in sich hält, etwas in der eyl, beydes mit dem trucken, wie auch mit kupferstücken zu verfewtigen, ist ins Werck gesetzt worden, also daß die Materia nit [...] wie ich gerne wolte haben, gerichtet”.

in the process.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, authors seem to have regarded some publishers as nothing but a necessary evil, as Boissard's example affirms. Since the De Brys were not well versed in Latin, a necessity for playing a more active role in early modern humanist circles, they were on the fringe of intellectual activities, unlike educated publishers such as the Wechels, the Raphelengiuses, and the Moretuses. Carolus Clusius, another close friend of the family, was sometimes fairly disdainful about the incentives and capabilities of the De Brys. Writing to Lipsius, he stated that, "in true German fashion", the De Brys "were very eager to obtain [Lipsius'] dedications, indeed even begged to have them precede their books". The reasons for the efforts of the publishers were, still according to Clusius, purely commercial, for "learned men had persuaded [Theodore] that [Lipsius'] contribution would greatly promote the sale of the work".¹¹⁷

Clusius also counted among his friends Plantin, Moretus, and Andreas Wechel's son-in-law Jean Aubry, and should be considered an authoritative source on the De Brys' expertise as publishers. He was personally involved in the early development of the officina, translating books while living in Frankfurt, and establishing relations between De Bry and humanists such as Joachim Camerarius the Younger.¹¹⁸ After accepting an offer to become prefect of the botanical garden in Leiden in 1593, Clusius stayed in touch. He was one of several people—including Raphelengius, the devout humanist Paul Perrot de la Salle, and the Liège alderman Louis de la Thorette¹¹⁹—who on behalf of De Bry sounded

¹¹⁶ UBL, ms. PAP2 and ms. Vulc. 101; Letters from Joachim Camerarius to Bernardus Paludanus, and from Boissard to Clusius (Van Groesen (2002) 206) respectively. These were sent via De Bry, as the envelops reveal. Clusius continued to use the network of the De Brys (UBL ms. Vulc. 101; De Brys to Clusius (26/12/1604): "Quant aux encloses que V.S. nous at envoije, elles ont esté adrese celon votre ordre...").

¹¹⁷ *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* VII (1997) 241; Clusius to Lipsius (10/8/1594): "Nosti Germanorum ingenia: libenter impetrant epistolas liminares, imo etiam emendicant ut suis libris praefigantur". And: *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* VII (1997) 92; De Landtsheer (1998) 293 (2/3/1594): "viros enim doctos ipsi persuasisse longe facilius inscriptionum librum venundatum iri".

¹¹⁸ Clusius translated and corrected the first three volumes of the collection of voyages. On connections between Camerarius, Clusius, and De Bry: Hunger (1927–43) II 176–77, 432–33.

¹¹⁹ *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* VII (1997) 93–94; Lipsius to Perrot (5/3/1594). Lempertz (1863–65) nr. 15; De Bry to Raphelengius (19/9/1595). In this letter, De Bry wrote: "Monsieur: iaye receupt voustre letre et par icelle entendu le refu et negation de Monsr Lupsiens. Il faut avoier patience, toutefois iaye une lettre de sa propre main quillat escrit a mon neveu leschevin de Liège ou il promet de faire ce qu'il lui sera possible". De la Thorette was alderman of Liège between 1578 and 1608, and was married to

out Lipsius on contributing to Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae*, even though this embarrassed the botanist to the extent that he apologised to his friend for having to make the request.¹²⁰ Lipsius, to the satisfaction of both Clusius and Boissard no doubt, did not comply.

The opinions of Boissard and Clusius that the De Brys were not knowledgeable enough to be entrusted with manuscripts such as the discourse on ancient Roman inscriptions, was shared more broadly in the Republic of Letters. This determined the rather peripheral position of the De Brys. The authors who sent their treatises to the De Brys for publication, apart from the physician Kaspar Bauhin and Boissard himself, were not in the upper echelons of early seventeenth-century humanism. Instead they were medical experts who had established their reputations in small-town Hanau such as Johan Schenck von Grafenberg, Franz Kessler, a pedestrian inventor from nearby Wetzlar, and Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, a physician from Bern, were no international celebrities either, yet their relatively undistinguished tracts were the staple publications of the De Bry firm around 1610.¹²¹ Classical texts, like the works of more acclaimed scholars, were conspicuously absent from the De Bry catalogue.¹²²

The connections with humanists such as Clusius and Boissard were hence regarded as important by Johan Theodore and Johan Israel, and they were continued after Theodore de Bry's death. The same can be said for Theodore's amicable relationship with Janus Gruterus. The old De Bry's name was included in the 'album amicorum' of Gruterus, who later wrote a poem in praise of Johan Theodore, signifying his lasting friendship and admiration.¹²³ Boissard also remained loyal to

the daughter of Alide de Bry, possibly Theodore's sister: C. de Borman, *Les échevins de la souveraine justice de Liège* II (Liège 1899) 226.

¹²⁰ *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* VII (1997) 88–92, 194–96, 240–42; Clusius to Lipsius (2/3 and 10/8/1594). Also: De Landtsheer (1998) 293.

¹²¹ Schenck: App. 1, nrs. 100, 104, 109, 110, 111 & 114; Kessler: App. 1, nrs. 125, 137, 162, 197 & 210; Fabry von Hilden: App. 1, nrs. 153, 154, 161, 168, 169, 180, 184 & 211. Little secondary literature is available on these authors, except for two books on Fabry van Hilden: V. Schneider-Hiltbrunner, *Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden 1560–1634. Verzeichnis der Werke und des Briefwechsels* (Bern 1976); H. Stangmeier, *Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden. Leben—Gestalt—Werken* (Wuppertal 1957).

¹²² The single exception being App. 1, nr. 213.

¹²³ C. L. Heesakkers, "Das Stammbuch des Janus Gruterus", *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 21 (1987) 86. Theodore's entry may well be dated 1594, as it can be found on the same page as two others from this year. The inscription is problematic, however, as it concerns an autograph which Gruterus probably cut from a letter, and subsequently pasted into his booklet (*Ibidem*, 75–76). For the poem, cf. *infra* Ch. 3, p. 95.

the family, relieved as he was to see his *Antiquitates Romanae* being completed.¹²⁴ And despite Clusius' embarrassment for troubling Lipsius in 1594, the relationship between him and the De Brys did not deteriorate. The single surviving letter from the De Brys to the botanist dates from December 1604 and points to a regular correspondence. Whereas Clusius was not always quick in replying to letters from his intellectual friends, he responded to the brothers' letter within two weeks, having sent the previous one a mere two months before. In the letter, the brothers promised to send Clusius several books after having received flower bulbs for their private garden in Frankfurt.¹²⁵

While the De Brys continued their relationship with Boissard, Clusius, and Gruterus, the erstwhile vital association with the Feyerabend family came to an end with the sudden death of Johan Feyerabend in 1599. Johan Theodore and Johan Israel, who had not depended on the Feyerabend family as heavily as had their father in the early 1590s, gradually replaced the firm's personnel. New employees were found in the immediate vicinity of the bookshop. Instead of moving to Hanau between 1596 and 1600, both sons acquired houses in a newly-built quarter of Frankfurt at the Zeil,¹²⁶ as did many others working in the local book trade. The publisher Johan Theobald Schönwetter, whose *Biblia Sacra* of 1609 Johan Theodore de Bry illustrated, the Catholic printer Wolfgang Richter, who was to print roughly half of the titles of the De Bry officina between 1601 and 1608, and the De Bry-employed engraver Hans Eckenthaler all lived in the same street just north of Frankfurt's town centre.¹²⁷ Theodore de Bry's proof-reader and translator Johan Adam Lonicer was replaced by the Lutheran schoolteacher Gotthard Artus von Dantzig, and apart from Richter, the brothers mostly relied on Matthias Becker for printing the officina's

¹²⁴ UBL, ms. Vulc. 101; Boissard to Clusius (3/4/1599): "Je pansoy qu'après la mort de feu monsieur de Bry mes inscriptions Romaines demeureroient supprimées: Mais messieurs les filz m'ont mandé qu'ilz pousuyvroient a la taille, et que à la foire de septembre prochain ilz mettroient en lumiere le troixieme livre". Van Groesen (2002) 199.

¹²⁵ UBL, ms. Vulc. 101; De Brys to Clusius (26/12/1604).

¹²⁶ StAfr., Insatzbuch 1600–03, f91r–92r (Johan Theodore, May 1601), f173v–174r (Johan Israel, November 1601).

¹²⁷ W. Bingsohn, "Matthaeus Merian, sein soziales Umfeld und die Geschichte der Stadt Frankfurt a. M. 1590–1650" In: *Matthaeus Merian des Aelteren. Catalog zu Ausstellungen im Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt am Main und im Kunstmuseum Basel* (Frankfurt 1993) 21.

titles. The co-operation with Artus and Richter and the production of engravings for the Catholic *Biblia Sacra* emphasise once more that connections within the book trade did not follow confessional lines, and that contacts with humanists, colleagues, and employees in the public sphere took place outside the immediate private and social network of the De Bry brothers.

CHAPTER THREE

A PROSPEROUS PUBLISHING HOUSE: THE DE BRYs AS BOOKSELLERS IN FRANKFURT AND OPPENHEIM

3.1. THE COMMERCIAL FORTUNES OF THE FIRM

The international book trade experienced a period of rapid expansion after 1560, and this growth continued uninterrupted until the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Frankfurt was very much the hub of German and European trade in this period of sixty years, and travellers and booksellers like Henri Estienne were stunned by the magnificence of commodities and the activity at the annual Lent and September fairs.¹ With expansion came professionalisation: after 1564, special fair catalogues listed large numbers of newly-printed publications, and from 1598 onwards the compilation and distribution of these catalogues were officially in the hands of the Frankfurt magistrates.²

For publishers, expansion also meant specialisation. Firstly, the functions of publishing and printing diverged. Whereas many publishers had printed their own titles before 1560, the De Brys did not print any of their works themselves. They simply did not have the necessary equipment, and therefore relied on the services of various local printers. Johan Theodore did possess a copperplate press which enabled the family to

¹ H. Estienne, *The Frankfort book fair* ([J. W. Thompson, ed. and transl.] Amsterdam 1969). The other major book fairs of early modern Europe were held in Leipzig, where the De Brys also sold their books: G. Gabel, ed., *Der älteste Leipziger Messekatalog aus dem Jahre 1595* (Cologne 1995).

² For facsimiles: B. Fabian, ed., *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (5 vols.; Hildesheim 1972–2001); Also: W. Borm, ed., *Catalogi Nundinales 1571–1852* (Wolfenbüttel 1982); G. Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literae bisecularis. Messjahrebücher des Deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Messkatalogs im Jahre 1564 bis zu der Gründung des ersten Buchhändler-Vereins im Jahre 1765* (photomechanic reprint Nieuwkoop 1963; 1st ed. Halle 1850). Although multiple fair catalogues were issued until 1598 when the Frankfurt city council began to co-ordinate and publish the lists of new books, the various catalogues printed before 1598 included more or less the same publications. For the period between 1590 and 1598, I have followed the catalogues included in Fabian's facsimile editions.

print their own engravings.³ When this device became an asset to the officina is unclear, but Hans Eckenthaler was employed as a copper-plate printer by the firm as early as 1608. Publishing books developed into a recognised occupation. It was no longer a mere side-activity for scholars, as it had been in the sixteenth century: humanist publishers like Estienne and Raphelengius increasingly became exceptions. The sale of books remained closely tied to publishing firms, which invariably had a bookshop in order to distribute their works.

Secondly, publishing houses focused more and more on specific genres. The De Brys, because of their training as engravers and their subsequent familiarity with using copper engravings instead of woodcuts, were particularly renowned for their illustrated publications, and they were the first to bring the appropriate technical know-how to the German book market.⁴ It was not until 1600 that the De Brys first published a work devoid of illustrations,⁵ and such exclusively textual titles made up less than five percent of the entire De Bry catalogue. Other publishers, like Andreas Wechel and his sons-in-law Claude de Marne and Jean Aubry focused on high-brow classical and theological works, or concentrated, like Gotthard Vögelin from Heidelberg, on smaller publications like pamphlets and school books.⁶

Keeping in mind these differences, it is interesting to compare the De Brys to other early modern German booksellers in terms of the number of new titles published. A quantitative comparison can provide no more than an indication of the productive capacity of the different firms: some published mainly pamphlets, others specialised in hefty folios. Given the lack of primary sources, however, this simple method could at least provide a glimpse of the comparative size of the officina. The De Brys brought 192 identifiable titles on the market in the period 1590–1623, an average of just over five-and-a-half new works per annum.⁷ Their neighbour Schönwetter, another leading

³ According to Johan Theodore himself, in his request for Frankfurt citizenship in 1618 and 1619: StAFr., Ratssupplikationen 1619 II, f187v–188r; Zülch (1935) 440.

⁴ H. Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland. Das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt 1993) 477; Van Groesen (2004) 35–36.

⁵ App. 1, nr. 59.

⁶ Evans (1975) 6, 16–21; H.-D. Dyroff, “Gotthard Vögelin—Verleger, Drucker, Buchhändler 1597–1631”, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* IV (1962) 1217.

⁷ No distinction has been made between books published by the sons only and publications of the sons and their stepmother. As was mentioned above, neither the brothers nor other publishers made a distinction between the two branches of the firm. Katharina Rölinger and her new husband Paul Raab did not publish any titles

Frankfurt publisher, produced 117 works between 1598 and 1623, an annual average of four and a half.⁸ Vögelin's Heidelberg firm amassed a total of 511 new titles between 1597 and 1623, a staggering yearly output of nineteen. If the nature of Vögelin's publications is taken into account, and instead only titles which appeared in the Frankfurt fair catalogues are considered, the average total should be adjusted to approximately eleven per annum,⁹ still impressive. The much revered Wechel family could not match Vögelin for quantity. In fifty-five years (1573–1627), Andreas Wechel and his heirs presented their readership with 392 previously unpublished works, just over seven annually. For the years between 1590 and 1623, the number was almost seven and a half.¹⁰ Based on these figures the De Bry firm should be regarded as middle-sized, yet prominent because of the high-quality illustrations in their often large works.

The nature of the titles in the De Bry catalogue varied, but the firm rarely produced theological works of a potentially controversial nature. They added illustrations to two Bibles of other publishing houses, but caution always prevailed, and the De Brys were not prepared to invest in such titles themselves.¹¹ The most eye-catching feature of the De Bry catalogue is the quick succession of dominant genres, suggesting that, more than any other contemporary officina, the family should be considered receptive to the tastes of the age.¹² Emblem books, alphabet books, and 'alba amicorum' were almost exclusively published in the 1590s, saturating this part of the market for at least a decade,

independently. The figure includes first editions only, in accordance with similar quantifications for other publishing houses.

⁸ H. Starp, "Das Frankfurter Verlagshaus Schönwetter 1598–1726", *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* I (1958) 97–101.

⁹ Dyroff (1962) 1217. Schwetschke (1963) counted a total of 279 titles for the period 1597–1623. His quantitative material is often regarded as inaccurate, yet suffices as an indication.

¹⁰ Evans (1975) 54–74. The real average may have been slightly lower, as Evans made no distinction between Andreas Wechel and Johan Wechel, whose relation to the Wechel firm is unclear. To put these figures in an international perspective: Jan Moretus, in the final decade of the sixteenth century, published 254 titles at an average of more than twenty-five per annum: Voet (1969–72) II 171–73.

¹¹ The Lutheran Bible of Egenolff's heirs in 1602, and Schönwetter's Catholic *Biblia Sacra* (1609).

¹² Analysing the Wechel, Vögelin, Schönwetter, and Commelin catalogues, no comparable fluctuating pattern of dominant genres emerges: Evans (1975) 54–74; Dyroff (1962) 1371–1416; Starp (1958) 97–101; W. Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus 1550–1597. Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Drucker-Verlegers* (Leipzig 1938) 58–89.

with fashionable love emblems being added to reprints in the 1610s.¹³ Literature on the Ottoman Empire only appeared immediately after the resumption of Christian-Islamic hostilities in the mid-1590s. A multitude of illustrated military works was made available in the build-up to the Thirty Years' War, and books by occultist authors such as Robert Fludd and Michael Maier were also brought to the presses when the demand for such literature was at a peak, in the mid-1610s, during what has been labelled the 'Rosicrucian Enlightenment'.¹⁴ The remainder of the catalogue was made up of perennial favourites, such as works with portraits of illustrious men of past and present times,¹⁵ and anatomical treatises, with a particular fondness for the monstrous and the marvellous.¹⁶

Yet the demands of the early modern readership were not only met, they were also actively shaped by the De Brys. An unusually high number of serial productions was meant to ensure the loyalty of customers. Interested readers, after purchasing the first volume of large-scale projects, were bound to buy the succeeding volumes as well. Apart from the collection of voyages, examples include Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (6 vols.; 1597–1602) or his *Icones virorum illustrium* (4 vols.; 1597–99), *Florilegium novum* (several additions between 1612 and 1616), Fludd's Hermetic work on the macrocosm and microcosm (4 vols.; 1617–21), and the unfinished *Dictionarium Harmonicum* (4 vols.; 1625–30).¹⁷ Successful single-volume works, like Bauhin's *Theatrum anatomicum*, also inspired uninformative but commercially astute follow-ups.¹⁸

In order to balance the high manufacturing costs of these bulky, profusely engraved showpieces, and to obtain short-term revenues, the De Brys produced many smaller books increasing the firm's turnover, as

¹³ App. 1, nrs. 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30 & 41; Kemp (1994) 203; E. J. Stopp, *Monsters and hieroglyphs. Broadsheets and emblem books in sixteenth century Germany* (Cambridge 1972) 31.

¹⁴ F. A. Yates, *The rosicrucian enlightenment* (reprint, London 2002; 1st ed. 1975); On the Turks: App. 1, nrs. 21, 22, 37 & 38; on military subjects: App. 1, nrs. 145, 146, 147, 149, 156, 157, 160, 163, 164, 165, 166, 177 & 178; books related to the Rosicrucian movement: App. 1, nrs. 175, 176, 179, 181, 194, 195, 196, *199, 205 & 209.

¹⁵ App. 1, nrs. 21, 22, 39, 46, 47 & 55.

¹⁶ App. 1, nrs. 53, 85, 87, 94, 100, 109, 110, 111, 114, 136, 153, 154, 161, 168, 170, 180 & 184.

¹⁷ For *Dictionarium Harmonicum*: App. 1, nr. X8.

¹⁸ App. 1, nrs. 87 & 94.

well as a significant number of prints.¹⁹ The overwhelming majority of these prints were engraved after designs by other artists, such as Maarten de Vos, Jodocus van Winghe, and Phillip Galle. Additionally, the De Brys made at least one large wall map,²⁰ and sometimes they embellished other publishers' works with engravings. The Lutheran Bible of Christian Egenolff's heirs, published in 1602, its Catholic equivalent by Schönwetter of 1609, and Vögelin's *Beschreibung der Reiss* (1613), a celebration of the homecoming of the Elector Palatine Frederick V and his English bride Elizabeth Stuart, were all lavishly furnished with prints by Johan Theodore de Bry and members of his workshop.²¹ Since the De Brys were acknowledged to be among the best engravers of Europe, making illustrations for others may well have been lucrative.²² In 1604 an artist from their workshop charged Schönwetter the substantial sum of fifteen guilders for engraving a single title-page.²³

Prints and smaller books of the De Bry officina served as a counterweight to expensive publications. This was particularly apparent in the early 1590s, when the first *America*-volumes were accompanied by relatively cheaply produced alphabet books and emblematic works, aimed at a wider audience. Such publications required little typesetting and proof-reading, and the illustrations could often be re-used for other titles. Of the 101 plates in *Emblemata saecularia* (1596), twenty-one had already been used for *Emblemata nobilitati* (1592 and 1593), and several engravings had further been taken from Boissard's *Emblematum liber*, published by the De Brys in 1593. The illustrations for many other books of the 1590s, including *Alphabeta et characteres* and Montano's

¹⁹ P. Gaskell, *A new introduction to bibliography* (3rd ed.; Oxford 1995) 160–63. Els Verhaak of the National Print Cabinet in Amsterdam made an estimate of 1,500 prints, including book illustrations. The same estimate was made in: R. Koch, et al., eds., *Brücke zwischen den Völkern—Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Messe* (3 vols.; Frankfurt 1991) III 216. For a rudimentary overview of the prints of the De Brys: F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vol. IV (Amsterdam 1951) 27–52.

²⁰ A Rhine-map after Caspar Vopell: G. Schilder, *Monumenta cartographica Neerlandica VII: Cornelis Claesz. (c. 1551–1609): stimulator and driving force of Dutch cartography* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2003) 442–43; Karrow (1993) nr. 79/8,5.

²¹ On the two Bibles: G. Richter, "Christian Egenolff's Erben 1555–1667", *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* VII (1966) 1048, nr. 662; Starp (1958) 65. On *Beschreibung der Reiss*: Yates (2002) 11–15.

²² B. van Selm, *Een menigte treffelijke boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht 1987) 217–19. The Amsterdam publisher Cornelis Claesz' list of "De Beste Meesters van Europa" (1609) included (Johan) Theodore de Bry. On the lucrative character of engraving: Voet (1969–72) II 223; Evans (1975) 5.

²³ Starp (1958) 50. The engraver concerned, Georg Keller, was employed by the De Brys from 1602 until 1613.

David, were almost entirely copied after earlier works so as to reduce both effort and costs.²⁴ Many of the firm's books, moreover, appeared in different languages, to further spread the relatively high investments of engraving. Titles mainly consisting of illustrations were listed in the fair catalogues as different books in different languages, for maximal exposure.²⁵

However high the costs of production may have been, the revenues in this era of unprecedented expansion were always likely to be higher. In the ten-year period between 1595 and 1605, Johan Israel de Bry's private capital steadily increased, from 500 guilders in 1595 to 1,000 guilders around 1600,²⁶ and then to 1,300 guilders in 1605.²⁷ A more detailed indication of the thriving commercial fortunes of the De Bry officina is available in the archives of the Plantin-Moretus museum in Antwerp. Twice a year, Plantin's son-in-law and successor Jan Moretus travelled to the Frankfurt fairs, conscientiously keeping account of the titles, prices, and numbers of copies of the books he purchased and sold. These so-called *Cahiers de Francfort* represent a unique source of information on the early modern book trade. Although caution has to be applied when interpreting the material, both because of the scholarly and non-German background of the Officina Plantiniana's clientele and because of the comparatively large financial scope of Moretus and his sons, the data the *Cahiers* yield are invaluable.²⁸

²⁴ App. 1, nr. 24 closely resembles Peter Flötner's anthropomorphic alphabet book of 1534. Of the forty-two engravings for App. 1, nr. 40, fourteen were earlier engraved by Egidius Sadeler after Maarten de Vos: E. Verhaak, *De familie De Bry: graveurs en uitgevers 1528–1623. De prenten en gebonden uitgaven van Theodoor, Johan Theodoor en Johan Israel de Bry* (unpublished MA-thesis, VU Amsterdam 1996) 47.

²⁵ The first Leipzig fair catalogue lists App. 1, nr. 18 twice: "Livre d'Alphabet, a escrire des exemples, pour l'usage des escoliers. Theodore de Bry excudebat 40" (Gabel (1995) 54), and "Alphabetbüchlein, sehr nützlich für die Schüler, ihre lectiones drein zuschreiben, bey Ditrich von Bry" (Gabel (1995) 79). The Frankfurt fair catalogues reveal similar 'double' exposure.

²⁶ Zülch (1935) 442.

²⁷ Dietz (1921) II 38.

²⁸ Without elaborating, Yates ((2002) 273) stated that the relationship between the De Brys and the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp was special. However there is nothing in the *Cahiers de Francfort* to substantiate this claim. No correspondence between the families survives, nor do the archives reveal any relationship between Theodore de Bry and Christopher Plantin in the period both men lived in Antwerp (1577–84): De Bry is in fact never mentioned in Plantin's documents of this period of seven or eight years. Their connections between 1590 and 1623 seem to have been strictly business-related. In referring to the Frankfurt fairs, I follow: R. Lauwaert, "De handelsbedrijvigheid van de Officina Plantiniana op de Buechermesse te Frankfurt am Main in de zestiende eeuw", *De Gulden Passer* L/LI (1972–73) 124–80/70–105 in making the distinction

Before analysing the fortunes of the De Bry firm, a few preliminary remarks concerning the business relationship between the Frankfurt and Antwerp publishers are in order. Indisputably the most striking aspect of the trade between the Moretuses and the De Brys was its almost exclusively one-way character. Jan I Moretus (†1610) and his sons Balthasar and Jan II (†1618) invariably purchased many titles from the De Brys, yet the Frankfurt family bought works from the Officina Plantiniana on only four occasions in more than thirty years of commercial relations.²⁹ In one of these four cases, in September 1601, the De Brys only acquired returned copies of their own volumes of voyages, which Moretus had apparently been unable to sell. The fact that the Antwerp booksellers had the largest supply of available titles in Europe in this period makes the De Brys' reluctance to buy their books even more astounding. Interestingly enough, however, a similar pattern emerges from the sales figures of the Schönwetter firm at the Lent fairs of 1604 and 1605. The Schönwetters sold their works to a considerable number of German and international publishing houses, but not to the De Brys.³⁰

The one-way traffic between the Moretuses and the De Brys implied that the regular exchange of books as a means of payment between booksellers could not take place. The Moretuses therefore had to pay in cash. This was not entirely uncommon, as the Officina Plantiniana also had a small branch in Frankfurt, where cash may have been readily available. Most other booksellers who were paid in cash by Moretus and his sons were also based in Frankfurt,³¹ which meant that neither the Moretuses nor the receiving merchant had to carry extensive amounts of money to or from the fairs. Initially Jan Moretus paid the De Brys for their books on credit, settling his outstanding debts at the next fair, but from September 1605 onwards he immediately paid for the books he purchased. This was profitable to both parties: the De

between Q(uadragesima) and S(eptember) fairs. Hence Q99 refers to the Lent fair of 1599, S01 to the fair of September 1601.

²⁹ Arch. MPM 977, f52v (Q94); 987, f54r (Q99); 992, f56v (S01); and 1002, f14v (S06). The purchases are moreover very small. On the Moretuses and their firm: Voet (1969–72) I 191–215.

³⁰ Starp (1958) 84–96. The presence of the De Brys at these fairs is certified: Arch. MPM 997, 999.

³¹ In the *Carnets de Francfort* (Arch. MPM 881–949), complementary to the *Cahiers*, a distinction was made between payments 'en livres' and 'en argent'. The latter section often included the heirs of Andreas Wechel and Sigmund Feyeraabend as well.

Brys instantly obtained the required sums, and Moretus could count on larger rebates.³²

The amount of these wholesale reductions varied. In the early 1590s, Theodore de Bry gave the Antwerp bookseller limited discounts of no more than ten percent, possibly to quickly recover his initial investments. At the spring fair of 1597, the De Brys increased the rebate to around eighteen percent, probably influenced by their growing output of new titles, but perhaps also a sign that Johan Theodore and Johan Israel had developed their own ideas about conducting trade. After 1600 the reductions were gradually brought down again, to the initial ten-percent level in 1603. After September 1605, Moretus' immediate payments entitled him to fixed rebates of twenty percent. When he briefly returned to the habit of paying Johan Theodore de Bry after six months, in September 1612 and September 1613, the discounts dropped to the level of fifteen percent. From September 1614 onwards, Moretus' sons received a permanent discount of twenty-five percent. Johan Theodore personally supervised the first payment of the reduced sum, verified by his handwritten confirmation.³³ The rebate percentages accurately reflect the standard terms of payment shortly after 1600. The bookseller Vincenz Steinmeyer also offered average discounts between fifteen and eighteen percent to Moretus and his sons, depending on whether the payment was made in cash or on credit.³⁴ The *Officina Plantiniana's* own rebates on sales were related to the size of the orders, small orders rendering lower discounts than more important ones, but this does not seem to have been the method the De Brys employed. The Moretuses established a fairly uniform rebate rate for the seventeenth century of twenty to twenty-five percent.³⁵

³² Arch. MPM 1001, f14r, f69r. In September 1605, the De Brys were not the only ones who started to receive Moretus' immediate payments. Their Frankfurt colleague Vincenz Steinmeyer was also paid on the spot from this fair onwards: Richter (1966) 757–58. The importance of instantly receiving the required sums is highlighted by the procedure after the death of the bookseller Christoph Kirchner in 1598. The De Brys had to lay a claim for the money they were entitled to, in this case the modest amount of 17 guilders: Richter (1966) 635.

³³ These data are based on a comparison between the prices of the purchased books and the eventual amounts paid to the De Brys (Arch. MPM 969–1037 (Q90–S24)). Only once the amount of the rebate was explicitly referred to: Arch. MPM 883 (Q94): “Theodore de Bry francfort rabat 10”. For Johan Theodore's handwritten confirmation: Arch. MPM 1017, f42r: “Bestemme betaelt te sein van dese somma deur mij Johan Theodor de Brij”.

³⁴ Richter (1966) 758.

³⁵ Voet (1969–72) II 442.

Many of the De Bry officina's commercial ups and downs are highlighted in Moretus' *Cahiers de Francfort*. The beginning years of any publishing firm in early modern Europe were likely to be difficult,³⁶ and the De Brys were no exception. Theodore and his sons started preparing their first publications in late 1588 or early 1589, finishing them in time for the spring fair of 1590, yet the ever-present Jan Moretus did not visit the De Bry bookshop until the spring fair of 1591, when he bought a mere five copies of *India Occidentalis*-volumes. He did not make a second purchase until eighteen months later.³⁷ The commercial transaction of September 1592 can be considered the start of regular traffic between the De Brys and Moretus, indicating that it may have taken De Bry more than three years to establish his name and see some of his initial investments returned.

The growing estrangement between Theodore de Bry and his sons around 1595 may have had an effect on the sale of books, albeit marginal and temporary. Moretus did not purchase any titles from the De Brys at the two fairs in 1595 or at the autumn fair of 1596.³⁸ The years 1594 and 1595, however, had not been particularly productive for the De Brys, with three and five new titles appearing respectively, and this may also explain Moretus' temporary lack of interest. After Johan Theodore and Johan Israel started publishing books with their own imprint, the output of the family more than doubled to eleven new publications in both 1596 and 1597, and hence the separation between father and sons was to prove fruitful in the longer term. Moretus resumed purchasing the officina's titles on a regular basis: in September 1597 he bought books from the De Brys without referring to the different imprints, added up the prices as usual, and paid the combined amount in the spring of 1598.³⁹ A comparative analysis of the final decade of the sixteenth century based on Moretus' account books affirms the middle-size capacity of the De Bry officina.⁴⁰

After Theodore de Bry's death, the two sons managed the officina in exemplary fashion until 1609. Without repeating the feat of publishing

³⁶ For instance: Van Selm (1987) 175; S. V. Lenkey, "Migrations of sixteenth-century printers", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1976) 223.

³⁷ Arch. MPM 972, f67r; 973, f28r.

³⁸ Arch. MPM 979, 980, and 981.

³⁹ Arch. MPM 984, f59v; 986, f63r.

⁴⁰ Lauwaert (1972–73) passim.

more than ten titles annually, a steady output of new works continued to come off the presses of the printers Becker and Richter. In addition, many older works remained available: the poster catalogue still contained 93 from a total of just over one-hundred works published between 1590 and 1609 (ill. 3).⁴¹ Moretus' *Cahiers* further testify to a gradual increase in sales. But concerns in the private sphere were to hamper the commercial prosperity of the De Bry firm. In July 1608, the Bockenheimer church allocated to the Frankfurt Calvinists went up in flames, and the city magistrates decided not to have it rebuilt. The religious freedom of the Reformed was scaled down as a result, and members of the congregation began to leave the city soon after.⁴² Johan Theodore, unlike his father thirteen years before, decided to join the group of emigrants. He again briefly considered a move to Hanau, but in June 1609, Johan Theodore was among thirteen affluent merchants, including his close friends Van Sittert and Van Gerven, who officially pledged their future to the small Palatinate town of Oppenheim.⁴³

The economic risks of moving to Oppenheim seemed slight. The immigrants agreed on attractive commercial terms with the Reformed Elector Frederick IV, such as tax exemptions and the building of a crane for trading purposes along the river Rhine.⁴⁴ The particular prospects for publishers like the De Brys were equally good: the Wechel officina had preceded them in conducting their business from two places. Setting up a parallel branch of the publishing firm in Hanau had proved profitable to them for many years. As Wechel's son-in-law Claude de

⁴¹ Richter (1965) nr. 20.

⁴² Bott (1970–71) II 218 ff.

⁴³ StAD, A2 Urkunden Rheinhessen 197/368 (3/6/1609); Johan Theodore considered moving to Hanau at least until mid-February; Bott (1970–71) II 239–40. On Oppenheim: L. Petry, "Oppenheim am Vorabend des Dreißigjährigen Krieges—Schnittpunkt bedeutsamer Lebensläufe" In: J. Albrecht and H. Licht, eds., *1200 Jahre Oppenheim am Rhein* (Oppenheim 1965) 117–22; P. Zschunke, *Konfession und Alltag in Oppenheim. Beiträge zur Geschichte von Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft einer gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 1984) esp. 23–76. On the international role of the Palatinate: C.-P. Clasen, *The Palatinate in European history 1559–1660* (Oxford 1963), Yates (2002), and B. N. Pursell, *The winter king: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot 2003).

⁴⁴ The contract between the Frankfurt merchants and the Elector Palatine further included provisions on the Elector's obligation to pay the salary of two ministers and a school teacher for twelve years, on the exemption of military obligations of the merchants, and on the possible situation of a change of religion, in which case the merchants were allowed to leave the Palatinate free of charge. For a complete transcription: F. Bothe, "Fürstliche Wirtschaftspolitiker und die Reichsstadt Frankfurt vor dem Dreißigjährigen Kriege", *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* IV-2 (1929) 116–20.

Marne was a close friend of the De Brys,⁴⁵ the brothers undoubtedly looked upon the partition of the Wechsel firm as a precedent. In July 1609, Johan Theodore therefore renounced his Frankfurt citizenship to extend the family business to the Palatinate,⁴⁶ leaving matters in hand to Johan Israel.

3.2. UNDER THE ELECTOR'S WINGS: THE DE BRY FIRM IN OPPENHEIM (1609–20)

Five months later, Johan Israel de Bry died at the age of forty-four.⁴⁷ His sudden demise, possibly a result of the pestilence which afflicted the towns around Frankfurt in late 1609,⁴⁸ left his older brother in a very awkward position. Johan Theodore could not return to Frankfurt, while at the same time the officina's Oppenheim branch was, in all likelihood, not yet operational. The effect on the fortunes of the firm was immediate. In 1610 and 1611, Johan Theodore managed to bring out only two new titles, while his sales to the Moretus family also dropped. In September 1610 and September 1611 the Antwerp booksellers did not purchase any works from De Bry,⁴⁹ and it is uncertain whether Johan Theodore went to the autumn fairs at all, as there is no indication of his presence. His stepmother Katharina Rölinger, moreover, died in August 1610. Her share of the firm's books and copper engravings fell to her second husband Paul Raab.⁵⁰ In order to keep producing new editions of certain older works, Johan Theodore was forced to purchase some of his father's material from Raab. The difference in imprints stemming from the firm's separation in 1595 disappeared after 1610, indicating that from that moment onwards, Johan Theodore alone was responsible for its publications. Raab remained loyal to the

⁴⁵ Evans (1975) 4–5, 41. Andreas de Marne's wife was the godmother of Johan Israel's daughter Susanna: StAfr., Geburtsbuch 1597–1605, f266r.

⁴⁶ StAfr., Rpr 1609 f23v; Bmb 1609 f70v; Also: Zülch (1935) 441.

⁴⁷ Zülch (1935) 442. On the Oppenheim years: L. H. Wüthrich, "Matthaeus Merians Oppenheimer Zeit" In: J. Albrecht and H. Licht, eds., *1200 Jahre Oppenheim am Rhein* (Oppenheim 1965) 129–46.

⁴⁸ Bott (1970–71) II 260 ff.

⁴⁹ Arch. MPM 1009, 1011.

⁵⁰ Zülch (1935) 441.

family, for he continued to pay property tax in Frankfurt on behalf of Johan Theodore.⁵¹

Raab may in fact have been responsible for the daily affairs of the firm in Frankfurt directly after 1610, perhaps already supported by Lucas Jennis the Younger, the son of Johan Israel de Bry's second wife.⁵² Yet it was Johan Theodore's efforts which truly formed the foundation for another period of unbridled growth. The years between 1612 and 1619 should unquestionably be regarded as the commercial zenith of the officina.⁵³ The reasons for its success were manifold: the patronage of the Elector Palatine and the central position of the Palatinate for publishing alchemist and occult literature finally supplied the family with humanist manuscripts of a less peripheral nature. The Twelve Years' Truce in the Netherlands, which further opened up the promising North-West European market for the exclusive De Bry publications, the increase of productive capacity by simultaneous publishing activities in both Frankfurt and Oppenheim, and the co-operation with other publishers such as the widow of Levinus Hulsius all contributed to the success of Johan Theodore de Bry in the years leading up to the Thirty Years' War.

The intricate relationship between the De Brys and the Hulsius firm will be discussed in detail in Chapter 11, as it provides vital information on the scope of the collection of voyages. De Bry also collaborated at least twice with the Heidelberg court publisher Gotthard Vögelin, first in 1613 and then again in 1619.⁵⁴ But it was the co-operation with the printer Hieronymus Galler and the copperplate printer Hans Eckenthaler which was essential. Galler had left Frankfurt in the wake

⁵¹ StAfr., Insatzbuch 1605–08, f19v (Sept. 1610).

⁵² Zülch (1935) 442. The marriage between Johan Israel and Louisa Bingel took place in 1607.

⁵³ Again the hypothesis that religion dominated the book trade blurred the vision of Berger (1977–78, II 26), as he claimed exactly the opposite, without citing any sources: "...die Gegensätze zwischen Protestanten und Katholiken [...] und die offiziöse, die katholische Seite bevorrechtende Regierung des Kaiser Matthias [wirkten sich] allem Anschein nach negativ auf die ökonomische Stärke des Hauses de Bry aus. Auch die anderen Publikationen der Firma, die Emblembücher und Porträtsammlungen gehen merklich zurück. Die gewachsene Konkurrenz des inländischen und holländischen Buchhandels tragen zum Rückgang der de Bry'schen Produktion bei".

⁵⁴ For App. 1, nrs. C3 & 209, as appears from letters from the emblemist Julius Zingref to Janus Gruterus, the curator of the Bibliotheca Palatina: F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, "Julius Wilhelm Zingrefs Leben und Schriften", *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte* VIII (1879) 31–35; Wüthrich (1965) 135.

of Johan Theodore in October 1609 to become the only printer of De Bry's Oppenheim publications until 1620.⁵⁵ The services of Eckenthaler were also permanently at Johan Theodore's disposal.⁵⁶ Galler and Eckenthaler thus created the ideal, stable conditions for a continuous flow of illustrated books.

Another talented associate joined Johan Theodore in Oppenheim in 1616. Matthaeus Merian, arguably the most admired copper engraver of his time in Europe, entered the family by marrying Johan Theodore's oldest daughter Maria Magdalena in February 1617.⁵⁷ This ensured the continuity of the firm, as neither Johan Theodore nor Johan Israel had any sons who reached maturity. Many De Bry publications of the late 1610s are a testimony to Merian's artistic talent.⁵⁸ The combined efforts of Merian and De Bry not only fostered the growth of the firm's production rate, but Merian's presence also allowed the ageing Johan Theodore to rely on him in matters of negotiation and organisation. It was Merian, for example, who represented the interests of the officina for the co-operative publication of Julius Zingref's emblem book in 1619, as becomes apparent from a set of letters by the author.⁵⁹

Merian did not only provide engravings to books with the De Bry imprint. He also illustrated several publications by Lucas Jennis, as did Johan Theodore himself.⁶⁰ Jennis played a pivotal role in the resurgence of De Bry's Frankfurt branch in the 1610s, and should be regarded as the true successor to Johan Israel. After probably spending some time

⁵⁵ StAFr., Bmb 1609, f110v. On De Bry, Hulsius, and Galler: Benzing (1969) 590–642.

⁵⁶ Eckenthaler is referred to as an employee of De Bry in Arch. MPM 1021 (Q16) f24r. StAFr., Geburtsbuch 1606–16, f228v (18/11/1613) shows that Eckenthaler was still a citizen of Frankfurt when twins were born, but some time before 1620, he probably moved to Oppenheim: Zülch (1935) 477.

⁵⁷ Wüthrich (1965) 133.

⁵⁸ L. H. Wüthrich, "Matthaeus Merian d. A. Biographie" In: *Matthaeus Merian des Aelteren. Catalog zu Ausstellungen im Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt am Main und im Kunstmuseum Basel* (Frankfurt 1993) 9.

⁵⁹ App. 1, nr. 209. Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1879) 33–34; Zingref to Gruterus, 1618–19: "Petit à me Merianus..." and "Je vous fais sçavoir, que Voegelinus commandera demain à imprimer mes Emblemes, ainsi que Mr Merian m'à adverti à ce soir". Only the first letter of the correspondence singled out Johan Theodore as the contact. Zingref—also godfather to one of Johan Theodore's grandchildren—and Gruterus continued using Merian's services in the 1620s and 1630s: A. Reifferscheid, ed., *Briefe G. M. Lingelsheims, M. Bernegggers und ihrer Freunde* (Heilbronn 1889) nrs. 119, 376.

⁶⁰ L. H. Wüthrich, *Das druckgraphische Werk von Matthaeus Merian D. Ae.* (Basel and Hamburg 1966–96) I 211, II 261; Wüthrich (1993) 9; E. Trenzack, "Lucas Jennis als Verleger alchemistischer Bildertraktate", *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1965) 328, n. 37.

learning the tricks of the book trade under Johan Theodore's guidance in Oppenheim, Jennis returned to Frankfurt where he established his own officina around 1616. Many of Jennis' books may, however, still have been based on manuscripts first intended for publication by De Bry, such as three works by the alchemist Michael Maier, one of which indicated 'Oppenheim' as the place of conception.⁶¹ According to the title-page of Jennis' quarto-catalogue of 1622, his list of publications included several books "sent and commissioned to him by others",⁶² in all probability alluding to De Bry and Merian. No wonder De Bry sold books with Jennis' imprint, and included them on his poster catalogue as being his own.⁶³ Balthasar and Jan II Moretus can be forgiven for considering Jennis' officina nothing more than an extension of the De Bry firm, referring to the young Frankfurt bookseller in September 1616 as "the nephew of [Johan] Theodore de Brie".⁶⁴

Johan Theodore himself continued to maintain close ties with Frankfurt. Not only was he still a regular visitor to the fairs, he also kept publishing new titles in Frankfurt. Around half of the De Bry books between 1612 and 1619 appeared in the Imperial city. Oppenheim replaced Frankfurt as the main place of publication only from 1615 onwards. There was no obvious difference between the titles published with Oppenheim and Frankfurt imprints, and practical considerations presumably dictated the place of printing: all works by the physician Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, for instance, were published in Oppenheim, perhaps simply because the author regularly paid personal visits to De Bry in his new place of residence after 1613.⁶⁵ No other publishing objectives seem to have played a major role.

In only a few cases did the possibility to use an Oppenheim imprint prove valuable. The liberal intellectual atmosphere and publishing opportunities in the Palatinate attracted several authors of occultist and Hermetic treatises, the most important ones being Emperor Rudolf II's erstwhile physician Michael Maier, and the English philosopher Robert Fludd. Both are generally considered key figures in the Rosicrucian

⁶¹ Yates (2002) 118–19.

⁶² *Catalogus omnium librorum [...] Verzeichniß aller Bücher, so Lucas Jennis, Buchhändler zu Franckfurt am Mäyn, seit Anno 1616. mehrertheils selbst verlegt, theils Ihme von Andern auff Commission überschickt und beygesetzt [...] in seiner Officina kaufflichen zu finden seynd* (Frankfurt 1622).

⁶³ App. 1, nr. ?5. Arch. MPM 1027, f19r (S19).

⁶⁴ Arch. MPM 1020, f20r.

⁶⁵ Schneider-Hiltbrunner (1976) 10; Stangmeier (1957) 34, 64.

movement, which in the 1610s centred around Frederick V's Anglo-German court in Heidelberg, and both relied on De Bry for publication of their books.⁶⁶ These works, major commercial successes from De Bry's perspective, were mostly published in Oppenheim, not in Frankfurt where such challenges to intellectual orthodoxy were likely to be either forbidden or heavily censored by Imperial or urban book commissioners.⁶⁷ This policy was soon deemed overcautious with regard to Maier's books, as from 1617 onwards some of his less controversial works were published in Frankfurt by De Bry himself, or instead presented to Jennis for publication. Maier's alchemical *Atalanta fugiens* (1618), however, and all of Fludd's treatises continued to appear in Oppenheim only, and none of these titles were included on the De Bry firm's poster catalogue. Ever prudent, De Bry did not exploit the liberal publishing atmosphere in the Palatinate to the full and, unlike Galler or the Hulsius firm, never used Frederick's protection to produce any anti-papal or anti-Imperial treatises in a time of increasing polarisation.⁶⁸

For being chosen to publish both Fludd's and Maier's manuscripts, De Bry was heavily indebted to the Elector Palatine. Fludd later revealed that he had preferred to publish his works outside England for financial reasons,⁶⁹ and this attractive option cannot have been offered to

⁶⁶ Yates (2002) esp. 97–125; S. Klossowski de Rola, *The golden game. Alchemical engravings of the seventeenth century* (London 1988) 60–62, 68–104, 127–32; on Fludd: J. Godwin, *Robert Fludd: hermetic philosopher and surveyor of two worlds* (London 1979); on Maier: B. T. Moran, *The alchemical world of the German court. Occult philosophy and chemical medicine in the circle of Moritz of Hessen (1572–1632)* (Stuttgart 1991) 102–11. Yates' claim that De Bry should be regarded as 'The Palatinate publisher' is farfetched, as it was Vögelin who was officially connected to the Heidelberg court. Frederick V also acted on behalf of Vögelin in Frankfurt (StAfr., ZBBP 84 (19/7/1619)), but there is no evidence of his official support to De Bry. Yates' characterisation of Johan Theodore as someone with Rosicrucian sympathies (pp. 99–101) is, at best, speculative, as his religious and spiritual preferences were not reflected in the officina's publications.

⁶⁷ As suggested by a request to Imperial commissioners in 1618: *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen* XX (1899) nr. 17389.

⁶⁸ *Fides Iesu et Iesuitarum. Hoc est collatio doctrinae...* (Hulsius 1610); *Räthliche Defension, Auff die Frage ob die Römische Kayserliche Maiestät...* (Galler 1612); *De Papa Romano, et Papissa Romana...* (Galler 1612); *Aeternum evangelium sive Christianae Veritatis...* (Hulsius 1614). See: Benzing (1969) 596–606 and 625–32.

⁶⁹ In 1631, he wrote: "I sent them [e.g. his books on the macrocosm and microcosm] beyond the Seas, because our home-borne Printers demanded of me five hundred pounds to Print the first Volume, and to find the cuts in copper; but beyond the seas it was printed at no cost of mine, and that as I would wish. And I had 16. coppies sent me over with 40. pounds in Gold, as an unexpected gratuitie for it", cited by E. Weil, "William Fitzer, the publisher of Harvey's *De Motu Cordis*, 1628", *The Library* 34 (1944) 144. Weil's article adds little or nothing to Sondheim (1933).

him by De Bry alone, without the backing of an affluent benefactor. Frederick V and his father Frederick IV had earlier acted as patrons to the De Brys. Between 1593 and 1601, five De Bry publications were dedicated to the Elector Palatine.⁷⁰ After Johan Theodore's move to Oppenheim, and Frederick V's return to Heidelberg in 1613—so attractively illustrated by De Bry⁷¹—the publisher could count on the Elector's permanent patronage: several works of authors in the service of Frederick, such as Salomon de Caus and Julius Zinzgref, were in all probability illustrated and published by De Bry through the Elector's intervention.⁷² Associated magistrates such as the high councillor Georg Michael Lingelsheim and the Oppenheim nobleman Johan Christoph von Gemmingen were also part of the bookseller's Palatinate network.⁷³ De Bry's value to the Heidelberg court was emphasised in the mid-1610s by the librarian of the famous Bibliotheca Palatina, Janus Gruterus, who praised the publisher in the preface to Jean-Jacques Boissard's *Tractatus Posthumus*.⁷⁴

Before moving to the Palatinate, the fortunes of the firm had not been tied to a single sponsor, and, in any case, patronage for one title did not guarantee the benefactor's generosity for another. Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel and his family, like the Elector Palatine, nevertheless proved reliable patrons over a period of almost thirty years.⁷⁵ Conversely, many of the firm's works were dedicated with a special

⁷⁰ *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger), *Ind. Or.* I & IV (Lat), App. 1, nrs. 38 & 45.

⁷¹ App. 1, nr. C3.

⁷² On De Caus: Yates (2002) 16–19; On Zinzgref: A. E. Walther, "Ein politischer Publizist im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Das literarische Schaffen Julius Wilhelm Zinzgrefs" In: J. Arndt and H. Arnold, eds., *1648—Krieg und Frieden in Europa; Textband II—Kunst und Kultur* (Münster and Osnabrück 1998) 377–85.

⁷³ Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1879) 31; Dedication of App. 1, nr. *118.

⁷⁴ App. 1, nr. 158 [000(4v): "Sol velut cuius videtur, inquieto flumine;/Ferre quem mortale lumen non queat, regaliter/Nube ubi remotâ aperta circulator aetheris:/Sic Bryanus eleganter omnis aere in hoc patet./Talis ore, talis oculo, talis pectore, ac manu est./Ejus at si candor, ejus experimenda si fides,/Et modestia, & venustas dexteraeque industria;/Orbe per quam tot loquuntur Aera tot, & ambulant,/Seminantque cundo Amores, procreantque Gratias,/Et Novensiles Camoenas, & meros Apollines;/Ferre eum quis quaeso posset? Sol novus Germaniae est".

⁷⁵ HStAM, 4a 39, 130 (14/11/1614), regarding App. 1, nr. 146. Other works include *Ind. Occ.* IV, V, VI, VIII, VIII add. & IX (Ger). Several of the authors of De Bry publications also dedicated their works to the court of Hesse-Kassel. For a more general analysis of the different types of dedications in this period: U. Maché, "Author and patron: on the functions of dedications in seventeenth-century German literature" In: J. A. Parente jr., R. E. Schade, and G. C. Schoolfield, eds., *Literary culture in the Holy Roman Empire 1555–1720* (Chapel Hill and London 1991) 195–205.

short-term objective in mind: two public letters of loyalty to the new Archbishop of Mainz coincided with the appearance of the first special fair catalogue for Catholic and ‘unsuspected’ books issued under the archbishop’s supervision.⁷⁶ The dedicatory letters to the Soreau and Feyerabend families in the early 1590s were mirrored by praise for the Oppenheim elite in the early 1610s,⁷⁷ enabling the De Brys to quickly blend into a new environment. When they considered moving to Hanau in 1596, they twice brought their work under the attention of Phillip Ludwig II of Hanau, the second time successfully.⁷⁸ In 1617, when a relocation from Oppenheim to Heidelberg was under consideration, De Bry and Merian honoured the professors of Heidelberg University. Whereas the professors accepted the dedication, they turned down the family’s requested enrolment in Heidelberg.⁷⁹ Meanwhile De Bry and Merian maintained relationships with Frankfurt by dedicating a publication to one of the city magistrates.⁸⁰ Usually the dedicatory letters rendered rewards in the form of money, or the purchase of a sizeable number of copies.

The dedications which the De Brys wrote, and which some of the German political and ecclesiastical elite accepted and rewarded, of course present an uneven view of the officina’s network. The formal relations with the Protestant rulers of Württemberg, Brandenburg, and

⁷⁶ *Ind.Or.* VI and VII (Lat, 1604 and 1606) were dedicated to the Archbishop of Mainz, Johan Schweikard von Kronberg. On Schweikard: A. Litzemberger, *Kurfürst Johann Schweikard von Kronberg als Erzkanzler: Mainzer Reichspolitik am Vorabend des Dreissigjährigen Krieges (1604–1619)* (Stuttgart 1985). The campaign to publish special fair catalogues for Catholic and ‘religiously neutral’ literature (e.g. approved by the Archbishop and the Imperial book commissioner Valentin Leucht) started around 1603. The oldest surviving catalogue is from 1606: W. Brückner, “Die Gegenreformation im politischen Kampf um die Frankfurter Buchmessen. Die Kaiserliche Zensur zwischen 1567 und 1619”, *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* 48 (1962) 81–83.

⁷⁷ App. 1, nr. 135 was dedicated to a number of Oppenheim magistrates.

⁷⁸ HStAM, 81/A 33, nr. 7 (20–23); App. 1, nr. 37.

⁷⁹ App. 1, nr. 183; “Die 18 Februarij 1618, Johannes Theodorus de Bry sculptor cupit cum genero suo Matthia Merian in numerum civium academicorum recipi. Collectis votis supplicanti petitio sua fuit denegata”, cited in G. Töpke, ed., *Die Matrikel des Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662* II (Heidelberg 1886) 287.

⁸⁰ App. 1, nr. 136; the dedication was repeated in the second edition of 1622, shortly after Johan Theodore’s return to Frankfurt. Usually the opportunity was seized to dedicate a second edition anew.

Saxony were unquestionably of great importance to the publishers,⁸¹ but after 1609, the connections with another major centre of European Calvinism, the Dutch Republic, were probably of greater value for the commercial position of the firm. The correspondence with Leiden humanists like Raphelengius and Clusius already affirmed connections between the De Bry firm and the Dutch, but after the Truce with Spain was concluded in 1609, Dutch booksellers were to become the dominant economic force in the European book trade.

De Bry benefited in various ways. The spending power of publishers in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands increased, and a growing number of Netherlandish booksellers visited the Frankfurt fairs.⁸² The *Cahiers de Francfort* reveal a substantial expansion in terms of books purchased from the De Bry firm. The amount of money Johan Theodore received from the Moretus brothers between 1610 and 1619, even including the difficult years directly after the death of Johan Israel, easily outweighed the combined revenues of the first two decades of the firm's existence.⁸³ Equally lucrative for Johan Theodore was the possibility of sharing the costs for certain publications with Dutch booksellers. Publishers in the Low Countries resembled the De Brys in that their works, too, contained elaborate copper engravings.⁸⁴ There are indications that the Amsterdam publishers Dirck Pietersz Pers and Hendrick Laurensz in particular established close, though not always entirely transparent ties with Reformed publishers from Frankfurt and Oppenheim. Copies of the emblem book *Mikrokosmos parvus mundus*, published by Pers in 1610, were sold by De Bry to Moretus in

⁸¹ App. 1, nrs. 22, 26 & *Ind.Or.* IV (Ger) dedicated to the Duke of Württemberg; App. 1, nrs. 96 & 166 to Joachim Ernst of Brandenburg; *Ind.Occ.* I (Ger), *Ind.Occ.* II & IX (Lat) to the Electors of Saxony.

⁸² A. H. Laeven, "The Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs and the history of the Dutch book trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" In: C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, et al, eds., *Le magasin de l'univers: the Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* (Leiden 1992) 190–91.

⁸³ Arch. MPM 969–1027: between 1590 and 1609, Jan Moretus purchased De Bry publications for around 875 Brabant guilders, whereas his sons Balthasar and Jan II spent 925 guilders in the second decade of the seventeenth century alone.

⁸⁴ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, "De Gouden Eeuw van de Nederlandse boekillustratie, 1600–1635" In: Idem, *Uit de wereld van het boek II. Drukkers, liefhebbers en piraten in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1976) 49–76; D. Imhof, ed., *De boekillustratie ten tijde van de Moretussen* (Antwerp 1996). See also: Van der Stock (1998).

September 1612.⁸⁵ In 1618, a second edition of the same book appeared with the combined imprints of Pers and Jennis. De Bry co-operated with Laurensz for the release of Jakob de Zetter's *Kosmographia iconica* of 1614.⁸⁶ Apart from De Bry and Jennis, the Hulsius publishing house also co-operated with Hendrick Laurensz.⁸⁷

Just as the arrival of peace had stimulated the commercial possibilities for booksellers from the Netherlands in 1609, the threat of hostilities in the German States was to influence the position of De Bry and Merian. Soon after Frederick V left the Palatinate for his fateful trip to Bohemia in 1618, dragging the Empire into full-scale war, De Bry indicated an intention to leave Oppenheim. No less than three official requests, and the payment of a huge fee to the Frankfurt magistrates, were required to regain citizenship of the Imperial city in July 1619.⁸⁸ After publishing the final three titles of the firm with the Oppenheim imprint in 1620, Eckenthaler and Galler followed De Bry back to Frankfurt.⁸⁹ In September 1620, Oppenheim was captured and sacked by Spinola's army.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Arch. MPM 1013, f11r. De Zetter was credited as the author of the second edition of *Mikrokosmos parvus mundus* (1618).

⁸⁶ The fair catalogue for Q14 announces App. 1, nr. 151 as "...mit kurtzen lateinischen, Teutschen und frantzösischen Reimen erkläret durch Jacobum de Zettra, Amsterdam bey Henrico Laurentio und franckfurt bey Johan Theodoro de Bry in 4o". He was employed as engraver by the De Brys for App. 1, nrs. C2 & 134. For his Calvinist background and his move to Neu-Hanau: Bott (1970–71) esp. I 299 ff.

⁸⁷ Schwetschke (1963) 55 [incorrectly numbered 67]; D. L. Paisey, ed., *Catalogue of books printed in the German-speaking countries and of German books printed in other countries from 1601 to 1700, now in the British Library* (London 1994) nr. R47. On Hendrick Laurensz: Van Selm (1987) 336 ff. Almost nothing is available on Pers, all the more remarkable since he was also a minor poet in the Dutch Republic's Golden Age. For very brief biographies: D. P. Pers, *Suyt-stad ofte Dronckaerts leven* (J. E. Verlaan and E. K. Grootes, eds., Culemborg 1978) 14–18; M. M. Kleerkooper and W. P. van Stockum jr., eds., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam, voornamelijk in de 17^e eeuw: biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen* (2 vols.; The Hague 1914–16) I 558–59.

⁸⁸ StAfr., Rpr 1618, f49v (11/2/1619), f63r (25/4/1619); Rpr 1619, f4r (18/5/1619). Zülch (1935) 441. De Bry was one of a very small number of people who successfully re-applied for Frankfurt citizenship between 1614 and 1624, probably yet another indication of the officina's financial prowess: O. Scharff, "Die Niederländische und die Französische Gemeinde Frankfurt am Main", *Archiv für Frankfurter Geschichte und Kunst* N. F. 2 (1862) 294.

⁸⁹ Zülch (1935) 477; StAfr., Rpr 1620, f43r.

⁹⁰ Zschunke (1984) 76.

3.3. THE FINAL YEARS (1621–1626)

The city to which Johan Theodore returned on the eve of the Thirty Years' War did not resemble the prospering city his father had chosen as his domicile in the late 1580s. The Fettmilch uprising had finally brought simmering tensions out into the open, and social and religious unrest continued until 1616. Soon after, preparations were made for a sustained period of fighting, and the success of the Frankfurt book trade dwindled as a result.⁹¹ Local printers and bookbinders depending on a steady flow of publications suffered most. They desperately tried to block the return of Daniel and David Aubry, heirs to the Wechsel firm, from Hanau to Frankfurt in February 1618, which suggests that they did not applaud Johan Theodore's return to the city either. Four years later, the situation had worsened as even the presses of some of the most prominent printers lay idle.⁹² In addition, the price of paper rapidly increased.

Johan Theodore, old and weakened by his own accounts,⁹³ could not match the entrepreneurial achievements of the Oppenheim period in these circumstances. The absence of Matthaeus Merian, who had returned to his native Basel in 1620, did not make matters easier. Between 1621 and 1623 only eight new titles appeared under De Bry's supervision, three of which were written by Fludd and hence almost certainly the fruits of the years spent in the Palatinate. The depth of the back catalogue, however, still enabled De Bry to sell plenty of books at the fairs, and these old favourites tempted the Moretuses to keep spending more or less on the level of the years before 1619.⁹⁴ In the final years of his life Johan Theodore was assisted by his second son-in-law Johan Ammon, whose name first appeared on the title-page

⁹¹ R. Wittmann, *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels* (Munich 1991) 76; according to Schwetschke (1963, 71–76) the number of newly published titles at the fairs fell from 1668 in 1619, to 972 in 1622.

⁹² StAfr., ZBBP 79, f2r (Frankfurt printers against the Aubrys (29/10/22: "...bevorall weil an deroelbe Stell interim zwo, ia woll drij ander Druckern alhie uffkommen, uff diese Stundt Achte albereijts in scha[d] gehen, und darzu noch zwo, fast die grössten, als Sauwrs und Hoffmanns still ligen"). Of the two or three newly arrived printers, Galler may well have been one. Those protesting against the return of the Aubrys included the De Bry-employed printers Paul Jacobi and Erasmus Kempffer. On the fate of the bookbinders: K. Bücher, "Frankfurter Buchbinder-Ordnungen vom XVI. bis zum XIX. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* III–1 (1888) 246.

⁹³ StAfr., Rpr 1618, f49v. Zülch (1935) 441–42.

⁹⁴ Arch. MPM 1028–1037.

of one of the firm's publications in 1623. On 8 August of that year, Johan Theodore died in the health resort Bad Schwallbach.⁹⁵

Johan Theodore's widow and Johan Ammon were expected to take charge of the family firm together, yet the former instantly wrote to Merian, who arrived from Basel in September 1623 to help secure the officina's future.⁹⁶ After a period of travelling to and from Frankfurt, Merian and Johan Theodore's third son-in-law, the English bookseller William Fitzer, took charge of what became known as the 'Officina Bryana' in October 1625. Exactly twelve months later Merian and Fitzer parted ways, each taking around half of their father-in-law's books and equipment, including copperplates. The De Bry firm thus ceased to exist. It is not entirely clear where this partition left other hopeful candidates to De Bry's inheritance like Lucas Jennis and Johan Ammon. Jennis continued his publishing activities in Frankfurt at least until 1630, and probably inherited little or nothing.⁹⁷ Ammon's name does not feature on any of the title-pages after the death of Johan Theodore, and he appears to have been on bad terms with Merian.⁹⁸ In October 1625 Ammon felt the need to declare that, as the husband of Margaretha de Bry, he did not allow any decisions on De Bry's legacy to be made in his absence.⁹⁹ Several years later Ammon, Merian, and Fitzer harmoniously represented their wives as the rightful heirs to their aunt Otilia de Bry, who had died in Strasbourg in 1627. Only after two years, and an intervention by the Frankfurt magistrates, did the De Bry daughters see their claims rewarded.¹⁰⁰ Yet the concord between the heirs was not all that it seemed. As late as 1629, Johan Theodore's widow made a request to the Frankfurt magistrates to monitor the activities of Merian and Fitzer.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ StAfr., Totenbuch 1612–26, p. 417 (buried: 10/8/1623).

⁹⁶ Wüthrich (1993) 10 (Merian to Kaspar Bauhin, whose books had earlier been published by the De Brys: "...ob schon der vatter todt, solle doch der Handel vermittelst gottlicher Gnaden erhalten und fortgeplantz werden").

⁹⁷ Arch. MPM 744, f83r shows that Jennis published quarto-editions of De Bry's Wallhausen-folio's (App. 1, nrs. 156, 157, 160, 164 & 165). How he obtained the rights to publish these smaller and cheaper editions is unclear.

⁹⁸ Wüthrich (1993) 11, n. 27.

⁹⁹ StAfr., ZBBP 121, nr. 2/25 (12/10/1625).

¹⁰⁰ StAfr., Rechtsstreitigkeiten Ugb D27, nr. 50 (4 docs., Aug–Oct 1629).

¹⁰¹ Sondheim (1933) 14.

The firms of the two sons-in-law were incommensurable from the start. Whereas Merian was a skilful engraver and publisher in the mould of the De Brys, Fitzer was merely a frugal bookseller who had probably never even met his late father-in-law.¹⁰² For illustrating his publications he depended on Merian or, more often, on either the mediocre engravings by Paul de Zetter or on Johan Theodore's worn copperplates. Fitzer's books were, moreover, printed on cheap paper. Even William Harvey's *De motu cordis* of 1628, the first treatise on the circulation of blood, was badly produced, and included engravings which Johan Theodore had initially made for Bauhin's anatomical works.¹⁰³ Fitzer did nevertheless publish several new titles, and his octavo-catalogue of 1629 revealed that some twenty percent of the works available in his bookshop were already the result of his own initiatives.¹⁰⁴ Having moved to Heidelberg in 1632, Fitzer was struck by disaster six years later when the Carmelite convent in Frankfurt, where he had stored the De Bry copperplates he so desperately needed, burnt down. He thereupon stopped publishing books and had an inventory of his belongings drawn up. In 1645 Johan Ammon used some of Fitzer's remaining plates to produce a new edition of Boissard's *Icones virorum illustrium*, without referring to the Englishman.¹⁰⁵

In contrast to Fitzer, and in spite of the deteriorating economic situation, Merian managed to establish a successful publishing and engraving firm, epitomised by his monumental topographical works of the 1640s and, posthumously, the 1650s. He lastingly enjoyed the heritage of the De Brys, as is shown by his catalogue of 1643. Assuming that he, like Fitzer, initially received half of the De Bry firm's material and publications, around seventy-five percent of these titles were still

¹⁰² Fitzer did not marry Susanna de Bry until May 1625, and did not leave England before 1624.

¹⁰³ Weil (1944) 145.

¹⁰⁴ Sondheim (1933) 14, counted 26 new books on a total of 126. Also: Weil (1944) 153. Given that the De Bry catalogue comprised some 200 titles, Fitzer's share of 100 De Bry publications accounts for exactly half of the De Bry legacy. The last remaining copy of Fitzer's *Catalogus Bibliothecae Bryanae* of 1629 was in all likelihood destroyed in 1944. It has not since been recovered by Wüthrich (1966–96) III 367, or by G. Loh, *Die europäischen Privatbibliotheken und Buchauktionen: ein Verzeichnis ihrer Kataloge* (Leipzig 1997) 23.

¹⁰⁵ Sondheim (1933) 18, 31–32; Zülch (1935) 519; Weil (1944) 156–59; Fitzer lost some 600 copperplates in 1638, while 118 were saved because they were stored in Johan Ammon's house. These probably included the material for *Icones virorum illustrium*.

available in Merian's bookshop at the time.¹⁰⁶ Based on this catalogue and on Fitzer's inventory of 1639, it is possible to determine which titles ended up in Merian's possession and which titles are likely to have been Fitzer's. Generally Merian preferred the folio-sized scholarly tracts, while Fitzer assembled the smaller books which were in more popular demand. Several works were divided equally between the two booksellers: the brothers-in-law shared the collection of voyages, with Merian getting the *America*-series and Fitzer the *India Orientalis*-series. All of Fludd's writings and the successful *Historia anatomica humani corporis* by Andreas Laurentius (1599) continued to be sold by both men. Merian further obtained Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae*, treatises of humanists like Marquard Freher and Melchior Goldast, the majority of anatomical publications including all the works of his friend Bauhin, and at least half of the military writings. Fitzer acquired the emblem books, the alphabet books, and the portraits of famous men. Comparing the selection of De Bry publications of the brothers-in-law with the most successful titles in Moretus' *Cahiers*, Merian's choices seem to have been the shrewdest in commercial terms.¹⁰⁷

Hence the De Bry officina, which had initially briefly depended on the firms of Feyerabend and Wechel, in turn provided a sound foundation for a new generation of publishers. The De Bry imprint may have become extinct in 1626, but the inheritance of Theodore and his sons, material as well as artistic, continued to be spread by Merian, Fitzer, Ammon, and Jennis, each in a distinctly different way, until the final decades of the seventeenth century. Merian and his heirs published a new edition of De Bry's *Florilegium (renovatum et auctum)* in 1641, reprints of Louise Bourgeois' *Hebammenbuch* until 1652, and compilations of the *India Occidentalis*-series until 1655. Fresh editions of Boissard's *Icones virorum illustrium* also appeared well into the 1650s, with Ammon's

¹⁰⁶ *Catalogus omnium librorum, qui in officina Matthaei Meriani, bibliopolae et sculptoris Moeno-Francofurtani, ejus impendio impressi, & maximam partem in aere ornati veneunt* (Frankfurt 1643), re-published by Wüthrich (1966–96) III ill. 224–35. In this catalogue, at least 74 works first published by Theodore de Bry or his sons are listed.

¹⁰⁷ Wüthrich (1966–96) III ill. 224–35; Sondheim (1933) 15; Weil (1944) 155–58. Also: Arch. MPM 1041–51. The collection of voyages aside, Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (6 vols.; 1597–1602), *Florilegium novum*, and the works by Bauhin were among the best selling De Bry titles in the first decades of the seventeenth century, according to Moretus' *Cahiers* (Arch. MPM 969–1037). All of them were listed in Merian's catalogue of 1643. As much of Fitzer's material was lost in the fire of 1638, and he continued his activities in the book trade until then, Merian cannot have bought a considerable number of De Bry titles from his brother-in-law after 1638.

imprint, and Boissard's German *Topographia Urbis Romae* continued to be printed at least until 1681.

3.4. RE-INTERPRETING THE DE BRYs: BOOKSELLERS AND CALVINISTS

Many biographical details concerning the De Bry family remain unclear. The multitude of letters written and received by Theodore and his sons has been reduced to only a handful, and tantalising allusions to a lively correspondence, by Boissard, Clusius, Zinzgref, and others, remain just that. Whereas large numbers of scholarly letters have been preserved by contemporaries and by later generations of collectors, the more practical correspondence of publishers appears to have become redundant. Holdings in the city archives of Frankfurt were decimated in 1944, and valuable taxation records and what was probably the last remaining copy of Fitzer's 1629 catalogue were among the documents destroyed. New material, such as the guild records in Antwerp, Boissard's letters, and Moretus' *Cahiers de Francfort* can only partly make up for the many gaps.

Yet this newly uncovered biographical material does merit a readjustment of the way in which the De Brys have been viewed. The portrayal of the De Brys as Reformed refugees is rather one-sided, and the subsequent assumption that religiously-inspired anger formed the foundation for the collection of voyages, which could or should therefore be regarded as a propaganda instrument,¹⁰⁸ is untenable. There is no question that the De Brys were Calvinists. In Strasbourg and Frankfurt they actively defended the interests of the Reformed community, and the years the family spent in Antwerp precisely coincided with the so-called 'Calvinist Republic'. Both Theodore and Johan Theodore were driven by religious considerations in their personal lives: the departures from Strasbourg to Antwerp around 1577 and from Frankfurt to Oppenheim in 1609, a crucial year for the De Brys in more ways than one, were forced upon them by intolerance towards the local Reformed congregations. Yet the decision to settle in 'hostile' Frankfurt in 1588 was not. The motivations behind decisions to immigrate in the sixteenth century were often more than strictly religious. For well-to-do merchants and

¹⁰⁸ Most notably Berger (1977–78); Idem (1979–81); Bucher (1981) 9 ff.; Gossiaux (1985); Keazor (1998) 148.

entrepreneurs, the importance of economic motives only increased in the 1580s, and economic motives conditioned the arrival of the De Bry family in Frankfurt.¹⁰⁹

It is in addition crucial to understand that the Reformed persuasion of the De Brys played only a minor role in their activities as engravers, publishers, and booksellers from 1590 onwards. A substantial number of Lutheran and Catholic humanists co-operated closely with the publishers, including the Lutheran proof-reader and translator Gotthard Artus von Dantzig, and a militant Catholic such as Phillip Zigler.¹¹⁰ The De Brys issued treatises of many authors of other denominations, such as the Jesuit Julius Roscius, the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano, and the Augustinian friar Johannes Creccelius.¹¹¹ The family not only translated works by Catholic authors, but also decided to preserve the original dedications, such as Lorenzo Pignoria's address to one of the founding fathers of the Counter-Reformation, Cardinal Caesar Baronius.¹¹² The De Brys themselves dedicated at least two publications to the Archbishop of Mainz, in an effort to reach a Catholic readership through the newly-published Catholic fair catalogues around 1606, while one early publication was even dedicated to the advocate of the Counter-Reformation in the Empire, and founder of the Catholic League, Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn.¹¹³ Schönwetter's *Biblia Sacra*, illustrated by the De Brys, was the first German Bible to follow the guidelines of the Council of Trent.¹¹⁴

The strict separation of private life and public, commercial objectives, further supported by the different networks of Frankfurt Calvinists, on the one hand, and humanists and publishers, on the other, was anything but uncommon in the early modern book trade. For a publisher like Schönwetter, whose religious denomination has yet to be unravelled, commercial imperatives always outweighed religious principles, and the same can be said of Feyerabend. The version of Calvinism to which the Wechels were privately committed was open-minded, and although

¹⁰⁹ Schilling (1983) 10–11; F. Petri, "Die Ursachen der niederländischen Auswanderung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe" In: Idem, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde der Rheinlande, Westfalen und ihrer westeuropäischen Nachbarländer. Aufsätze und Vorträge aus vier Jahrzehnten* (Bonn 1973) 594–99.

¹¹⁰ App. 1, nrs. 174 & 220; On Zigler's radicalism: Sondheim (1936–37) 351–52.

¹¹¹ App. 1, nrs. 23, 40 & 150.

¹¹² App. 1, nr. 98.

¹¹³ App. 1, nr. 12.

¹¹⁴ Starp (1958) 65.

they produced numerous religious works, they never provoked controversy.¹¹⁵ The De Brys, significantly, issued only a handful of books of a religious nature, none of these explicitly Calvinist. Contributions made to religious works, such as Bibles, were distinctly low-key. Potentially contentious titles, such as the treatises by Fludd and Maier, were carefully omitted from the firm's poster catalogue. Caution and prudence rather than explicit Calvinism should be regarded as typical of the publishing policies of the De Bry firm.

There is no archival material substantiating the hypothesis that De Bry publications were inspired by religious objectives. The eclectic list of publications of the firm instead seems to support the claim that for the De Brys, as for Schönwetter, principles always came second to economic considerations. Many publications were printed in two or three different languages to spread the investment of making engravings. The same illustrations were also often re-used for other works, already an outdated practice for a publisher like Plantin around 1570.¹¹⁶ Intriguingly, the De Brys systematically refused to purchase books from the *Officina Plantiniana* at the Frankfurt fairs; other scantily available material of this sort also seems to suggest that the family concentrated on selling their own publications, rather than providing their customers with books produced elsewhere. Finally, their closest humanist friends routinely described the De Brys first and foremost as commercially astute. Boissard lamented the fact that De Bry repeatedly listed the costs as the reason for separating his manuscript on Roman inscriptions,¹¹⁷ while Clusius contemptuously remarked that they were prepared to do virtually anything to achieve better sales. In the specific context of the publication of the collection of voyages, the De Brys were therefore booksellers first, and Calvinists only afterwards. It is with this in mind that the collection and its representations of the overseas world must be studied.

¹¹⁵ Starp (1958) 39–40; Pallmann (1881) 63–64; Evans (1975) 38–39.

¹¹⁶ Voet (1969–72) II 212.

¹¹⁷ UBL ms. Vulc. 101; Boissard to Clusius (12/9/1593).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MAKING OF THE COLLECTION OF VOYAGES

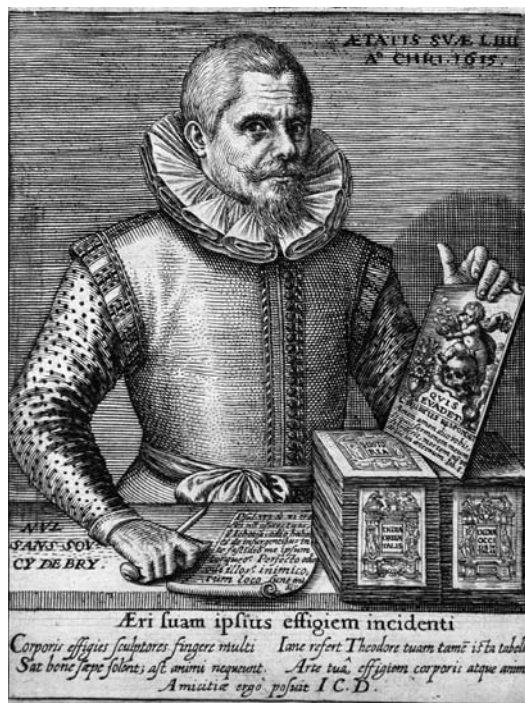
4.1. THE *MAGNUM OPUS* OF THE OFFICINA

In 1615 Johan Theodore de Bry made a self-portrait (ill. 4).¹ Fifty-two years old, he proudly depicted himself as a successful bookseller. The family motto “Nul sans soucy De Bry” and the burin, the copper engraver’s principal instrument are included. These elements were familiar, as they had also been represented in his father’s self-portrait of 1597. Johan Theodore, moreover, stressed his Reformed beliefs by quoting *John* 8:51—Verily, verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying, he shall never see death—as the answer to the rhetorical question posed in the print after Hendrick Goltzius titled “Who can evade death?”, and by including *Psalms* 139:21–22, which Calvin had used to underscore the importance of divine hatred as a legitimate theological enterprise.² Most significantly however, Johan Theodore had added two piles of printed and engraved sheets of paper representing the publication he was best known for and most proud of: the collection of voyages, consisting of the *India Occidentalis*- and *India Orientalis*-series. The title-pages to the first volumes of both parts of the compilation are clearly recognisable, and are as such a testimony to both the widespread familiarity of the books, and the importance of the publications for the prosperity and self-esteem of Johan Theodore, even halfway through a five-year period when no new volumes of the collection appeared.

This portrait is one of many sources underlining the essential value of the collection of voyages for the De Bry officina. The books were further allocated the most important place on the firm’s poster

¹ App. 1, nr. 158 [000(4v)]. The engraver’s claim that he was fifty-four at the moment he conceived the portrait is almost certainly an error, since 1563 is confirmed as his year of birth in the Strasbourg archives.

² *Psalms* 139:21–22 (“Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? [...] I hate them with a perfect hatred”) is discussed by Calvin in his *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, see: M. Lieb, “‘Hate in heav’n’: Milton and the Odium Dei”, *English Literary History* 53–3 (1986) 525. My thanks go out to Ilja Veldman for drawing my attention to the significance of the Biblical passages.



Ill. 4. Portrait of Johan Theodore de Bry (1615)

catalogue, taking up almost half of the space of the original placard of 1609. Even in their private lives, the De Brys derived much of their identity from the monumental tomes on America, Asia, and Africa: one of Johan Theodore's two houses in Frankfurt was renamed 'At the Indian King' when it came into his possession.³ Hence the officina and the collection became inextricably intertwined. This is also evident in testimonies of contemporaries. Carolus Clusius, in a letter written to Lipsius in 1594, described Theodore de Bry as "the Frankfurt publisher, who had produced some histories of America with illustrations".⁴ In the preface to Volume I of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (1597), the humanist Petrus Lepidus asserted that "there is nobody who has not read the Indian voyages of Hans Staden, Girolamo Benzoni, Jean de

³ Bingsohn (1993) 21: "Zum Indianischen König".

⁴ *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* VII (1997) 90–91; Clusius to Lipsius (2/3/1594): "Typoglyphus quidam Francofurti est, qui aliquot Americae historias cum picturis in lucem emisit".

Léry and others”, the authors whose accounts made up the recently published Volumes III to VI of the *America*-series.⁵

The De Brys themselves were emphatically aware of the collection’s reputation. They seized every opportunity to remind readers of the splendour of the firm’s *magnum opus*, in an attempt to at once enhance the artistic significance of other publications, and stimulate the sales of the collection’s volumes. The preliminaries to the officina’s other works provided them with the ideal platform to praise both themselves and their attractive series of travel accounts. Theodore de Bry assured his readers in 1592 that he had put as much effort in the making of *Emblemata nobilitati* as in the volumes of voyages.⁶ In the quarto-edition of *Emblemata nobilitati*, published in 1593, De Bry guaranteed anxious customers that the time to make these ‘alba amicorum’ had not been invested at the expense of future books on discoveries and expansion.⁷ In many volumes of the collection itself, readers were referred to maps and journals in other volumes, to emphasise both the collective nature of the works and the need for customers to add to their incomplete sets of volumes.⁸ Others followed suit. Johan Schenck von Grafenberg displayed his satisfaction that engravings to his *Hortus Palavinus* in 1608 had been provided by the illustrators of the books on Florida, and those who opened Boissard’s *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustrium* (1597) on the pages devoted to Columbus—the very first biographical account of the first volume—were explicitly advised to read Volume IV of the *America*-series.⁹

⁵ App. 1, nr. 34 [**4r]: “Nemo est qui non legerit Indicarum navigationum Stadii, Benzoni, Lerii & aliorum, quas hic noster Theodorus eleganti narratione Latina non tantum emisit in lucem, sed singula subiecit oculis delineata typis artificiosissimis, omnem rerum gestarum seriem pulchro degerens ordine, tabulisque aheneis ingeniosissime sculptis exprimens populorum barbarorum gestus, habitus, ac ritus”.

⁶ App. 1, nr. 8 [B1r]: “Welchen meinen Fleiß unnd Kosten in fürgetragendem Werck, günstigerlieber Leser du also in aller gebür unnd wolgefallen auff unnd annemmen wirst, wie dann biß anhero in allen meinen außgangen neuwen Büchern von America von dir günstig beschehen ist”.

⁷ Ibidem [B1r–v]: “Und muß dich, guthertziger Leser, allhier ferners erinnern, weil ich der Americanischen Historia cyngedenck, daß du es nit dafür haltest, als solte nu hinfüro dieselbige Historien der neuen Welt, dahinden bleiben, nicht follend außgeführt oder continuirt werden”. Also: App. 1, nr. 10 [c3v–c4r].

⁸ Especially the (expensive) *Ind.Or.* III was often quoted as containing maps which were instrumental to the understanding of other volumes, for instance *Ind.Or.* X (Lat) [B2v] and *Ind.Or.* XI (Lat) [A2v].

⁹ App. 1, nr. 104 [A3r]. “...omniaque illius Floride Insule ornamenta...”; App. 1, nr. 39 [G4r]. “Qui fusius de rebus ab eo gestis inquirere avet, legat Americanarum rerum librum quartum à Theodoro de Bry elegantissimis iconibus illustratum, &

These concerted demonstrations of entrepreneurial shrewdness are understandable, as the fortunes of the family firm depended largely on the success of its showpiece. In commercial terms the triumph of the collection was in fact unsurpassed. In the final decade of the sixteenth century, volumes of the collection accounted for sixty-one percent of the total amount Jan Moretus spent on the De Brys' books at the Frankfurt fairs, declining only marginally in the next twenty years, to fifty-seven and fifty-six percent for the first and second decades of the seventeenth century respectively. Over the entire period between 1590 and 1623, fifty-seven percent of the money the De Brys received from their Antwerp colleagues was generated by the volumes of the collection (Fig. 1).¹⁰

Sales figures De Bry > Moretus (1590–1624)

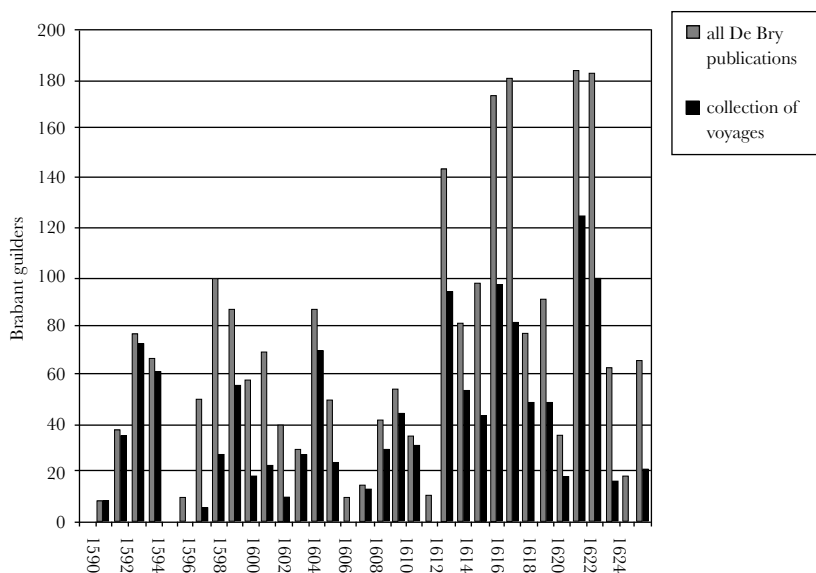


Fig. 1. Sales figures of all De Bry publications/collection of voyages (Arch. MPM, nrs. 969–1037).

publicè in lucem editum". In many other introductions, the collection was brought to readers' minds.

¹⁰ Arch. MPM 969–1037.

The figures for the years after 1600 are especially significant, as other publications increasingly dominated the officina's output. Whereas the volumes of the collection made up well over forty percent of the family's new publications in the 1590s, this number dropped to approximately thirty percent for the first ten years of the seventeenth century. The production of new volumes came to a complete standstill in Oppenheim between 1613 and 1618, when manuscripts presented to Johan Theodore by the Heidelberg court required his full attention. The combination of these figures indicates that the voyages continued to be popular with an international readership well into the 1610s and 1620s, even though new volumes were not coming off the presses with the speed and abundance of the 1590s. After the initial momentum of the *America*-series, both parts of the collection, according to the Moretus account books, enjoyed roughly the same popularity.

It is no mystery why the De Brys identified themselves with the collection of travel accounts, and why they were entitled to do so. Although Johan Wechel and Sigmund Feyerabend were instrumental in the project's take-off, and members of the Republic of Letters regarded Clusius, credited as the translator of the first three volumes of the Latin *America*-series, as more than a mere collaborator,¹¹ Theodore de Bry had from the outset been the central figure in the publishing enterprise. It was he who obtained the first accounts from Hakluyt; it was he who requested the privileges from Rudolf II which were printed in several early volumes of the collection, as a protection against plagiarism of the costly material; and it was he who signed the prefaces and dedicatory letters of the volumes. The De Bry family name was the only one to feature on all the collection's title-pages. The monopoly on the supervision of the collection, if not in place from the start, surely fell to the De Brys after Feyerabend's death in 1590 and Clusius' departure to Leiden in 1593.

Theodore and his sons nevertheless produced the collection with the help of many employees and co-operators, and confined their own contributions to obtaining and selecting the original narratives, engraving, co-ordinating the publishing and printing process of the books, and writing—or merely signing—the prefaces and dedications. The making

¹¹ Hunger (1927–43) II 173, 430; UBL, ms. Vulc. 101; Alexander Fugger to Clusius (26/5/1593).

of the volumes and the division of responsibilities will be discussed in detail shortly. Yet it is the very conception of the collection, in the years between 1587 and 1590, which best illustrates the monumental size and the international aspirations of the project. The De Brys defined the idiosyncratic format of the collection in this period, and did not modify it until the last of the three family members died in 1623.

4.2. THE COLLECTION CONCEIVED

The first strides towards the De Bry collection have been discussed before,¹² but recently discovered archival material sheds new light on the beginning of the project in England in the late 1580s. It is widely accepted that the geographer Richard Hakluyt was the mastermind behind the plan to publish Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true report* (1588) in different languages in order to stake English claims on the New World province of Virginia. De Bry paid tribute to Hakluyt in the preface to his English version of Harriot's account, affirming that he "first Incouraged me to publish the Worke".¹³ Hakluyt almost certainly provided De Bry with John White's watercolours, and he personally translated the paraphrases for the English edition of *India Occidentalis* I. He was credited both in the collection, and in a letter by the pharmacist James Garet to Carolus Clusius from January 1589.¹⁴ Hakluyt also successfully persuaded De Bry to open his collection with Harriot's account and White's drawings rather than with the French reports on adventures in Florida already in the goldsmith's possession.¹⁵

While in England, De Bry acquired drawings of Florida by the Huguenot artist Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, one among a limited group of Frenchmen who had survived a Spanish onslaught in 1565

¹² U. Kuhlemann, "Between reproduction, invention and propaganda: Theodor de Bry's engravings after John White's watercolours" In: K. Sloan, *A New World. England's first view of America* (London 2007) 78–92; Greve (2004) 82 ff.; Quinn (1967) I 39–40, II 547; Hulton and Quinn (1964) I 25–26; Hulton (1977) 10–12.

¹³ *Ind. Occ.* I (Eng) [***3v].

¹⁴ *Ind. Occ.* I (Eng) [d4r]. UBL, ms. Vulc. 101; Garet to Clusius (19/1/1589).

¹⁵ *Ind. Occ.* I (Ger) ["Den günstigen Leser Glück und Heyl"]: "Fernner is diß Buch [...] das erste welchs ich an den Tag kommen lasse, nach dem es meine gute Freunde zum gedächtnuß der sachen, so newlichen verrichtet, von mir also begert haben, unangesehen daß ich die Historien von der Florida unter handen hab, so billicher vorher gehen sollte, dieweil sie eine lange zeit zuvor von den Frantzosen, ehe die Landtschafft Virginia von den Engelländern ist erfunden worden".

and managed to return to the Old World unscathed. In the preliminaries to Volume II of *India Occidentalis*, De Bry wrote briefly about his meeting with Le Moyne at Blackfriars in London, and explained that he had obtained the illustrations on the second attempt in 1588, after Le Moyne himself had passed away.¹⁶ How the connection between the two men was established, and whether Hakluyt played a role in bringing them together is uncertain. The geographer was certainly familiar with Le Moyne's drawings, according to his introduction to the English translation of René de Laudonnière's adventures in Florida (1587). Yet the first meeting between De Bry and Le Moyne may have taken place earlier. De Bry did not elaborate on the issue, and could have made the acquaintance of Le Moyne through the vibrant group of Reformed immigrants in London, or through the goldsmith Merten le Moisine, who had been Theodore's guild brother in Antwerp, and may have been related to the Huguenot artist.¹⁷

Regardless of the precise nature of the relationship between De Bry, Hakluyt, and Le Moyne, it is evident that Hakluyt and several others around the Elizabethan favourite Sir Walter Raleigh had a decisive influence on the collection's conception. A series of six letters written to Carolus Clusius in 1589 and 1590 emphasises just how many Englishmen were involved in the project. The letters, written by Clusius' friends James Garett and Richard Garth, show the participation of both men in the making of Volume I of the De Bry collection.¹⁸ Their activities ranged from translating accounts on Virginia from English into Latin, something for which Clusius was exclusively credited on De Bry's title-pages, to providing the botanist with additional information on the regions concerned. The letters further illustrate that others, such as a certain Francis Rogers and Hakluyt himself, were actively engaged in the collection's conception, even after the De Brys had left England.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Ind. Occ.* II (Lat) [a3rv]/(Ger) [a3v].

¹⁷ Zülch (1935) 468–69. The family connections between the Huguenot artist and De Bry's guild brother cannot positively be established.

¹⁸ UBL, ms. Vulc. 101 contains four letters by Garett (19/1, 28/7, 9/9/1589, and 28/8/1590) and two by Garth (8/7 and 20/12/1589). On Garett, Garth, and Clusius: Quinn (1967) I 329, 337–40; R. Desmond, ed., *Dictionary of British and Irish botanists and horticulturists: including plant collectors and botanical artists* (London and Totowa 1977) 245–46. Garth († 1597) was a botanist in the diplomatic service, Garett († 1610) a London-based apothecary and pharmacist. Both men exchanged seeds and plants with Clusius.

¹⁹ I have not been able to identify Francis Rogers. Perhaps it is a reference to Daniel Rogers, another English correspondent of Clusius, and acquaintance of Garett and

The first letter from Gareth to Clusius makes the role of De Bry seem rather peripheral. In January 1589, Gareth only referred to him as “that goldsmith”, while at the same time giving a detailed account of how at least four different Latin translations of Harriot’s *Briefe and true report* circulated. Rogers translated the first “treatise on Virginia” from English into Latin, and this version was now in Gareth’s possession. Should Clusius be interested in this copy, then Gareth was willing to send it to him. The second and third versions had already been sent to Frankfurt: “that goldsmith” had been sent Hakluyt’s copy, while Clusius himself received Garth’s translation, “for it was more accurate than the other one”, presumably referring to Rogers’ version. The fourth and final Latin version of Harriot’s account was Clusius’ own translation, which had been used in England, for Gareth promised to return it to Frankfurt. Clusius’ private library still contained one of these Latin manuscripts at his death in 1609.²⁰ Gareth also informed Clusius that Garth had already translated the treatise on Florida “of the abovementioned Hakluyt”, indicating that Hakluyt may have been closely engaged in *India Occidentalis* II as well. Garth, still according to Gareth, would send further documents to Clusius: a printed account on Florida in French, almost certainly De Laudonnière’s narrative, and two other books including the travels of Sir Francis Drake to Santo Domingo and Cartagena. Clusius received the large parcel on 1 March 1589.²¹

Richard Garth provided Clusius with another book on Virginia in July.²² Five months later, Clusius also obtained the translated captions to White’s engraved watercolours, perhaps to correct or modify them

Clusius’ close friend Hugo Morgan? See: J. A. van Dorsten, *Poets, patrons and professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden humanists* (Leiden 1962).

²⁰ *Infra*, Ch. 10, p. 322.

²¹ UBL ms. Vulc. 101; Gareth to Clusius (19/1/1589): “Jay livré le demie paquet au Sr francois rogia le quel avoit deia fait translaté le traité de virginia danglois en Latin [...]. Mr Garthe [...] fait translaté pour le Juesne hacklet et ceste orfèvre ou orgogne at eu la coppie de Mr haklet. Je vous envoie celuy de Mr. Garfe car il est plus correct que lautre. Je tiens lautre coppie en ma maison voyant que ung vous servira sil vous plaist avoir lautre aussy je le vous enverraye car moy Je me scay que faire aussy Mr. Garthe at fait translaté le traité en latin de la floride de le mesme hacklet [...]. Je vous renvoie vostre coppie Latine que avez envoye Mr. Garte il vous envoie aussy ung traité de la floride imprime en langue françoise [...] aussy il vous envoie deux autres livres lung du voyage de Sr. F. draeck en Sta Dominge et Cartagene et aultres places quis gaigna et ung aultre du dit Do Lisbonne”.

²² UBL ms. Vulc. 101; Garth to Clusius (8/7/1589): “Mitto tibi duos libellos, quorum alter de Virginia Provincia et eius commoditatibus tractat”. Gareth confirmed the successful delivery on 9 Sept.

before the work would go to the presses. Garth must have known the De Brys personally, referring explicitly to Theodore and his sons in his letter to Clusius.²³ While the material steadily arrived in Frankfurt, the De Brys called upon Sigmund Feyerabend to help them publish the first volumes of the collection: in July both men requested the engraver Jakob Kempener's stay in Frankfurt to be prolonged, enabling him to finish his work.²⁴ Feyerabend's contribution may have been a practical necessity, as De Bry himself did not acquire Frankfurt citizenship until 1591. Feyerabend, in the preface to one of his own publications in 1589, began to prepare potential customers for the forthcoming collection:

Although many books and histories have appeared in recent years about such countries, their situation, their wealth and poverty, their strange customs, plants and animals [...] they have only been printed in foreign languages such as Spanish and Italian. Such books are written especially on the Indies, New Spain, Peru, America, and Brazil.²⁵

The first three volumes of the collection were to carry Sigmund Feyerabend's name on the title-page.

Hence both in England and in Frankfurt, several parties were involved in the build-up to the collection in 1589. It is unlikely that Feyerabend was an insider to Hakluyt's plans; the Englishmen seem to have been in contact with Clusius and De Bry only. In the final letter of the series of six, Garet thanked Clusius for sending him the French translation

²³ UBL ms. Vulc. 101; Garth to Clusius (20/12/1589): "una cum praedicto virginiae tractatu mitto tibi catalogum figurarum seu pictorum quarundam ad eandem historiam pertinentium ex Anglico in latinum sermonum traductarum quas Theodorus de Bry aurifaber & sculptor aetatis iam provectae una cum Floridae historia aere excidendas et sculpendas hinc secum Francofurtum ad Moenu ubi hodie commoratur, ante annum cum dimidio reportavit. Hunc catalogum ubi in illium bonum senem incideris aut in eius filium, bene feceris, si cum illis communicare digneris".

²⁴ Zülch (1935) 409.

²⁵ Preface to Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's *Ein Neuwe, Kurtze doch warhafftige Beschreibung deß gar Großmächtigen weitbegriffenen, bißhero unbekandten Königreichs China* (Frankfurt 1589), published by Feyerabend [?](2v, erroneously signed)?(): "Als seindt auch von solchen Landen, deren Gelegenheit, Reichthumb, Armut, der Völcker ungewöhnliche Sitten, Regiment, den wunderbarlichen Gewächsen, Thieren, und vielen andern zuvor verborgen Sachen viel Bücher unnd Historien [...] beschrieben und an Tag gegeben worden [...] doch allein in frembden, als Hispanischer und Italianischer Sprachen in Druck außgangen. So viel nun fast alle andere deßwegen, unnd sonderlich die Mitnächtschen Indien, neuw Hispanien, Peru, Americam und Brasiliam belangende beschriebene Bücher betrifft...". On the influence of Mendoza's account on the De Bry collection: M. van Groesen, "A first popularisation of travel literature. On the methods and intentions of the De Bry travel collection (1590–1634)", *Dutch Crossing* 25–1 (2001) 110–12.

of *India Occidentalis* I, but appeared aggrieved by De Bry's decision against dedicating this edition to Sir Walter Raleigh who, according to Garet, would not be pleased. The apothecary's sarcastic remark that "he who published it" would probably not have a copy available for Raleigh, was only a half-hearted attempt to contain his anger.²⁶ At this point, the involvement of Raleigh and Hakluyt in the collection came to an end, and De Bry's decision not to publish any of the following volumes in French and English may well have been a direct result of their withdrawal.

4.3. THE COLLECTION PRODUCED

Although the making of the first volume is not representative of the making of the collection as a whole, it does indicate that many people with different skills contributed to the publication of a volume. Apart from the co-operators already mentioned, Theodore de Bry employed the engraver Gijsbert van Veen, and a translator known only as Christian P.,²⁷ and he used at least one design by Jodocus van Winghe.²⁸ Theodore's two sons unquestionably participated significantly in producing of *India Occidentalis* I, and so did the printer Johan Wechel and his staff. The following is a more systematic attempt to unravel how the volumes of the collection came into being.

²⁶ UBL ms. Vulc. 101; Garet to Clusius (28/8/1590): "Jay receu ausy le livre de virginea en langue francoise dont je vous remercy beaucoup de foy. Je craigne que celuy qui les a fait mettre en lumiere quil ne aura ung de Sr Walter Rawleyg car me semble que le dit Rawleig est mal content que il a fait imprimer les dits livres sans son advis".

²⁷ The title-page of *Ind. Occ.* I (Ger) only refers to Christ. P., yet the request for a privilege to reprint the work in the early 1610s mentioned the full first name Christian. The full first name, if correct, excludes one of the most likely candidates for translating the account, Christoph Pezelius (1539–1604), a Reformed minister from Bremen who was a client of William IV of Hesse and his son Maurice.

²⁸ On De Bry and Van Winghe: V. Bücken, "Theodore de Bry et Joos van Winghe à Francfort. Un exemple de collaboration entre peintre et editeur a la fin du XVIe siècle", *Art & Fact* nr. 15. *Mélanges Pierre Colman* (Liège 1996) 108–11; on Van Veen (1562–1628): *Thieme-Becker Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (37 vols.; Leipzig 1907–50) XXXIV 175.

Selecting and obtaining travel accounts

Preciously little information is available on how the De Brys decided on the suitability of travel accounts for inclusion in their *magnum opus*. The differences between the original accounts which make up the twenty-five volumes of the collection are such that it is impossible to compose a definite set of criteria which served as a guideline for acquiring narratives. Printed books and manuscripts, illustrated and non-illustrated texts, colourful and more factual accounts, both brief and more elaborate, and originally written in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch; all were deemed appropriate for inclusion. As a result, the collection covered most regions of the overseas world Europe had 'discovered'. Recently published accounts became increasingly popular under Johan Theodore and Johan Israel's supervision, while their father had relied on older and often re-published favourites such as the reports of René de Laudonnière, Jean de Léry, Hans Staden, Ulrich Schmidel, and Girolamo Benzoni.²⁹

It is more fruitful to examine which accounts have not been included. One of the treatises which was available to the De Brys, yet remained outside the collection, was Bartolomé de las Casas' *Brevissima relación*, which they issued instead in German and Latin quarto-editions in 1598 and 1599.³⁰ Las Casas, a Dominican friar and the first bishop of Chiapas in New Spain, advocated the rights of American natives and criticised the brutalities of his compatriots, inspiring fierce debate in Spain. There are two possible explanations for why the De Brys published this work separately: its expected popularity in Protestant Europe could have called for a cheaper, more accessible quarto-edition. Yet such an edition did not necessarily stand in the way of adding the same work to the collection, as texts of which the De Brys published both an expensive folio-edition and a cheaper version reveal. They would probably have jumped at the opportunity to include such a successful account, to enhance the popularity of their epic series even further. The second, and more likely option is that the De Brys were concerned about its controversial nature. Supporters of Las Casas' opinions, like the Jesuit Jose de Acosta, were cautious about openly

²⁹ See App. 2 for all the accounts included in the De Bry collection.

³⁰ App. 1, nrs. 45 & 54. Hendrick Ottsen's *Journael oft daghelijcx-register van de voyagie na Rio de la Plata* (Amsterdam 1603) was also issued separately, outside the collection, yet at this point in time the *Ind.Occ.*-series had been concluded, and was not started up again until 1618 (App. 1, nr. 83).

siding with the Dominican.³¹ The collection as a whole might have suffered from the selection of Las Casas' work, perhaps resulting in an entry on the Index of Forbidden Books. Such a risk would have been considered unacceptable. Prudence of this sort, as has been argued in Chapters 2 and 3, epitomised the De Bry firm's publishing policy, and extended to the collection of voyages.

The inclusion of accounts in the collection was also conditioned by their availability. Given their combination of rapid overseas expansion and assertive printing firms, the United Provinces formed a natural source of adaptable reports for the De Brys. There were, broadly speaking, two ways of acquiring original narratives, and the De Brys almost certainly used both. The first, and presumably the preferred option, was to get hold of textual and iconographic material through their network of friends in the Republic of Letters. Relying on favours was cheap, and usually increased the speed of the publication process, while the possible side-effect of far-reaching interference of the benefactor probably did not bother the De Brys too much, as relations with Boissard and, in the context of the voyages, Hakluyt and Raleigh suggest.

One man who provided the De Brys with travel accounts was the Dutch physician and collector of rarities Bernardus Paludanus.³² Paludanus, a close friend of Clusius, played a crucial role in the making of several *India Orientalis*-volumes. An important contributor to his Enkhuizen neighbour Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, which became the cornerstone of *India Orientalis* II, III, and IV,³³ Paludanus, not unlike Hakluyt, vied for international recognition of his work and probably approached the De Brys around 1597. He contributed

³¹ After returning to Spain, Las Casas participated in open debates with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda about Spanish conduct in the Indies, and these discussions continued until the end of the sixteenth century: L. Hanke, *All mankind is one: a study of the disputation between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the intellectual and religious capacity of the American Indians* (Dekalb 1974) esp. 133–35. De Bry's name was not mentioned on the title-page of App. 1, nr. 54. Greve (2004) 208–25 also concludes that the De Brys did not risk alienating their Catholic clientele.

³² On Paludanus and his interest in voyages: R. van Gelder, "Paradijsvogels in Enkhuizen. De relatie tussen Van Linschoten en Bernardus Paludanus" In: Idem, J. Parmentier, and V. Roeper, eds., *Souffrir pour parvenir. De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Haarlem 1998) 30–50. On his cabinet: E. Jorink, *Het boeck der natuere. Nederlandse geleerden en de wonderen van Gods Schepping 1575–1715* (Leiden 2006) 276–87.

³³ Van Groesen (2001) 103–31. For a modern edition, see: H. Kern and H. Terpstra, eds., *Itinerario. Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579–1592* (3 vols. [Werken van de Linschoten-Vereeniging, vols. LVII, LVIII, and LX]; The Hague 1955–57).

extensively to *India Orientalis* III and IV in 1598, during a stay in and around Frankfurt, and was lavishly praised for his assistance by the De Bry brothers in the preface to Volume III.³⁴ Staying in touch with the publishers, he is the most likely supplier of Pieter de Marees' observations on the Gold Coast for *India Orientalis* VI, and of several Dutch journals for *India Orientalis* VIII. In both cases the De Brys testified to having received the reports, before paying homage to an unnamed patron in the Dutch Republic. In the latter instance the initials B. P. B. M. D. of the author of the seven-page preface point to Paludanus' involvement.³⁵

Other people provided the same invaluable service to the De Brys. Gotthard Artus von Dantzig, Frankfurt schoolmaster and the main translator of the series of voyages between 1601 and 1620, almost certainly supplied the travel account for Volume IX and the appendix to Volume IX of *India Orientalis*. Although it was based on the diary of Johan Verken, a German sailor in the service of the Dutch East India Company, Artus featured prominently on the title-page as the author and editor.³⁶ Carolus Clusius may also have sent narratives to Frankfurt. The report on the heroic Dutch expedition to Nova Zembla was translated by Clusius from Dutch into Latin, and published in Amsterdam in 1598. It appeared in the De Bry series the following year, but Clusius' direct involvement is unconfirmed. The two Latin translations are not identical. Clusius certainly continued to discuss European expansion with the De Brys, as a brief interlude in *India Occidentalis* VIII demonstrates; the publishers paraphrased a letter they

³⁴ The De Brys described him repeatedly as their "Herr und Förderer" (*Ind.Or.* III (Ger) [](4r)], or "guter Herr und Gönner" (*Ind.Or.* IV (Ger) [](^2v)).

³⁵ *Ind.Or.* VIIIapp. (Ger) [A3v-B2v]/*Ind.Or.* VIII (Lat) 6-12: the preface by B[ernardus] P[aludanus] B[?] M[edicinac] D[octo]r], as suggested by Tiele (1867) 166. The remaining B[?] should probably be explained patronymically, but the name of his father is unknown. The same text was reprinted as part of *Ind.Or.* XIII (Ger) 4-8; App. 1, nr. *79 [](3r-v): "Demnach denn uns newlicher Zeit durch einen guten Herrn und Freundt diese gegenwärtige History oder Schiffahrt zweyer Schiffe in das goltreiche Königreich Guinea gethan, so er von dem Autore selbst bekommen, unnd in Niederländischer Sprach zu drucken sich bemühet, günstig überschicket worden, als haben wir für gut angesehen, solche in Hochteutscher Sprach unserm geliebten Vatterlandt fürzutragen und männiglich mitzuthailen".

³⁶ There is only very little secondary literature on Gotthard Artus von Dantzig: *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* (12 vols.; 1995 ff.) I 197; R. van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur. Duizend in dienst van de VOC* (Nijmegen 1997) 255; S. P. L'Honoré Naber, ed., *Johann Verken Molukken-reise 1607-1612* (The Hague 1930) vi-vii.

had received from the botanist, as clarification to the account of Walter Raleigh's search for Eldorado.³⁷

The second option for obtaining material was to purchase selected accounts from other booksellers. One colleague with whom the De Brys had intensive commercial connections was Cornelis Claesz from Amsterdam.³⁸ Claesz was the leading publisher of travel literature in the Dutch Republic around 1600, and ten voyages included in the De Bry collection were first published in Dutch by his firm.³⁹ The relationship between Claesz and the De Brys must have been an ambiguous one. On the one hand, they conducted business on a regular basis: Claesz was a frequent visitor to the Frankfurt fairs, and his stock included copperplates and prints by at least one of the De Brys.⁴⁰ Claesz' successors Dirck Pietersz Pers and Hendrick Laurensz even co-operated with Johan Theodore for a small number of publications in the 1610s. On the other hand, Claesz and the De Bry officina must have been the fiercest of competitors. Claesz published Dutch editions of both Odoardo Lopez' account of Congo and Las Casas' work before the De Brys published their German and Latin editions, thus catering for at least the Dutch market, and possibly the erudite and multilingual share of the De Brys' readership.⁴¹ Claesz' best-selling titles, like Gerrit de Veer's report of the wintering at Nova Zembla, were so quickly reproduced by the De Brys that one wonders if these editions were not aimed at the same group of readers.⁴² The two firms sometimes even presented nearly identical

³⁷ *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Lat) 13–14 (= [Bb3r–v]): “Nota. Nobilißimus & clarißimus Dn. Carolus Clusius, suis literis nuper ad duos fratres de Bry Lugduno exaratis, commemorat se...”.

³⁸ On Cornelis Claesz: Schilder (2003); Van Selm (1987).

³⁹ Linschoten's *Itinerario* (1596), De Veer's account of Nova Zembla (1598), the first voyage of De Houtman recorded by Willem Lodewijcksz (1598), the voyage of Van Neck and Van Warwijck (1600), the circumnavigation by Van Noort (1602) and the description of the Gold Coast by De Marcees (1602) were all first published by Claesz. The De Brys further used Claesz' Dutch edition of four English narratives for *Ind.Occ.* VIII. For a full list of voyages published by Claesz, see: Schilder (2003) *passim*; Tiele (1867).

⁴⁰ Van Selm (1987) 217–19. The name Theodore de Bry, included in Claesz' 1609 prints catalogue, could well refer to Johan Theodore, as all the other engravers listed were still active at the time.

⁴¹ B. de las Casas, *Spiegel der Spaenscher tyrannye, in West-Indien* (Amsterdam 1596) and O. Lopez and F. Pigafetta, *De beschryvinghe vant groot ende vermaert Coninckrijk van Congo* (Amsterdam 1596).

⁴² On De Veer's report, see J. D. Tracy, *True ocean found. Paludanus's letters on Dutch voyages to the Kara Sea, 1595–1596* (Minneapolis 1980) 18–34. For a modern edition: S. P. L'Honoré Naber, ed., *Reizen van Willem Barents, Jacob van Heemskerck, Jan Cornelisz.*

works at the very same Frankfurt fair, as was the case with two Latin translations of Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* in 1599.⁴³

Unfortunately no information on relations between Cornelis Claesz and the De Brys remains. Yet Claesz was known to co-operate with several other booksellers in Holland for his publications, and may have had some sort of commercial understanding with the De Brys as well.⁴⁴ The intensity of the relationship and to some extent the dependence of the De Brys on Claesz' material become clear from the developments after the latter had died in 1609. Not only did the stream of travel publications in the Dutch Republic come to an abrupt halt, so did the appearance of new volumes of the De Bry collection. While the untimely death of Johan Israel obviously also damaged the prosperity of the De Bry officina, no fewer than eight of the total of thirteen volumes of the collection of voyages first published between 1598 and 1609 were at least partly based on Claesz' originals, thus making the year 1609 an even more decisive watershed in the fortunes of the De Bry family firm.

Translating and engraving

After acquiring suitable narratives, the editing procedure started in earnest for the De Brys and their employees. Even when publishing new volumes became something of a routine, the De Brys needed twelve months at least from the moment they obtained a report until the day of publication, as analysis of the manufacturing process, the imprints, and the announcements in the Frankfurt fair catalogues shows. Translating the travel accounts into German and Latin was the first and probably most time-consuming step to be taken. On 25 March 1589—exactly one year before *India Occidentalis* I was published—Clusius

Rijp en anderen naar het noorden (1594–1597) verhaald door Gerrit de Veer II ([Werken van de Linschoten-Vereeniging, vol. XV]; The Hague 1917).

⁴³ Cf. *infra*, Ch. 7, pp. 229–31, and Ch. 8, pp. 257–58. Both were listed as new publications in the Frankfurt fair catalogue of Q99 [B2r]; Fabian (1972–2001) V 465. The Dutch edition was published with the imprint of the The Hague bookseller Aelbert Hendricksz, but Claesz assisted his colleague in publishing and financing the work: Van Selm (1987) 180. More or less the same can be observed for Willem Lodewijcksz' journal, which Claesz had translated into Latin in 1598, three years before the Latin edition of *Ind.Or.* III appeared in Frankfurt.

⁴⁴ Van Selm (1987) 251–52, citing co-operative efforts with Jan van Waesberghe in Rotterdam, for example for Olivier van Noort's account of his circumnavigation, and with Franciscus Raphelengius in Leiden.

wrote to Camerarius that he was translating the account of Virginia.⁴⁵ The work must have been in a state of near completion, as Clusius had already sent an earlier version to England, and further had had Garth's translation at his disposal since 1 March.

In the 1590s the De Brys recruited several translators. Translation in the early modern period was a creative process. Translators, often semi-professionals like language teachers and clerics, 'emulated' texts in various ways, especially modest prose texts like travel accounts, as will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8.⁴⁶ After Clusius' departure for Leiden, the Silesia-born Bilibaldus Strobæus, long-term employee Johan Adam Lonicer, and the Lutheran minister August Cassiodorus Reyna co-operated regularly, while Oseam Halen, a former associate of the Feyerabend firm, translated a single volume. From 1601 onwards the task of translating accounts into both German and Latin was exclusively performed by Artus, another Lutheran, perhaps even until the death of Johan Theodore in 1623.⁴⁷ Although the De Brys themselves did not have any part in the translations, they must have worked together closely with the likes of Clusius and Artus, as the process of engraving required intimate knowledge of the contents of the travel accounts, especially when the original journals did not contain readily modifiable illustrations. The activity of translating therefore had to take place in Frankfurt or, after 1609, in Oppenheim.

While the translator's work was in progress, the copper engravings were being made. Since the plates were the main asset of the collection, the process of designing and illustrating should perhaps be considered the most important step in its making. Apart from the modifications to the accounts, the formal changes shaped the status of the volumes. Hence the upgrading of the often cheaply produced original accounts to folio-sized books, the translations from the vernacular into Latin, and certainly the accumulation of skilfully made illustrations enhanced the status of the volumes and their contents, and consequently the inter-

⁴⁵ Hunger (1927–43) II 165.

⁴⁶ Burke (2005b) 17–31.

⁴⁷ Strobæus, possibly referred to by Clusius in his letters to Camerarius as 'Bilibaldus' (Hunger (1927–43) II 172) translated *Ind.Or.* III, IV (Lat & Ger), and V (Lat). Lonicer was responsible for the translations of *Ind.Occ.* III and the Latin version of *Ind.Or.* II. Cassiodorus Reyna assisted the De Brys for *Ind.Or.* I and for Cavendish's account for *Ind.Occ.* VIII, and Oseam Halen translated *Ind.Occ.* II into German. For several volumes the translator is unknown, most notably for the Latin *Ind.Occ.* IV, V, and VI.

est of readers.⁴⁸ The De Brys did most of the engraving themselves, although whether Johan Israel actively contributed is difficult to establish. Many volumes, including the ones published under the auspices of Theodore de Bry, reveal different hands and styles of design.

Throughout the project, the De Brys received help from other accomplished engravers. Gijsbert van Veen, in 1590, and later Georg Keller were allowed to sign their work, a rarity in the collection, as the De Brys never did so themselves, with the exception of *India Occidentalis* I, where Theodore used the monogram TB. Keller's use of his monogram GK is not only testimony to his co-operation in the years between 1602 and 1606, it also shows that he was almost exclusively responsible for a certain type of illustrations, namely seascapes and bird's-eye views of naval battles. Of a total of fifteen engravings signed by Keller, only one or perhaps two can be considered of ethnological value.⁴⁹ This is instructive in a broader perspective, as the De Brys could have deliberately employed engravers such as Keller for specific artistic assignments. Van Veen, Keller, and of course Merian were certainly not the only engravers working for the De Brys,⁵⁰ but because of the particular skills of the publishers in this department, they required relatively little assistance.

Arguably the most intriguing part of the engraving process was the decision-making which preceded it. Whether simply to copy, or instead omit, combine, separate or modify illustrations of the original accounts, or whether to add completely new engravings, constituted the heart of the editorial strategy, and will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. It could have been done only by the De Brys who co-ordinated the various tasks to be performed in the making of a volume. Some 260

⁴⁸ R. Chartier, *The order of books: readers, authors and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries* (Cambridge 1994) 10–11; Grafton (2003) 192–93.

⁴⁹ *Ind.Or.* VIII, ills. ix and xi. The latter could also be regarded as a seascape, yet on the right of the engraving several inhabitants of Patani (Malaysia) are depicted. See App. 3.

⁵⁰ Keller seems to have been employed by the De Brys until at least 1613: Starp (1958) 79; Dyroff (1962) 1251. Other engravers working for the officina in this period included Robert Boissard (Van Groesen (2002) 213), Jacques Granthomme, Jakob de Zetter, Eberhard Kieser (Starp (1958) 50), Elias Kiefer (Dyroff (1962) 1251), and possibly Esaias Hulsius (Zülch (1935) 479) and Simon Novellanus, yet their contribution to the collection of voyages is all but certain. For Adam Elsheimer's contribution to *Ind.Occ.* IV, V, and VI, see: *infra*, Ch. 11, p. 365. The rather clumsy illustrations to the voyages by members of the De Zetter family featured only after Johan Theodore had died in 1623.

of a total of around 590 engravings—a portion approaching forty-five percent—were profoundly altered or newly invented by the Frankfurt illustrators.⁵¹ Many of these constructions were based on familiar sixteenth-century iconography. The De Brys routinely copied elements from other prints and paintings, and relocated these artistically attractive scenes to the Orient or to the New World.⁵² This technique was common practice in the early modern period, and may have helped readers to understand the illustrations. Engravings that were worn down through frequent print runs, or made by less talented employees and did not meet the high stylistic standards of the De Brys, were replaced at all times.⁵³

The engravings designed in Frankfurt are recognisable when compared to the iconography in the original accounts, and there are additional elements setting the De Bry constructions apart from the pictures copied or adapted from the printed source. While many of the original illustrations, like John White's watercolours and the illustrations to the reports by Van Linschoten, Lopez, and De Marees, were reminiscent of contemporary costume books, the De Bry designs were more dynamic. Many new engravings had a narrative character, showing three consecutive stages of an anecdote described in the travel account. These narrative compositions often enable identification of De Bry designs in volumes for which there is no information on the availability of iconographic material.

Although, for example, Jacques le Moyne provided designs for *America II*, the engraving depicting the Timucuan practice of scalping is identifiable as a De Bry construction through its narrative structure.⁵⁴ The opening words to captions, in this and other volumes, offer another possibility to credit plates to the Frankfurt engravers. Captions commencing with a phrase along the lines of "The history recounts that..." usually

⁵¹ These figures vary for the two translations. The Latin version contains 588, the German version 595 illustrations. For some of the volumes, it is impossible to tell which engravings have been constructed in Frankfurt, and which were based on material from others, like for *Ind. Occ.* II. See App. 3.

⁵² Keazor (1998) 131–49; Sturtevant (1976) 417–54. J. P. Duviols, "Théodore de Bry et ses modèles Français", *Caravelle* 58 (1992) 7–16 argues the same for De Bry's edition of Las Casas.

⁵³ *Ind. Or.* IX, ills. iii, iv, vi, ix, x, and xii were all newly engraved for the Latin edition, after the initial plates which feature in the German version (by the De Zettlers?) were considered of insufficient quality. Five of the six engravings were mirrored.

⁵⁴ *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xv. See: J. Axtell and W. C. Sturtevant, "The unkindest cut, or who invented scalping", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd series, 37 (1980) 451–72.

denote the plate's invention in the De Bry workshop. Other textual indicators of De Bry-constructed representations include the phrase, anywhere in the relevant caption, that the illustration was "derived from the account".⁵⁵ In combination with existing images, the newly constructed engravings formed new iconographic sequences which could alter the overall impression readers had of the overseas world.

The captions

When the translations and engravings were finished, the next task to be fulfilled was one already briefly alluded to above, one exclusively performed for the De Bry collection. Since the images only came at the end of each volume, summaries in the form of captions were written to explain the depicted themes.⁵⁶ The resulting format was clearly successful as it was sustained until the death of Johan Theodore, with the single exception of *India Occidentalis* III, where illustrations were incorporated into the text. The reasons to separate the text from the engravings, quite uncommon for the De Brys and for early modern illustrated books in general, can be manifold. The intended emphasis on the engravings may have played a role, while the chances of inaccuracies were probably somewhat smaller. Texts and plates overlapped in *India Occidentalis* III, more systematically than in other volumes; a symptom of carelessness on the printer's behalf which Theodore de Bry detested.⁵⁷

The format had other advantages. For a firm which was to become widely known for its emblem books, the format appears remarkably emblematic, sharing that genre's typical tripartite structure of *inscriptio*,

⁵⁵ For example: *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xi (Ger): "In dem kurtzen Historischen Außzug, der Andern Schiffahrt, ist angezeygt worden,..." / (Lat): "In secundae Navigationis compendio dictum est,..." ; *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xlii (Ger): "Im Außgang dieser Historien haben wir eines, Peter Cambie genannt, Meldung gethan..." / (Lat): "Petri cuiusdam Gambie in Compendio meminimus,..." . Much of this helpful idiom was more current in the German captions than in their Latin counterparts.

⁵⁶ *Ind. Occ.* I (Eng) 4: "Addinge unto every figure a brief declaration of the same, to that ende that everye man cold the better understand that which is in livelye represented".

⁵⁷ Referring to another volume in which a similar problem occurred, De Bry wrote of his disgust with the copper printer's carelessness. Lempertz (1853–65) nr. 15; De Bry to Raphelengius (19/9/1595): "Vous trouverez lesdits figures fort mal imprimées pour ce que l'imprimeur n'a point nettoyé les plaques, et n'a eu le temps pour la grande besogne qui allait entre les mains" (Giuseppi 1915–17, 220).

pictura, and *scriptio*. The emblematic format may well have been a commercially driven gesture to readers in a period when the popularity of emblem books was unrivalled. The terminology used by the publishers, and the process of adaptation of the separated engravings in the collection of voyages closely resembled the making of the firm's emblem books of the 1590s.⁵⁸ For later volumes of the collection, the format may have come to be regarded as a trademark. Finally the arrangement may have enabled the De Brys to sell the illustrations separately or as a set, without the textual accounts, or to use them as placards outside their Frankfurt shop. It is uncertain whether they did sell the engravings separately or used them instead as an inducement to sell entire volumes, hence increasing the revenues in absolute terms. Some sets of illustrations generated more print-runs than the corresponding texts, but no separate purchases of the illustrations are documented.⁵⁹ Only Merian's stock catalogue of 1643 reveals that, at that point, some of the firm's illustrations were for sale as separate items.⁶⁰

The captions were either copied from the original narratives, or more often paraphrased and hence purpose-made texts. They were the work of the officina itself when there was either no time to obtain the projected paraphrases or no one available to meet the publisher's request. Yet finding prominent humanists willing to write captions, and thus contribute to the collection, was the preferred option. Although the example of asking Lipsius to enhance the commercial value of one of

⁵⁸ Van Groesen (2001) 120–24; Gossiaux (1985) 122–24.

⁵⁹ Although no separate engravings or sets of engravings have been found, and the engravings were not sold separately as a rule, several elements point to the incidental sale of the engravings alone. The engravings of some volumes have been (re-)printed more often than the texts, and thus some copies have first-edition texts accompanied by second-edition illustrations. This is the case with *Ind. Occ.* X (Lat). Whereas three different versions of the illustrations were printed (first state: BL 215.c.15 (6), Thys. 708 II; second state: Wellcome Library, London 1135; third state: BL c.115.h.4 (2); BL G6630 (1); BL 579.k.16 (2); MPM 423 II), the texts are identical. The same can be said for *Ind. Or.* II (Lat), where the illustrations have two states and the texts are again identical (BL G6609 (2) vs. MPM 439). The differences in states of volumes of the same edition have been established by using the so-called STCN-fingerprint method (P. C. A. Vriesema, "The STCN-fingerprint", *Studies in bibliography* XXXIX (1986) 93–100). Also: Stevens (1939) 8: "Copies vary in the number of reprinted leaves they contain, a fact which tends to show that De Bry reprinted only such leaves as were from time to time required to perfect his existing stock." Title-pages of books were regularly used as advertisements: Christadler (2004) 48, Richter (1984) 42–43.

⁶⁰ *Catalogus omnium librorum* (1643) 11: "Quaedam Tabulis Aencis expressae figurae majores, quae separatim venduntur".

the firm's publications springs to mind,⁶¹ it is uncertain whether a similar motive conditioned the collaboration of scholars to the collection of voyages, as no references were made to their contributions. The reputation of the caption-writers was nonetheless something to be proud of. Franciscus Raphelengius composed captions for at least two volumes of the collection. In September 1595, Theodore de Bry sent him

...28 pieces of the third and final part of the account of the Indies mentioned before, on the back of which you will find the chapter of each, so that you can much easier find the discourse of the mentioned 'portraits'. I request from you most kindly to make the descriptions for each history, in the manner in which you have done for the earlier one(s).⁶²

Raphelengius' contributions must be regarded as a testimony to a long-standing friendship established in Antwerp, since the two men were both aiming for success in the competitive early modern book market, and the assistance of one publisher to another's *magnum opus* was exceptional.⁶³ Other humanists writing explanatory prose for the collection included Paludanus and Clusius, who on at least one occasion shared the responsibility for delivering texts and possibly captions to the De Brys. In a letter from Clusius to Paludanus written in March 1601, the former reported that

I have sent those treatises on the Strait of Magellan and the Moluccas to the De Bry brothers as well; therefore I do not doubt that either those you have sent, or these that were sent by me, will have arrived safely in their hands, although they have not so far expressed anything.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Supra, Ch. 2, pp. 74–75.

⁶² Lempertz (1853–65) nr. 15; De Bry to Raphelengius, September 1595: "...avesce ie vous envoie De rechiff 28 pies Du 3e et Denir livre Des Dit indes ou troveres sur Le derire chascun chapitre, affin que vous poves trover tant plus surement Le Discours Des Dit portraict. Vous pryant bien affectueusement De faire Les escripteur sur chascun Histoire selon Lordinaire que votre Sr at faict az aultre" (Giuseppi 1915–17, 220). The letter refers to *Ind. Occ.* VI, the third volume based on the account of Benzone. De Bry's rusty French makes it impossible to establish if "az aultre" refers to one or more earlier volumes. That Raphelengius was the letter's recipient is stated by Lempertz who saw the original letter now lost.

⁶³ Van Groesen (2004) 38–40.

⁶⁴ A. Berendts, "Carolus Clusius (1526–1609) and Bernardus Paludanus (1550–1633). Their contacts and correspondence", *LIAS. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas* 5–1 (1978) 61; Clusius to Paludanus, March 1601: "Tractatus illos de freto Magellanico, atque de Moluccis Insulis misi etiam fratribus de Bry: itaque non dubito quin vel quos misisti, vel qui a me missi, recte ad eos pervenerint, tametsi illi nondum quidquam significarint".

“Those treatises” in all likelihood formed the contents of *India Orientalis* V, which appeared at the autumn fair, or the appendix to *India Occidentalis* IX, first published in early 1602.⁶⁵ The active involvement of Raphelengius, Paludanus, and Clusius confirms the close ties between the De Brys, their collection, and the emerging circle of scholars in the Northern Netherlands.

The captions were an instrumental part of the editorial strategy, and the De Brys thoroughly checked them before publication. The illustrations were numbered, and connected together textually so as to form narrative cycles summarising the traveller’s report. The publishers made sure that the first words of a caption referred to the last few words of the previous one, thus constructing the impression that the two passages were interconnected. When, for example, Dutch navigators on their way to the Strait of Magellan left West Africa, where they had encountered the indigenous ruler at Cape Lopez, the captions in the De Bry translations made a textual bridge between passages that were not consecutive chapters in the original account, written by the ship’s physician Barent Jansz.⁶⁶ This type of modification can be observed time and again in the De Bry collection, albeit often in a more straightforward form, with words like “also” or “hereafter” connecting the caption to the previous plate.⁶⁷ The rhetorical ploy of linking the plates together allowed the publishers to emphasise certain chapters of the account at the expense of other parts which they considered less interesting.

A related editorial and rhetorical adjustment was picking the first and last engravings in the sequence of plates, as these were most likely to leave a lasting impression on readers. The De Brys regularly opted to place the compositions they had constructed in Frankfurt into these influential slots. *America* IV, the first volume containing parts of Girolamo

⁶⁵ With regard to ‘those treatises’, Clusius and Paludanus could have been performing the same task as Raphelengius had in 1595. Other assignments for which the De Brys may have singled out humanists such as translating and proof-reading had to take place in Frankfurt. For *Ind.Or.* V, the translation was ascribed to Bilibaldus Strobaceus.

⁶⁶ Jansz (1600) [C4r–v]; *Ind.Occ.* IX, ills. xix and xx. See: M. van Groesen, “Barent Jansz. en de familie De Bry. Twee visies op de eerste Hollandse expeditie ‘om de West’ rond 1600”, *De zeventiende eeuw* 21–1 (2005) 43–47.

⁶⁷ A prime example can be found in the first three captions to engravings in *Ind.Or.* IX app., all beginning with the phrase “After the inhabitants of the Banda Islands...” referring to matters related in the previous plate: *Ind.Or.* IX app., ills. i, ii, and iii (Ger): “Als die Innwohner der Bandischen Inseln...” (i), and “Demnach die Inwohner der Bandischen Inseln...” (ii and iii)/(Lat): “Postquam Bandicarum insularum incolae...” (i, ii, and iii).

Benzoni's critical assessment of Spanish conduct in the New World, thus ended with a ceremony on Hispaniola depicting everything that was viewed as abhorrent about indigenous paganism.⁶⁸ Even *India Orientalis* IV, the volume focusing on Asia's natural world, commenced with engravings which were certain to wet the appetite of readers hoping for marvellous tales. Unlike many of the remaining plates which depicted the spices and herbs of the Orient, the volume's first four illustrations disclosed the wildness of the unfamiliar animals abroad. The opening plate offered a graphic delineation of a Dutch sailor whose leg had been bitten off by a shark (ill. 5).⁶⁹ Hence the captions, and the sequence of illustrations they presented, became a powerful instrument for advancing more fitting representations of the overseas world.

Printing

Over the period of thirty-three years between 1590 and Johan Theodore's death in 1623, the De Brys employed only a limited number of printers. After Johan Wechel died in 1593, the De Brys relied on the services of Johan Feyerabend and Johan Saur until 1599, and thereafter used the presses of Matthias Becker and Wolfgang Richter for nearly a decade. Hieronymus Galler enjoyed the exclusive role of printing De Bry titles in the Palatinate, having followed Johan Theodore to Oppenheim in 1609.⁷⁰ Selecting a new printer suited to the specific demands of the De Brys was a self-regulating process. When Johan Feyerabend died, Wolfgang Richter obtained two of his five presses. Matthias Becker was employed by Saur, before he and his son of the same name started an independent printing enterprise in 1598. After the death of the last member of the Becker dynasty in 1612, his widow and her second husband Paul Jacobi continued working with Johan Theodore de Bry.⁷¹ Only after returning to Frankfurt in 1619, did the firm start using different presses on a regular basis, perhaps in an

⁶⁸ *Ind. Occ.* IV, ill. xxiv.

⁶⁹ *Ind. Or.* IV, ill. i–iv.

⁷⁰ On Richter, Becker, and Galler: J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (2nd rev. ed., Wiesbaden 1982) 129, 130, and 367 respectively. See also: G. Richter, "Konzessionspraxis und Zahl der Druckereien in Frankfurt a. M. um 1600. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Gründungsgeschichte der Offizinen Balthasar Lipp und Wolfgang Richter", *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* XXVII (1986) 131–57; Benzing (1969) 590–642.

⁷¹ Richter (1986) 143–44, 149; Starp (1958) 49.

I.
MEMORABILIS ET MISERA-
BILIS HISTORIA NAVTÆ CVIVSDAM,
 apud Cochinum à grassatore immani pisce quædam
 fœdè mutilati & discerpti.



ACTOR libri huius inter cetera meminit, quomodo pridè eius diei, quo ex Cochino soluturi erant, clavum seu gubernaculum emendatum & resartum puppi navis rursus innexuri fuerint. Cum ergo pascere nauta quidam, lumbis fune recincto alligatus, ad medium usque corpus in undam se demitteret: de improviso grandis & varius piscis, quem Lusitani Tubaron siue Hayen nominant, appropians pendentis navis pedem ar: ceptum uno morsu integrum demolitus auulsit. Cuius ille relictum truncum cum manu admotus tacturus esset, mordicus insistens bestia, manum eandem præterea corripuit: quam totam cum dimidio brachio immaniter uno q. momento eidem detruncavit: ut semianimis exemptus, in nosocomium inferendus fuerit.

In historia huius cap. 4. mirabile quoque aliud animal, à piscatoribus in aqua captum nominatur. Huius ipsius effigies quoque hic spectanda offertur.

attempt to ease the widespread economic hardship after the outbreak of the 'Thirty Years' War.

Although the De Brys were not always pleased with the efforts of their printers, the long-term nature of these publisher-printer relationships indicates mutual satisfaction. The association between the De Brys and the Becker family appears to have been particularly intimate: on a personal level, Johan Israel was godfather to one of Matthias Becker the Younger's sons in 1599,⁷² and on a business level, the Beckers were entrusted with more responsibilities than other printers, requesting permission from the Frankfurt authorities for printing books of the De Bry firm,⁷³ and even selling copies of a De Bry publication to Jan Moretus in September 1604.⁷⁴ This was not uncommon, as printers sometimes received as pay a number of copies of the books they printed.

The relationship between the De Brys and Wolfgang Richter was also beneficial, but for different reasons. Richter, a Catholic and an associate of the printer Nicolaus Stein, was a client of the Archbishop of Mainz. In 1614, he replaced Stein as the printer of the Catholic catalogue of newly published titles at the Frankfurt fairs.⁷⁵ From 1603 onwards the De Brys regularly had specific works printed at Richter's presses, in some cases with dedications to the archbishop, presumably in the hope of ensuring inclusion of the books in the Catholic fair catalogues, which were initiated at this time and probably first appeared in 1605. These efforts must be considered the main reason for Richter's sudden rise to prominence in relation to the De Bry firm. He printed more De Bry titles than Becker in the years 1603, 1604, and 1606, including all Latin volumes of the voyages. To illustrated publications like the two series of travel narratives, engravings were added after the text had been printed. Hans Eckenthaler was employed for this task from before 1608 until at least 1620. Eckenthaler, like Becker, was a trusted employee of the De Brys, and represented the firm in dealings with the *Officina Plantiniana* in 1615 and 1616.⁷⁶

⁷² StAfr., Geburtsbuch 1597–1605, f71v.

⁷³ StAfr., ZBBP 24, f74v–75r (27/1/99), for App. 1, nr. 55.

⁷⁴ Arch. MPM 189, f55r; 759, f74v–75r; App. 1, nr. 85. Here the De Brys personally requested permission for publication: StAfr., ZBBP 54, f31r (27/4/1604).

⁷⁵ Brückner (1962) 86.

⁷⁶ Arch. MPM 1021 (Q16), f24r: "Noter que i'ay [Jan II or Balthasar Moretus, MvG] rendu a Hans Eckenthaler imprimeur de [Johan] Theod. de Bry le tomelet de noir pour laisser doulcer: lequel en foire de Sept. 1615 deluy a nous achepte a la parolle du

Different copies of the collection reveal some of the practicalities of the printing process. The increasingly bad state of the German book trade after 1618 is especially obvious, as the quality of the paper used in this period is consistently poor. Most of the differences between existing copies, however, seem to have been intentional rather than a result of changing circumstances. Under the supervision of Johan Theodore and Johan Israel in particular, a tendency to make volumes cheaper and thus more accessible is noticeable. Between 1602 and 1605, five quarto-versions of translated travel accounts were published in German, in addition to their folio-size equivalents.⁷⁷ Abridgements of the *America*-series appeared in 1617, and again in 1631 and 1655. A similar synopsis of the *India Orientalis*-series was announced on the poster catalogue of the firm before 1620, but was not published until the late 1620s by William Fitzer.

It is almost impossible to establish how many copies of a volume were produced in one print-run. The number of editions, ranging from two to six for the various De Bry volumes, does not provide the answer to the actual number of copies printed, and only indicates a persistent demand for the voyages well into the 1620s. Print-runs of the Latin and German editions may have diverged, if one of the two translations attracted more interest. The evidence on print-runs of comparable travel narratives in this period is equally marginal. The Frankfurt bookseller Levinus Hulsius elaborated on this matter in 1602 when he boasted that all 1,500 copies of the third volume of his collection of voyages had sold out rapidly, but the De Brys never disclosed this sort of information.⁷⁸ Jan Huygen van Linschoten acquired all remaining copies of his own *Itinerario* from Cornelis Claesz' estate in 1610. Fourteen years after its initial appearance, sixty copies were left waiting on the shelves of the bookshop.⁷⁹ Like the De Bry volumes, the *Itinerario* was a richly illustrated publication issued in folio, but the auction of Claesz' back catalogue still does not reveal the original number of copies printed.

de Bry susdict...". Also: Arch. MPM 760, f73v–74r. Johan Theodore was godfather to Hans Eckenthaler's son in August 1608: StAfr., Geburtsbuch 1606–16, f76v.

⁷⁷ Infra, Ch. 11, pp. 346–47.

⁷⁸ Steffen-Schrade (2004) 168. For Hulsius' collection of voyages, cf. infra, Ch. 11, pp. 346–52.

⁷⁹ V. Roeper, "D'Hollandtsche Magellaen. De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten" In: Idem, R. van Gelder, and J. Parmentier, eds., *Souffrir pour parvenir. De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Haarlem 1998) 26; Van Selm (1987) 179.

Estimates generally state that most printed titles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were issued in editions of 1,000 to 1,500 copies. Editions were seldom smaller than 500 copies and almost never exceeded 2,000 copies, as smaller quantities meant larger costs per copy, and large numbers required significant investments. In both relative and absolute commercial terms, it was therefore advantageous to produce editions of 1,000 to 1,500 copies, keeping prices low for both publishers and customers. Almost two-thirds of the books published by Jan Moretus in Antwerp in the 1590s were issued in such numbers, although his print-runs averaged 1,550.⁸⁰ The Officina Plantiniana, however, had more financial muscle than the De Bry firm, especially in the 1590s when the De Brys began their business. Given their folio size and the amount of paper required, the volumes of voyages required huge investments, and the De Brys may not have reached the average runs of the Antwerp publishers.

The print-runs of the De Bry volumes were more acutely determined by the engravings, as the fine lines of copperplates gradually wore away after intensive use. Plates could then be reworked or, in the case of the De Bry collection, replaced altogether as demonstrated by later editions of the volumes as well as by the abridgements. It is generally estimated that a new plate cut by a good engraver could yield up to 2,000 engravings, providing it was properly looked after. But estimates vary drastically: printers and their associates in Antwerp in the 1580s maintained that plates were worn out after 1,000 or, at most, 1,500 impressions. At the same time, in Southern Europe, estimated figures reached 4,000. Close analysis of the payment records for the title-plate of Caesar Baronius' *Annales ecclesiastici*, one of the most popular books printed by the Officina Plantiniana, reveals that these numbers still may be too conservative. The skill to rework plates and make them look 'as new' quickly spread among copper engravers in the early seventeenth century. The resulting illustrations were not of immaculate quality, but were acceptable for printers and customers alike.⁸¹ Using the highest contemporary estimate of 4,000 in want of a better figure, then, two German and two Latin editions of a single De Bry volume could each have had print-runs of up to 1,000 copies.

⁸⁰ Gaskell (1995) 160–63. Voet (1969–72) II 169–73.

⁸¹ K. L. Bowen and D. Imhof, "18,257 Impressions from a plate", *Print Quarterly* XXII-3 (2005) 265–79; Gaskell (1995) 158.

Obtaining patronage and permission for publication

While humanists were engaged in explaining the themes depicted, and printers were printing parts of the books already finished, the publishers themselves focused on the practical and commercial side of the project. Permission for publication and official privileges to protect the works from being pirated by others were usually obtained between six and three months before the books came onto the market, with the granting of privileges usually taking slightly longer than the routine local task of obtaining permission for publication. Lucrative attempts to find a favourable patron, to emphasise both the splendour of the volumes and the position of the affluent benefactor as a cultural *mecenas*, were undertaken simultaneously.

Finding suitable patrons was imperative for the viability of early modern publishing firms. Whereas the De Brys dedicated some of their works to friends in the Reformed community in Frankfurt and Oppenheim in the early 1590s and 1610s respectively, as was discussed in the previous chapters, only princes and sovereigns were regarded as appropriate patrons for volumes of the collection. The first two volumes of the *America*-series testify to a meticulous process of selecting and approaching suitable dedicatees. Elector Christian I of Saxony was honoured in the German edition of *India Occidentalis* I, and in the Latin version of *India Occidentalis* II. Rhinegrave William, Count of the Palatinate, was likewise praised and thanked in the French *India Occidentalis* I, the German *India Occidentalis* II, and the Latin *India Occidentalis* III. Frederick IV, the Elector Palatine, was also repeatedly the recipient of the De Brys' appreciation.

This careful policy must have benefited both the publishers and their patrons. The De Brys were able to stress their continued allegiance to important benefactors, while the patronage and elevation of the princes involved was made known to different sections of the international reading public. The strategy of finding different patrons for different volumes in different languages further explains why the De Brys found no opportunity to honour Sir Walter Raleigh other than in the English *India Occidentalis* I, to the dissatisfaction of James Garet. Dedications sometimes had an obligatory feel: descendants or family members of those who had once received a dedication were reminded of these earlier acts of patronage. Ludwig IV of Hesse-Marburg, for instance, when it was his turn in 1601 for *America* IX, was pointed to the dedication

his nephew Maurice had earlier accepted.⁸² Readers were thus given the impression that noble dynasties across the Empire wholeheartedly supported the collection and its contents.

Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel was the most recurrent and probably most esteemed *mecenas* of volumes of the De Bry collection. He sponsored the family firm on two levels. Firstly, he was a patron in the traditional mould, paying the sum of 56 *Reichsthaler* and a gilded goblet for being revered in the “seven books of *America*” in 1597.⁸³ Secondly, he ordered a luxurious copy of the first three *India Occidentalis*-volumes, bound in velvet, which earned the publishers another twenty *Reichsthaler*, an amount which in all likelihood more than covered the costs of manufacturing such a copy.⁸⁴ It is likely that the De Brys put additional efforts into these extraordinary, prestigious volumes, and this may explain some of the beautifully coloured copies of the collection still surviving in several academic libraries.⁸⁵ Although it was not uncommon for patrons to wield influence on the subject matter of works appearing in their name, they did not exert such pressure, either implicit or overt, in relation to the De Bry collection.

For the highest possible grade of commercial protection of their internationally orientated volumes, the De Brys sought to obtain privileges from the Imperial authorities in Prague. They obtained their first privilege in 1590, for a period of four years, and included it in several *America*-volumes.⁸⁶ Later the De Brys often contented themselves by referring to the “privilegio Rom. Keys. Maj.” in small print on the title-pages.

⁸² *Ind. Occ.* IX (Ger) [(?)3r]. The same thing also happened for other publications of the De Bry firm. In the dedication to App. 1, nr. 147 [(?)4r], Frederick V was persuaded to accept the dedication, as his father had been a trustworthy patron for many of the family's publications: cf. *supra*, Ch. 3, p. 95.

⁸³ C. von Rommel, *Geschichte von Hessen* VI (Kassel 1837) 508–09: “...weil er Ihr F. G. America in 7 Büchern begroffen dedicirt”. Not all seven volumes contain dedications to the Landgrave though.

⁸⁴ HStAM, 4b 265, f23r (7/5/1594): “Es soll unser Cammerdiener, dem Buchdrucker in Franckfurt Theodoro de Brij vor die beschreibung der dreijer Landtschafften Virginiae, Brasiliae et Floridae, so ehr uns uff begeren In Sammat binden lassen, undt anhero uberschickt, 20 Rt zu 27 alb. zustellen, undt uns herauß berechnen”.

⁸⁵ For instance: UBL 1368 A 8–10 (Lat); KB 1712 A 12 (Ger). See: S. Dackerman, “Painted prints in Germany and the Netherlands” In: Idem, ed., *Painting prints. The revelation of color* (Baltimore 2002) 26–28.

⁸⁶ *Ind. Occ.* II (Ger) [a4r], *Ind. Occ.* III (Lat) [a4v], and *Ind. Occ.* IV (Ger) [A2v].

Privileges could be obtained for first editions, but also for reprints, and the De Brys did both. Although acquiring these ‘privilegia impressoria’ was often little more than a formality, it could sometimes prove to be a stumbling block. In the autumn of 1612, Johan Theodore requested permission to prolong the privilege for the German editions of *India Occidentalis* I and *India Orientalis* I. Yet the Imperial commission was wary of the De Brys and their collection of voyages, which they apparently perceived as a hostile publication.⁸⁷ According to the imprints, new editions of the opening volumes did not re-appear in German until 1620 and 1625 respectively.

Very few of these official requests remain,⁸⁸ and since not all the title-pages contain the brief statement, it is uncertain if a privilege was obtained for every single volume. Early modern German publishers in general requested Imperial privileges for fewer than one percent of their titles,⁸⁹ and the repeated requests by the De Brys—for much more than one percent of their stock—again affirm the commercial expediency of the officina. The collection was by all accounts sufficiently protected from plagiarism, as the elaborate copper engravings were too complicated and too expensive to copy for most other contemporary publishers, thus safeguarding the copyright of the De Brys. Theodore de Bry further warned potentially malevolent colleagues in the preface to *India Occidentalis* I that he had added “several secret marks” to his engravings, which made copying the illustrations illegitimately even more hazardous.⁹⁰ No cases of plagiarism related to the collection of voyages are known.

Whereas both dedications and Imperial privileges were a luxury rather than a necessity, official permission from territorial authorities was a *sine qua non* for publication. Extensive numbers of so-called ‘censurae’

⁸⁷ *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* XX (1899) II nr. 17172. Written by the censors, in dorso: “Ist wohl aufzusehen, sintemahl dise Calvinisten zu verklainerung unser catholischen religion und des hochlöblichen hauss Osterreich, in Hispanien wunderbarliche Indianische historias beschreiben”.

⁸⁸ *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* XX (1899) II nrs. 17346, 17363, and 17389.

⁸⁹ H.-J. Koppitz, “Die Privilegia impressoria des Staatsarchivs in Wien”, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1994) 197.

⁹⁰ *Ind. Occ.* I (Ger) [“Den günstigen Leser Glück und Heyl”]: “Dann in meinen Bildnussen sind etliche heymliche Marckzeichen verborgen, welche, so sie nicht gebürlicher weise angemerket, eine grosse verwirrung verursachen werden”. Possible revelations of these ‘secret marks’ are found in Faupel (1989), for example 37–38 and 40–41 (*Ind. Occ.* I, ill. x and xi resp.).

surviving in the Frankfurt city archives give a good indication of the regularity of the censorship procedure at the heart of the early modern book trade.⁹¹ If a volume of the collection contained more than one travel account, the permission to publish translated versions of these works had to be acquired separately, for example in the case of the two reports for *India Orientalis* VII.⁹² Intriguingly, from 1601 onwards, permissions to print new volumes of the collection were granted on behalf of the city by Gotthard Artus.⁹³ Having first translated the books he was asked to censor, Artus' role on a municipal level must have been extremely convenient for the De Brys, speeding up the process of getting the green light for publication. Although the Imperial book commission, from the 1590s onwards, also sought to control the publication of new works, its efficacy in Frankfurt and certainly in the Palatinate was limited. If a publisher received permission from the urban authorities, nothing stood in the way of a title's publication.

⁹¹ StAfr., ZBBP 16, 20, 24, 36–37, 41–42, 46, 48–49, 52, 54–55.

⁹² StAfr., ZBBP 54, f33v and f34v, for the works of Balbi (12/12/1604) and Van Spilbergen (23/2/1605) respectively.

⁹³ StAfr., ZBBP 36, nr. 62 is the first time Artus is named as the censor (Oct./Nov. 1600). He continued to oversee the De Bry volumes well into the second decade of the seventeenth century. A typical approval was written thus (ZBBP 37, nr 12; not dated, but probably referring to *Ind. Occ.* IX (Ger), published at Q01): “Dieses buchlein, welches ich aus hollendischer Sprach in unser deutsche sprach transferirt habe, ist nur ein historische beschreibung der schiffart der hollender durch das Fretius Magellanius, nach dem Molukischen Inseln, wohl zulesen wegen der gefahr so ihnen begegnet. M. Gothardt Artus”.

CHAPTER FIVE

PLANTS AND ANIMALS: THE NATURAL WORLD IN THE DE BRY COLLECTION

When readers turned over the first page of the first volume of the collection, they were immediately treated to the first engraving, that of the Fall of man. A powerful and highly recognisable image, the depiction of Adam and Eve was intended to remind readers of the Garden of Eden, which had been forfeited and supplanted by a degenerated world. Although the European encounter with the New World had given the representation of Paradise a new dimension, the Fall had already been relevant previously as the background to understanding the natural world and the relationship between man, plants, and animals. It had reduced the peaceful cohabitation between men and animals, and the unlimited fertility of the earth to a soil which required cultivation, and fierce creatures which needed to be tamed. Man's right to rule over both animals and plants had nevertheless remained intact. The natural world was principally created to accommodate humanity, and additionally deserved to be admired and studied as one of the prime demonstrations of Divine omnipotence, the second book of God.¹ These notions were still intact around 1600, and the representation of the natural world in the De Bry collection is clearly embedded in this anthropocentric framework.

Meanwhile botanists and zoologists, some of them close associates of the De Bry family such as Carolus Clusius, were searching a scientific answer to traditional conceptions of nature, and overseas expansion provided a major impetus to question existing views. Many new species

¹ The De Brys often referred to the wonders of the overseas world as a sign of God's omnipotence, for instance, in typical fashion, in the preface to *Ind. Occ.* VII (Ger) [A2r]: "Es ist aber fürnemlich bey dieser Historien wol zu mercken, wie Gott der Herr seine Wunderwerck nicht wil verborgen lassen, sondern jederzeit etliche Personen schicket, welche sie offnbaren unnd seine Allmacht dardurch rühmen und preisen". There is no corresponding introduction to the Latin translation. K. Thomas, *Man and the natural world. Changing attitudes in England 1500–1800* (2nd ed.; Harmondsworth 1987 [1st ed. London 1983]); A. Gerbi, *Nature in the New World. From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo* (Pittsburgh 1985).

unknown to Europeans had been discovered, while other creatures had been conspicuously absent. In some cases, as with the Asian spices, the natural world had formed the most important reason for Europe's maritime efforts. Ever since Columbus' reports, furthermore, the New World abundance of herbs, plants, and trees was widely known. The botanical inventory, essentially unchanged since ancient times, was extended within 150 years from a few hundred to around twenty-thousand species.² Detailed descriptions and illustrations of the newly found flora and fauna were indispensable for absorbing their variety and their potential practical applications, a crucial motivation behind scientific naturalism in the seventeenth century. These descriptions in turn generated early attempts to classify the plants and animals of both Europe and the overseas world. Glimpses of this new approach also surfaced in the De Bry volumes, although the categorising methods of natural history really gained momentum only in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The descriptive examination of the overseas world is most apparent in those texts and illustrations of the De Bry collection devoted to exotic vegetation. Hence it is mainly perceptible in the volumes which recount the early Dutch activities in Asian waters, reflecting the predominance of Dutch maritime expansion to the Orient, Dutch pre-eminence in the field of botany, and the close connections between the Frankfurt publishing firm and several leading humanists in the Northern Netherlands. Other contributions to the collection, however, lacked the eye for detail which characterised the representation of flora in these adapted accounts.

This disparity was in part due to a difference in the pace of developments in the disciplines of botany and zoology. Animals continued to fulfil their traditional, symbolic function throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for example in heraldry and popular (emblematic) literature, providing a conventional set of tools to describe man's moral qualities and deficiencies.³ A survey of plant life, however, lent itself less readily to symbolic interpretations. It had become a specialised domain of knowledge as early as the 1530s and 1540s,

² H. Lowood, "The New World and the European catalog of nature" In: K. O. Kupperman, ed., *America in European consciousness 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill 1995) 295.

³ W. Ashworth jr., "Emblematic natural history of the Renaissance" In: N. Jardine, J. A. Secord, and E. C. Spary, eds., *Cultures of natural history* (Cambridge 1996) 17-37.

with chairs in botany and the related field of anatomy being established at various universities. Private and academic gardens gradually began to appear in a collective attempt to identify and cultivate plants and herbs for medicinal purposes. Although at the same time the few menageries and aviaries of early modern Europe, and courtly displays of rhinoceroses, elephants, camels, lions, and other exotic species were attracting large numbers of spectators, the urge to dissect and interpret was noticeably absent. Curiosity and amazement continued to dictate the appreciation of animals.⁴

5.1. THE REPRESENTATION OF HERBS, PLANTS, AND TREES

Nature was represented in almost every engraving in the collection, albeit mostly as a backdrop to more expressive renderings of human figures and activities. Many of the landscapes depicted by the De Brys, displaying mountains, rivers, and forests, or even earthquakes and torrential rainstorms, disclose an unbridled type of overseas nature which early modern Europeans resented. Many of them avoided drifting away too far from towns and villages, and spoke of their anxiety when faced with rough and desolate areas like the Alps. Nature, in their opinion, had to be cultivated and forced into the service of man. Engravings depicting the familiar geometry of a botanical garden, located in China yet conceived in the Frankfurt workshop, were therefore doubtlessly appreciated. The same, in principle, can be assumed for engravings illustrating the successful Spanish search for gold and silver in the New World.⁵

The natural resources of the overseas world, often elusive, were of prime interest to many Europeans at home. Naturalists attached a professional relevance to this type of information, while monarchs, merchants, and others eyeing political or personal profits were attracted to the commercial benefits on offer. The collection predictably drew attention to the Potosí silver mines, and the various lucrative herbs and

⁴ Lowood (1995) 296; J. Hale, *The civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (New York and Toronto 1994) 516, 528–29; F. D. Hoeniger, “How plants and animals were studied in the mid-sixteenth century” In: Idem and J. W. Shirley, eds., *Science and the arts in the Renaissance* (Washington DC, London, and Toronto 1985) 141–42.

⁵ *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxx and *Ind.Occ.* IX, ill. iii respectively. The Spanish thirst for America’s precious metals was more stereotypically represented as part of the Black Legend.

spices in India and the Far East. Occasionally, though, the De Brys played down the natural riches abroad. They based several of the illustrations to *India Occidentalis* VIII on the title-plate of the version they used as the source for this volume, the assembled Dutch translations of English reports on the New World. This single illustration—the reports did not contain any plates—showed the abundance of pearls on the coast of Guyana, by means of a cornucopia-shaped bag of oysters, firmly in the hands of one of the locals. The De Brys extracted all the iconographic elements available to design four new compositions, but did not include the oysters and pearls, which were not on display anywhere in the collection.⁶

Any analysis of the vegetation represented in the De Bry collection should commence with Volume IV of the *India Orientalis*-series, which was principally devoted to the plant varieties of Asia as observed by Jan Huygen van Linschoten and Willem Lodewijcksz. The latter reported on the first Dutch expedition to the East Indies, which returned to Amsterdam in 1597, while Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* of 1596 laid the foundations for Dutch travel writing, based on his experiences and encounters in Goa in the 1580s while in the service of Portuguese. The De Brys withheld botanical illustrations from the previous two *India Orientalis*-volumes already largely based on these accounts in order to create a thematic, and as such untypical fourth volume. A comparison of the botanical engravings in the Dutch accounts with the Frankfurt illustrations shows above all else how painstakingly thorough the De Brys were in reworking the iconographic material. With so much attention being paid to the changes the De Brys made to the illustrations—in previous literature as well as, admittedly, in this study—the accuracy which they applied to the handling of the available material is often too easily overlooked.

The valuation of correctness is further underlined by the few modifications the publishers did make to the plates of *India Orientalis* IV, or rather to the words written on the engraved plates. In order to enable readers to identify certain exotic species, the original illustrations included name tags. In the De Bry engravings, some of this terminol-

⁶ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) ills. ii–v [first set of ills.]/(Lat) ills. xv–xviii; L. Keymis, *Waerachtighe ende grondighe beschryvinghe vande tweede Zeevaart der Engelschen nae Guiana...* (Amsterdam 1598).

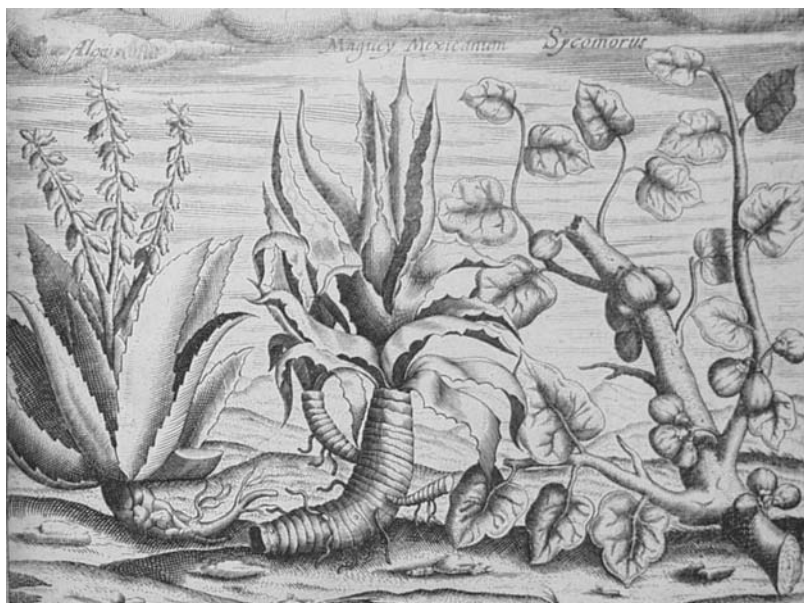
ogy had been changed. Some of the adjustments were made simply to clarify the Dutch nomenclature for an international readership; the name 'Cubebe' was changed into 'Pimenta del rabo', its more common Portuguese equivalent. Several other alterations to the nomenclature should be considered clear improvements: the name 'Cassia' was refined to 'Cassia solutiva', a species well-known in Europe for its medicinal value. The plant dubbed 'semper vivum' in one of the original plates was instead called 'Aloë' by the De Brys, in order to make the connection to related plants. Other names of exotic vegetation were added without any suggestion of nomenclature in the original travel accounts. Hence a plant not labelled at all by Willem Lodewijcksz appeared in *India Orientalis* IV as 'Maguey Mexicanum', a contemporary name for the 'Agave Americana' which had been introduced into Europe in the sixteenth century (ill. 6).⁷

Although the De Brys owned a private garden in Frankfurt, and probably used some of its flowers to obtain credible illustrations for other publications like their *Florilegium novum*,⁸ it is unlikely that they were sufficiently knowledgeable about exotic vegetation so as to be capable of adding fitting nomenclature and references to contemporary botanical treatises without assistance. In the case of *India Orientalis* IV, they relied on the expertise of the Dutch physician Bernardus Paludanus, who had been roundly praised by the De Brys in the preface to the previous volume. Paludanus, himself a contributor to Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, had first-hand information on some of the herbs, plants, and flowers, as suggested by the catalogue of his cabinet of rarities in Enkhuizen. In 1591 he was offered the prestigious post of curator of the botanical garden in Leiden, the ultimate recognition for his knowledge of exotic flora.⁹

⁷ *Ind.Or.* IV, ills. xv, xvii, and xix (twice) respectively; G. M. A. W. L. [= W. Lodewijcksz], *D'eerste boeck. Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avontueren die de Hollandtsche schepen bejeghent zijn* (Amsterdam 1598) [X2r], [X4r], and [Z1r] (twice) respectively. On nomenclature: Thomas (1987) 81–87.

⁸ App. 1, nr. 117, where Johan Theodore confirmed having drawn some of the flowers after actual models from Frankfurt private gardens. For the letter from the De Brys to Clusius on bulbs: supra, Ch. 2, p. 77.

⁹ F. Egmond, "Een mislukte benoeming. Paludanus en de Leidse universiteit" In: R. van Gelder, J. Parmentier, and V. Roeper, eds., *Souffrir pour parvenir. De wereld van Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Haarlem 1998) 51–64. On Paludanus' cabinet of rarities: H. D. Schepelern, "Naturalienkabinett oder Kunstkammer. Der Sammler Bernhard Paludanus und sein Katalogmanuskript in den Königlichen Bibliothek in Kopenhagen", *Nordelbingen. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte* 50 (1981) 157–82; R. van Gelder, "Liefhebbers en



Ill. 6. *Ind.Or.* IV, ill. xix

When Paludanus eventually turned down the Leiden offer, the university appointed Carolus Clusius instead. Clusius was regarded as the leading expert in Europe on overseas vegetation. He had made a name in the 1560s, translating Garcia da Orta's *Colóquio dos simples e drogas e coisas medicinais da Índia*, the most influential treatise on Asian plants and herbs, from Portuguese into Latin.¹⁰ To the original study, Clusius added a translation of a medicinal history of the New World by Nicolás Monardes from Seville, and both texts featured in his book titled *Exoticorum libri decem* (1605). While translating travel accounts for the De Brys in the 1590s, Clusius finished the manuscript of his *Rariorum plantarum historia*, published by Jan Moretus in 1601, which promptly acquired canonical status in the Republic of Letters.¹¹ Both Paludanus

geleerde luiden. Nederlandse kabinetten en hun bezoekers" In: E. Bergvelt, et al., eds., *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735* (Zwolle and Amsterdam 1992) 263–66.

¹⁰ The Latin edition is titled: *Aromatum, et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia* (Antwerp 1567). On Da Orta's treatise: R. Grove, "Indigenous knowledge and the significance of South-West India for Portuguese and Dutch constructions of tropical nature", *Modern Asian studies* 30–1 (1996) 125–26, 129 ff.

¹¹ Lowood (1995) 302–03; Hunger (1927–43) *passim*. A research project on Carolus Clusius started in 2005 at Leiden University's Scaliger Institute. Individual research

and Clusius repeatedly assisted the De Brys to enhance the fidelity of the exotic flora represented in their collection.

Clusius' help is most obvious in the first three volumes of the *America*-series, volumes for which he was credited as the translator.¹² In the text of Volume II, dedicated to voyages to Florida, a number of additions were made to explain botanical matters in the original account. For example, the name of one of the typically American crops, maize, was inserted in both the German and Latin versions of René de Laudonnière's account.¹³ In *India Orientalis* I, similar additions can be found regarding 'lignum ebum' or 'lignum Guaiacum', presumed to be a cure for syphilis. On this occasion, references to Martial, Aristotle, and Pliny were printed in the margins, but only in the Latin edition, which was aimed at a more knowledgeable readership.¹⁴ Although neither Clusius nor Paludanus is known to have assisted in the making of this volume, it is again unlikely that the De Brys would have been able to put the correct references into place.

In Volume I of *India Occidentalis*, the strengths of Clusius and Theodore de Bry were optimally combined, as the latter, or one of his sons, slightly modified some of White's watercolours by adding depictions of the local agriculture, like maize, pumpkins, and tobacco plants. The representations of these crops were not based on the original drawing, nor on the set of White illustrations which the De Brys decided not to use, and which will be discussed below. Despite the lack of original iconographic material, the engraver nevertheless produced acceptable images. Working in close connection with Clusius probably explains the precision which underlay the artist's efforts.¹⁵ With Clusius and Paludanus offering assistance to the De Brys for many years, contemporary

subjects are 'Clusius and botany in the context of the Habsburg Court (1570–1590)' by Esther van Gelder, 'Exchange and language in Clusius' network of botanists' by Sylvia van Zanen, and 'Natural history in the making: Clusius and the European community of naturalists' by Florike Egmond.

¹² Clusius alone was credited for the translations, but for *Ind. Occ.* I he received substantial support from England: *supra*, Ch. 4, pp. 113–16.

¹³ *Ind. Occ.* II (Ger) V/(Lat) f6v; R. de Laudonnière, et al., *L'histoire notable de la Floride située es Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains Capitaines & Pilotes François, décrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois mois: à laquelle a esté adiousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourgues* (Paris 1586) 4.

¹⁴ *Ind. Or.* I (Ger) 2/(Lat) 2; O. Lopez and F. Pigafetta, *Relazione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade* (Rome 1591) 3.

¹⁵ *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. xx; Hulton (1984) 66. Maize did not acquire importance as a staple commodity in Europe until the late seventeenth century: A. W. Crosby, *The Columbian exchange. Biological and cultural consequences of 1492* (Westport, Ct., 1973) 179.

readers may have thought of the collection as a genuinely informative work, a trustworthy source on American and Asian flora with scientific aspirations.

But did they? Generally botanists and zoologists considered the union of art and science in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries rather awkward, with artists failing to provide the accuracy they demanded. Scientists objected to the use of pictures *per se* because they portrayed singular objects and their accidental qualities, not substantial forms or essences, and were therefore of little value to natural science. Also illustrations, however faithful, could not replicate important features like size and colour, which were instrumental for enabling readers to identify and recognise specimens. Some authors therefore attempted to illustrate their works with canonical samples devoid of individual variations, but this only led to even louder disapproval from scholars. Others instead reverted to depicting as many different examples as possible of one species, but this was obviously impractical, as well as expensive.¹⁶

The De Brys, as publishers and artists, did not spend much time worrying about this issue. *India Occidentalis* I included twenty-three illustrations of Virginia, almost all based on White's watercolours, which Hakluyt had handed to the De Brys. Yet White's set of New World drawings contained no fewer than sixty-three pictures in total, with many of the extra forty images devoted to botanical or zoological novelties of the American province; the De Brys, however, did not engrave a single one of these.¹⁷ The addition of animals to other illustrations, like a land crab to one of the plates in their first volume, suggests that the De Brys did have these extra images at their disposal.¹⁸ There is no reason to believe that Hakluyt had failed to give these to the publishers; the illustrations after all confirmed his desired notion of a fertile province, ideal for settling. Clusius certainly would not have objected

¹⁶ S. Kusakawa, "Illustrating nature" In: M. Frasca-Spada and N. Jardine, eds., *Books and the sciences in history* (Cambridge 2000) 105–08; S. de Renzi, "Writing and talking of exotic animals" In: M. Frasca-Spada and N. Jardine, eds., *Books and the sciences in history* (Cambridge 2000) 159–60.

¹⁷ Hulton (1984) 40–90, with illustrations of the natural world: 43–61, 80–84.

¹⁸ *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. xiii; Hulton (1984) 43. Previously pointed out by P. Hulton, "Realism and tradition in ethnological and natural history imagery of the 16th century" In: A. Ellenius, ed., *The natural sciences and the arts. Aspects of interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th century* (Uppsala 1985) 22–23.

to incorporating pictures of the natural world. It is likely that it was the De Brys who vetoed their inclusion, perhaps on financial grounds. This would not have been uncommon; sixteenth-century printers and publishers in general had little affection for botanical treatises.¹⁹

When the De Brys were not guided by the likes of Clusius and Paludanus, their enthusiasm for exotic flora can only be described as marginal. Jose de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590), for instance, paid generous attention to the flora and fauna of the New World. Acosta, a Jesuit missionary, hypothesised that the native inhabitants of the Americas originally came from Asia, migrating to the New World by means of an as yet undiscovered land bridge connecting the two continents. Despite Acosta's emphasis on the natural world, the fourteen De Bry-designed engravings for *India Occidentalis* IX did not contain a single botanical or zoological plate.²⁰ Clearly the indigenous vegetation was not seen as important in comparison to the local population, which was overrepresented, not just in this volume but in many other parts of the collection. Sometimes the De Brys restricted their efforts of selection to the German volumes, expecting these to be bought by a less demanding readership. In one instance, a half-page elaboration on bananas found in Congo by Odoardo Lopez was included in the Latin version, but deemed appropriate for omission from the German edition published at the same time.²¹

This last example suggests that the De Brys considered most of the exotic flora too specific to justify insertion in a collection intended for as broad an audience as possible. This would also explain why the botanical commitment that characterised adjustments to *India Orientalis* IV, under the supervision of Paludanus, was absent from *India Orientalis* VI only four years later. Here, when combining two plant illustrations of Pieter de Marees' account of the Gold Coast into one engraving, the De Brys added local human routines while omitting the references

¹⁹ Lowood (1995) 307–09, citing the canonical works of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and the Spanish physician Fernando Hernández as the prime examples. De Renzi (2000) 153–55 elaborates on the dissemination of manuscript copies of Hernández' work.

²⁰ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ills. i–xiv. Acosta's work consisted of seven books, of which the first four were devoted to the natural world. The first four of the set of fourteen De Bry engravings were based on these four books, yet all focused on human habits and activities.

²¹ *Ind. Or.* I (Ger) 36/(Lat) 29; Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 41.

to parsley and ginger from the original report.²² Isolated engravings of the natural world in other volumes rehashing outdated conceptions of Pliny suggest the same lackadaisical approach, and sit uneasily alongside contributions by Clusius and Paludanus. *India Occidentalis* VI, almost entirely devoted to Spanish activities in the New World, closed with an engraving of a marvellous tree in the Canary Islands (ill. 7).²³ This single tree alone provided enough fresh water for both men and animals on the island. The extensive caption described the tree in meticulous detail, before speculating about to which chapter of Pliny's *Historia naturalis* it could be traced, meekly following Benzoni's report. Its prominent position as the final illustration of this volume may have raised concerns among knowledgeable readers about the construction of the natural world in the collection.



Ill. 7. *Ind. Occ.* VI, ill. xxviii

²² *Ind. Or.* VI, ill. xiv; P. D. M. [= P. de Marcees], *Beschryvinge ende Historische verhael, vant Gout koninckrijk van Gunea...* (Amsterdam 1602) ills. 13 and 14.

²³ Based on G. Benzoni, *Historia Indiae Occidentalis [...] res ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestas...* (Geneva 1586) 423–26. The engraving was inspired by a crude woodcut in the second edition of Benzoni's Italian report (see App. 3).

5.2. THE REPRESENTATION OF ANIMALS

Whereas some of the exotic vegetation was presented accurately, the portrayal of fauna in the De Bry collection is disappointing. Under Clusius' supervision, the Latin volumes contained a few added references to zoological literature of the sixteenth century, similar to references to botanical literature in the Latin collection discussed above.²⁴ Yet such additions were rare. Instead the De Brys could not always resist the urge to depict fantastic creatures, probably in an attempt to exploit the interest among parts of the readership for marvellous, even demonic stories of faraway lands.²⁵ As late as 1618, Johan Theodore de Bry and Matthaeus Merian designed what can best be described as dragon-like snakes for *India Occidentalis* XI, based on an obsolete report credited to Amerigo Vespucci. By that time, however, the Renaissance outlook open to marvels was about to be replaced by a more empirical approach to zoology. Many naturalists, around 1620, would have been able to advise the De Brys against including such fictional beasts.²⁶

As animals more than plants could serve as a symbolic indication of the degree of primitiveness or civility, or even of Divine classification of overseas societies, the zoological modifications of the De Brys provide a clearer insight into their editorial objectives. In contrast to its reportedly exuberant flora, the New World was generally acknowledged to possess only a meagre fauna, with very few quadrupeds in particular.²⁷ Elsewhere, the European interest for Asian crops was not matched by a similar fascination for Asian wildlife. Animals nevertheless featured prominently in both series of the collection of voyages, with the number of illustrations indicating their high priority. The De Brys even testified to having been unable to include all the available zoological material. They explicitly laid out the parameters of their representational efforts by stating, in one of the captions in Volume I of *India Orientalis*, that

²⁴ To Guillaume Rondelet's *Libri de piscibus marinis* (Lyon 1554–55), for example, in *Ind. Occ.* III (Lat) 152.

²⁵ M. de Asúa and R. French, *A new world of animals. Early modern Europeans on the creatures of Iberian America* (Aldershot 2005) 125–30; H. Meyer, “Frühe Neuzeit” In: P. Dinzelbacher, ed., *Mensch und Tier in der Geschichte Europas* (Stuttgart 2000) 364–65.

²⁶ *Ind. Occ.* X, ill. iv; De Asúa and French (2005) 11–12, 136–138. Gerbi (1985) 45–49 demonstrates that Vespucci cannot have been the author, and instead refers to this “not very talented scholar” as the ‘pseudo-Vespucci’. This term will also be used here. See also the introduction to: L. Formisano, ed., *Letters from a New World. Amerigo Vespucci's discovery of America* (New York 1992).

²⁷ Lowood (1995) 296; Gerbi (1985) 15–16, 278–79; Crosby (1973) 5–6.

they had decided to depict only “those animals which were regarded as strange and unknown [to Europeans]”.²⁸

This objective was supported by several promises of marvellous and unfamiliar animals in the prefaces to some of the De Bry volumes.²⁹ In *India Orientalis* VI, they put these objectives into practice: chapters on elephants, crocodiles, chameleons, and leopards were translated word for word, while similar pieces on foxes, deer, bees, spiders, and ants were almost entirely left out. The sections on the first two animals were reduced to one short paragraph, where the similarity of West African foxes and deer to familiar European species was explained, almost as an explicit reason for the abbreviations.³⁰ Such proclamations and adjustments offer a glance into the editorial strategy of the De Brys; the emphasis on things unfamiliar is at the heart of the collection’s representations, and the animal world is only one example.

The wider public of readers in Europe, in contrast to expert zoologists, continued to be fascinated by marvellous creatures. The anthropocentric attitude of early modern Europe can be convincingly measured by the contemporary criteria of assessing animal life. The first consideration in classifying animals was whether or not they were edible. These nutritional aspects of overseas life will be discussed in the following chapter. Secondly, animal merit was related to their functional use for man in daily life, for labour, for clothing, or for transport. In order to be employed for the human cause, the creatures first needed to be tamed. The difference between wild and domesticated species was therefore a third vital factor in the appreciation of animals, and, by definition, of the control of humans over local wildlife.³¹ The declared objective of the De Brys to omit familiar, and therefore often

²⁸ *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) ill. x: “dieweil aber dieselben theils auch in Teutschlandt gemein [...] haben wir sie alle auff’s Kupffler zubringen für unnötig, und nur die jenigen allein, so bey uns frembd und unbekandt, den Kunst liebenden für Augen zustellen gut geachtet”/(Lat) ill. xi: “Sed cum quaedam etiam in hisce nostris inveniuntur regionibus, peregrina & alias ignota hisce iconibus exprimere conati sumus, ut lectorem eorum formis in cerebro effigiendis levemus taedio”.

²⁹ In the preface to *Ind.Or.* IV (Ger) [(^)3v], for instance: “...der wunderseltzamen und ungehewren Thiere”. Plants were also referred to in these terms, for instance: *Ind.Or.* IV (Ger) [(^)4r]: “...seltzame wunder Gewächß”.

³⁰ De Marees (1602) 70–71; *Ind.Or.* VI (Ger) 89: “...seyn dieselben eben der Gattung, wie sie bey uns gefunden werden”/(Lat) 78: “...nihil autem à nostris differunt”. The De Brys left out a full chapter on animals, almost certainly because it summarised other chapters: De Marces (1602) 64–66.

³¹ Thomas (1987) 53–56.

domesticated, animals from their panorama of the overseas world put an emphasis on the lack of human command over nature in America, Africa, and Asia.

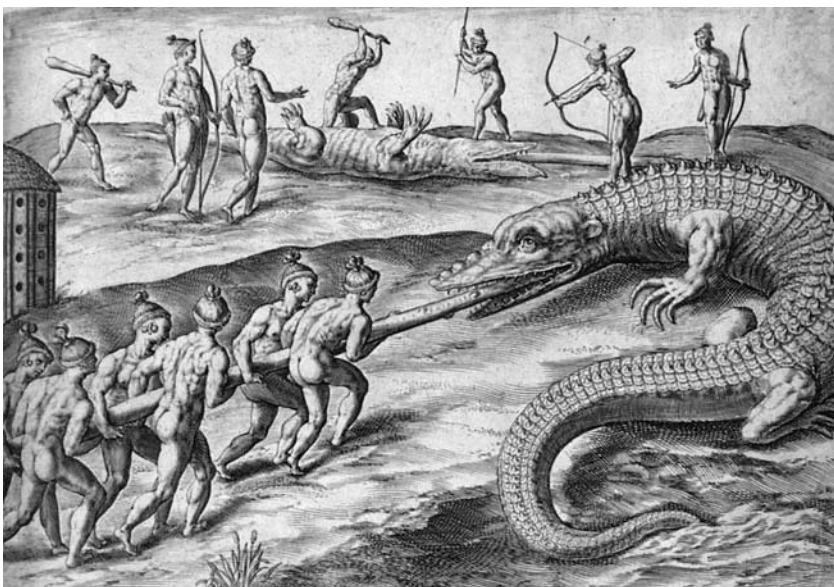
5.3. THE WILD SPECIES OF THE OVERSEAS WORLD

The presence of evidently wild species, of no use to humans, provides an indication of the hierarchy of overseas societies in Divine creation. Untamed animals were found throughout the De Bry collection, as they embodied the alterity of the natural world overseas. Some of these creatures even constituted a threat to man's natural superiority, while the often unexpected contacts with such undisciplined beasts presented European visitors with potentially lethal dangers. Wild animals also offered man a moral challenge; humans were not supposed to delight in the ferocity of animals, as this was the result of the Fall.³² Within these fine boundaries, the untamed animals in the De Bry collection can be divided into two groups. The first set consists of creatures unfamiliar to Europeans, while the second contingent involves species merely less cultivated than their European cousins.

The monstrous crocodile in *India Occidentalis* II unquestionably belongs to the first grouping (ill. 8). The animal was exaggerated in size for maximal effect, not uncommon in contemporary depictions of gruesome animals. Monsters fascinated early modern readers who believed that God had created these creatures to encourage men and women to reform their ways. The crocodile's atrocious reputation was enhanced by the observation in the caption that it would take a group of more than ten Timucua, a Florida people also depicted in the engraving, to subdue a single creature. The supposedly evil nature of the crocodile had already been revealed to Europeans by earlier works on zoology, where amphibious animals were generally considered monstrous.³³ The De Bry crocodile must nevertheless have impressed European readers,

³² Thomas (1987) 157. One image by the De Brys, after a Willem Lodewijcksz original, nevertheless depicted a cock fight in Java, *Ind.Or.* IV, ill. v, with a condescending caption.

³³ E. Porges Watson, "Forreine and monstrous beasts: Spenser's anti-bestiary", *Reinardus XIII* (2000) 173, 176–77. Monstrosity was, from the 1570s onwards, increasingly being used as a rhetorical ploy to reflect inward deformation and sinful behaviour: K. M. Brammall, "Monstrous metamorphosis: nature, morality, and the rhetoric of monstrosity in Tudor England", *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXVII-1 (1996) 5–8.



Ill. 8. *Ind. Occ. II*, ill. xxvi

as the name ‘crocodile’ had often been attributed to relatively harmless lizards, like in Konrad Gesner’s encyclopedic *Historia animalium* of the 1550s, or to other New World creatures like iguanas.³⁴ Gesner’s illustration of the crocodile was a far cry from the beast in the De Bry collection. Similar ‘monstrifications’ made by the De Brys can be observed elsewhere in the collection, with polar bears being described as ‘horrendous’, ‘extremely cruel’, and ‘unfamiliar’ in *India Orientalis III*. Twice in the same volume, moreover, the word ‘monster’ was added, without the term appearing in the original texts.³⁵

The bitterness of the relations between the Floridians and the crocodile was emphasised in the caption, which cannot be traced to any of the original accounts. Two of its newly constructed phrases describe

³⁴ K. Gesner, *Historia animalium* (4 vols.; Zurich 1551–58) II 7–27. Gesner closely followed Pliny the Elder. On Gesner: C. A. Gmelig-Nijboer, *Konrad Gessner’s ‘Historia animalium’: an inventory of Renaissance zoology* (Utrecht 1977). Oviedo already made a clear distinction between the iguana and the crocodile: De Asúa and French (2005) 70–71.

³⁵ *Ind. Or. III*, ill. xxxix (Ger) uses in the titles the words: “erschrecklicher grausamer, grosser Bär”/(Lat): “Horrendae et inusitatae vastitatis ursus”, which are absent from the translated texts (Ger 189–90/Lat 143). The word ‘monstrum’—in both German and Latin—is attached to ill. xxxvii and xl, regarding walrus and polar bears respectively, but cannot be found in the account proper (Ger 177/Lat 133; Ger 192/Lat 145).

...the horrendously large animal which sneaks up [to the Indians], as if it wants to devour one of them in its wide-open mouth...

...And in this manner, the Indians capture the crocodiles which harass them so much, that both by day and by night, they need to hold vigils, as we do against our most bitter enemies.³⁶

The analogy between the familiar human enemies of Europe and the frightening animal species in America is striking. Defining animals as the main reason for anxiety in the New World allowed Europeans to reflect in a self-congratulatory manner on their own hard-fought security against wild—or formerly wild—animals. Orderly campaigns to eliminate wolves, foxes, hawks, and other menaces to the population of the Old World had been reasonably successful throughout late medieval and early modern times. Although some predators remained, most were found in thinly populated areas, and few Europeans were likely to acquire first-hand experience with animals as perilous and loathsome as crocodiles.³⁷

Crocodiles were also on display in an engraving in *India Orientalis* XI, based on Robert Covert's *A true and almost incredible report* of 1612. Covert, a captain in the service of the East India Company, had left his companions and travelled across the Asian continent after his ship had sunk in the Far East. The final illustration of the volume was devoted to the variety and the dimensions of unruliness of animals in the Mughal Empire in northern India. Several unfamiliar species were depicted warring with each other, such as crocodiles battling wild horses, wolves attacking deer, and lions clashing with leopards (ill. 9). The individual match-ups were of secondary importance, however, as the general impression of chaos as a result of the animals' ferocity was the main focal point. Jesuits and English merchants had generally reported positively on the Mughal Empire. English visitors had carried letters from Elizabeth I to Akbar the Great, an indication that

³⁶ *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xxvi (Ger): "...dem ungehewren grossen Thier (welches herzu schleicht, ob es einen auß inen in sein auffgesperrten Rachen verschlingen köndte)..." and "Und also auff diese Weiß fangen die Indianer die Crocodilen, von welchen sie so sehr belästiget werden, daß sie Tag und Nacht nicht weniger Wacht halten müssen, als wir wider unsere allerhässigsten Feinde"/(Lat) "...huic vasto animali obviam procedunt (hiantie rictu si quempiam illorum apprehendere posset adrepenti)..." and "Haec est apud Indos ratio venandi Crocodilos, à quibus adeò molestantur, ut noctu & interdiu nonminus excubias agere cogantur, quàm nos adversus infensibimos hostes".

³⁷ Thomas (1987) 273–75.



Ill. 9. *Ind. Or.* XI, ill. ix

the Mughals had received a favourable press in Europe.³⁸ Yet the De Bry-invented illustration to Coverte's report was anything but complimentary. As very few reports on the Mughals were available to the De Brys, the representation of India's Muslim empire rested on a limited number of illustrations.³⁹ Based on the engraving of belligerent wildlife, readers of the De Bry collection would have formed a distinctly more reserved view of this empire than that offered by travellers in the later sixteenth century. Hence two combinations of text and engravings, in separate corners of the collection but both purposely designed by the De Brys, suggested a wildness of the overseas fauna that had been absent from the original accounts.

³⁸ Lach (1965–93) I-1 452–58, 480.

³⁹ Only the volumes William Fitzer published in the late 1620s include more reports on the Mughals, such as the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to northern India in the mid-1610s.

The De Brys did not illustrate the variety of animal life in the overseas world, but instead used selected species as a means to construct alterity, and did so quite methodically. Hence the title of one of the chapters in *India Occidentalis* III could change from Jean de Léry's "About the variety of American birds" into "About the marvellous rare birds in America" in German.⁴⁰ When the De Brys depicted horses, these were mostly wild equivalents of the familiar species. Domesticated specimens were either in the possession of natives who had been in close contact with Europeans, such as the merchants of Goa, or owned by the highly esteemed Chinese courtiers.⁴¹ Only once were oxen depicted as working for man,⁴² whose expected superiority over the natural world became indistinct as a result. Two images of cattle in southern Africa, clearly visible in Willem Lodewijksz' original plates, were left out.⁴³

Other animals included may have been more familiar to early modern Europeans, but were no less ferocious. This enabled readers of the De Bry collection to compare the exotic species on display with largely similar European animals. One of the most eye-catching engravings in this respect, the second illustration of *India Orientalis* IV (ill. 10), was devoted to giant crabs, possibly coconut crabs, on an unnamed island in the Indian Ocean. The plate, invented by the publishers, shows the creatures wrecking havoc on a Dutch crew. The De Brys significantly augmented the crabs' size, as they had with the crocodile discussed above, so as to create further discomfort among European readers. The number of crabs harassing the Dutch, moreover, was of biblical proportions. The publishers thus exploited the implicit notion of harmless European crabs by juxtaposing it with a plague of monstrous crabs abroad.

The extraordinary size of otherwise recognisable animals was also a key feature in a newly designed engraving of sea lions encountered by Sir Thomas Cavendish in the Atlantic (ill. 11). This time the De Brys commented on the size of the creatures in the German caption:

⁴⁰ J. de Léry, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam, quae et America dicitur...* (Geneva 1586) 125: "De varietate Americanarum avium"; *Ind.Occ.* III (Ger) 161: "Von den wunder seltzamen Vöglen in America"/ (Lat) 184: "De varietate Americanarum avium".

⁴¹ *Ind.Or.* II, ills. xxxvii and xxvii respectively.

⁴² *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xiii.

⁴³ *Ind.Or.* III, ills. vii and ix.



Ill. 10. *Ind.Or.* IV, ill. ii



Ill. 11. *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. x

...[Thomas Cavendish] arrived on an island, where he came across a large number of seals of an abnormal, shocking size. [...] We [i.e. the English, MvG] could not do anything else but kill them with clubs, which we used to crush their heads, and it needed three or four of us to suppress and slay a single one...⁴⁴

Europeans' horror at the sight of these gigantic creatures, whether crocodiles, crabs or sea lions, was understandable. Not only was their considerable size related to suspected 'monstrosity', it also took away any suggestion of physical attractiveness, another subtle indicator of the hierarchy of animal species according to early modern Europeans.

Innocuous overseas species were magnified as well, like the penguin in *India Occidentalis* IX and the tortoise in *India Orientalis* IV.⁴⁵ Their number was surprisingly limited. In Renaissance Europe, after all, a belief had been held that many of the species in the New World were exceptionally tame. Columbus himself had propelled this myth into the sixteenth century. Hence fictional American lions, tigers, and other normally fearsome creatures were long portrayed as very gentle, to the liking of those at home, as the tameness of animals nourished the hope of belatedly recapturing a prelapsarian world.⁴⁶ Such tame animals were markedly absent from the De Bry collection, at least from the *America*-series. Sometimes descriptions of domesticated New World creatures were actually withheld, as the comparison between Cavendish's impression of a goat—in the Dutch translation used by the De Brys instead of the English original—and the two Frankfurt translations reveals:

⁴⁴ *Ind. Occ.* VIII, ill. x (Ger): "...kam er unter andern zu einer Insel, in welcher er ein grosse menge Seehunde, einer ungewöhnlichen, abschewlichen grösse angetroffen. [...] wir konten sie nicht todten, ohne allein mit Brügeln, mit welchen wir ihnen den Kopff zerschmetterten, und hatten unser drey oder vier allezeit mit einem genug zuthun, biß wir ihn bezwingen und erlegen konten"/(Lat): "...Insulam quandam ingressus esset, offendit ibi maximam copiam canum marinorum [...] Hos canes interficere nullis armis potuimus, donec fustibus capita ipsorum percuteremus. Quin etiam tanti roboris erant, ut nostrum tres vel quatuor unum superare & interficere vix possemus". The translated account's rejection is less categorical: *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) 5. The Latin text (48) uses the word "ingentis", which could both refer to the size and the 'monstrous' nature of the animals. This word is omitted from the caption.

⁴⁵ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xxv; *Ind. Or.* IV, ill. iii.

⁴⁶ De Asúa and French (2005) 8–9; Gerbi (1985) 87, 294.

A multitude of very tame goats, which are used to being milked.

... a multitude of goats, which are very fat and beautiful.⁴⁷

As a result, the all-important, self-imposed selection criteria of the De Brys should probably be defined somewhat sharper still. The publishers' openly announced intention to include mostly unfamiliar species resulted in a lopsided representation of the animal kingdom in the overseas world and explains the scarcity of tame animals of the New World in the De Bry collection. The original accounts did not offer many opportunities to copy domesticated species, with the Acosta treatise and the zoological watercolours by White being the exceptions to the rule. The De Brys did not opt to integrate any of this prelapsarian tameness into their self-designed engravings either, thus further enhancing the notion of the overseas world as a wild, uncultivated place full of dangerous and monstrous animals.⁴⁸

5.4. ATTEMPTS AT DOMESTICATION

If the implications of the selection process were perhaps not immediately clear to readers of the collection, some of the captions to the illustrations, supposedly based on the relevant travel accounts, left no room for doubts. Here direct comparisons were made between familiar European species and their overseas equivalents. The illustration of a zebra in *India Orientalis* I, copied from Odoardo Lopez' report of Congo, was accompanied by the following explanation:

... [The inhabitants of Congo] do however not know how to use what has been given to them. Of this we see an example here, because despite having apparently been dealt a tough hand by Nature, since they have been refused horses, undoubtedly not without good reasons, [...] they have not as yet understood how [the zebra] has to be tamed...⁴⁹

⁴⁷ F. Pretty, *Beschryvinge vande overtreffelijcke ende wijdtvermaerde Zee-vaerdt...* (Amsterdam 1598) f10v: "Menichte van Geyten seer tam, ghewoon zijnde ghemelckt te worden"; *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) 18: "...haben viel [...] Geyß, welche uberauß feyst und schön seindt"/(Lat) 60: "...caprisque quam plurimis abundant".

⁴⁸ They were familiar with these stories, however, as was evident in the preface to *Ind. Or.* I (Ger) [A3v], where the publishers served up a tale of catching lions by first petting them, before blinding them by pulling a bag over their heads. In the adjustments to the texts and plates, the theme is absent.

⁴⁹ *Ind. Or.* I, ill. vii (Ger): "...wissen doch viel ihrer habenden Gaaben sich füglich nicht zugebrauchen. Dessen augenscheinliches Exempel wir an den Congianern spüren,

The excerpt cannot be traced to the Italian account. It cannot be found in the Latin De Bry caption either, which is very brief and bland. This is further testimony to the custom-made manner in which the De Brys modified the accounts, dependent on the presumed difference in readerships of the German and Latin collections. As will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8, issues like the one mentioned here, with theological connotations, were more readily available and often more explicit in the vernacular edition than in its Latin counterpart.

The combination of the Divine distribution of species and the subsequent (in)ability of the aboriginal population to subordinate the local wild life was the cornerstone of the De Bry representations. From time to time, the difference between wild and domesticated animals had been noticed in the original travel reports. In Pieter de Marees' account of the Gold Coast for example, wild and tamed species were pictured separately, and the De Brys maintained this discrepancy by copying both illustrations, and adding titles to the two engravings that called attention to the distinction.⁵⁰

The lack of useful species in parts of the overseas world was of prime interest to the publishers. The unambiguous example of the zebra in Congo was reflected in texts, engravings, and captions regarding several other regions discussed in the collection. In Florida, where according to *India Occidentalis* II no animals were available to carry sick people around, man himself had to accept responsibility for this task. Although it is unclear whether the De Brys copied or invented the related illustration, the explanatory text certainly deviated from the original French report. It stated that "the people themselves, instead of mules and horses, had to carry around heavy loads",⁵¹ hence overtly downgrading the position of Timucua society in the Divinely-designed hierarchy. More indicative perhaps was the De Bry decision to omit the

denn ob wol ihnen die Natur in dem zu kurtz gethan haben scheint, daß sie ihnen die Roß, sonder zweiffels nit ohne gewisse Ursachen, geweigert und abgeschlagen, erstattet sie doch solchen Mangel in dem reichlich, daß sie das Thier Zebra in grosser menge unnd Anzahl inen vergünstigt, welches sie nicht weniger als die Roß, zum Zaum und Sattel gewennen köndten. Dieweil aber bißhero dieselben zu zäumen sich niemandt understanden...". The Latin edition instead has this interpretation in the full text, while the German text does not: *Ind. Or.* I (Ger) 30/(Lat) 21–22.

⁵⁰ *Ind. Or.* VI, ill. xi and xiii.

⁵¹ *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xvii (Ger): "...brauchen sie dieselben an statt der Esel und Pferde, schwere Läste zu tragen"/(Lat): "...eorum tamen opera, quòd robusti & validi sint, ad onera ferenda utuntur jumentorum loco".

single sentence of De Marees' account which alluded to the existence of local breeds of cattle in West Africa.⁵²

In comparison to having no animals to serve humanity, as in Florida, or not knowing precisely how to train the creatures despite having them at their disposal, as in Congo, overseas societies that were able to rely on domesticated animals could consider themselves rightfully blessed. The general assumption of the time was that all animals could be tamed, and become the servants of man.⁵³ Here then, a more delicate hierarchy was in place. The Persian merchants which the De Brys depicted with a caravan of animals in *India Orientalis* II were unquestionably perceived as able tamers, on a par with Europeans (ill. 12). In orderly fashion, as the publishers noted approvingly in their caption, the Persians had managed to discipline not only camels, but also horses, mules, and dromedaries. In *India Orientalis* VII, the De Brys confirmed the control of animals in this region as they designed an engraving which showed pigeons and oxen in Mesopotamia unequivocally subservient to human interests (ill. 13).

In obvious contrast, the inhabitants of Peru failed to have the same success in training llamas, or 'Indian sheep' as they were referred to in Renaissance Europe.⁵⁴ The caption to the fourth engraving in *India Occidentalis* IX spelled out the problems the Inca faced with their beasts of burden (ill. 14). Once again, the De Brys pointed to analogies with the ass and the horse in the explanatory text to the illustration, swiftly proceeding to demonstrate that the llama fell short of the useful animals familiar to Europeans. The local population had to avoid aggravating the llamas, for once provoked, the creatures would lie down and refuse to obey; it was difficult to persuade them to resume the desired service. When a llama ran off to the rocky slopes of the Andes where humans could not follow, people had no option but to shoot the animal in order to recover the load it had been carrying.

⁵² *Ind.Or.* VI, ill. xi did not refer to the juxtaposition of local and imported livestock made by De Marees (1602) 63: "...soo van het Vee datter van eersten aen gheweest heeft, ende dat van andre Natie daer ghebrocht is gheweest". This sentence only was omitted.

⁵³ Thomas (1987) 56.

⁵⁴ The depiction of the llamas was inspired by Konrad Gesner's 'Indian sheep from Peru': De Asúa and French (2005) 195.



Ill. 12. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. vii



Ill. 13. *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xiii



Ill. 14. *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. iv

The rule of man over animals in these remote parts, in other words, was questionable. This example is, to an extent, symptomatic of the place which animals occupied in the De Bry collection. The process of selection formed the first step in the process of changes made to the integrity of the original reports. Jose de Acosta's observant account, a treatise central to sixteenth-century Jesuit conceptions of ethnography and natural history, is a case in point. Whereas four of the seven books of his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* were concerned with the natural world, the De Brys decided to select only those particular fragments on animals which enabled readers to gauge the level of human sophistication in unknown parts of the world. They thus often exploited the opportunity to magnify the differences between Europe and the unfamiliar overseas world.

5.5. THE CASE OF THE ELEPHANT

While the eclectic structure of the collection closed the door on a systematic taxonomy of the natural world along the lines of Jean Bodin's climate theory, the encompassing view of the twenty-five volumes also opened up new possibilities. Unlike the people who purchased the original accounts, readers of the De Bry collection could easily compare the adequacy of the various overseas societies at taming animals. Comparison became even more straightforward when the same animals were subjected to domestication attempts across the overseas world. The elephant provides the best example, intrinsically possessing enough 'exotic value' to survive the De Brys' editorial selectivity, while at the same time being present in several regions.⁵⁵ It featured prominently in six parts of the De Bry collection, in Volumes II, V, VI, VII, VIII, and XI of the *India Orientalis*-series, while a caption to an illustration in *India Orientalis* IV recorded the elephant's different habitats.⁵⁶

Although the De Brys attempted to be as accurate as possible, there are no visible differences in the engravings between the African elephant and its Indian relative. The large ears and two-lipped trunk of the former are not recognisable as such. At first glance this is perhaps unsurprising. The practice of copying illustrations of exotic animals was so widespread in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—one only has to recall the longevity of Dürer's rhinoceros—that any deviation would have constituted a significant shock.⁵⁷ Yet for some of the flora the De Brys had made an effort to acquire information from either erudite naturalists or scientific treatises. The difference between the two elephant species, already recognised by Pliny, could have been identified

⁵⁵ Lach (1965–93) II-1 135–58. This chapter was also published as: D. F. Lach, "Asian elephants in Renaissance Europe", *Journal of Asian History* I (1967) 133–76.

⁵⁶ *Ind.Or.* IV, ill. vii (Ger): "Elephanten seyn gar gemeyn in Indien, allermeist aber in Aethiopia, bey der Nation Caffres genant, da sie getödtet werden der Zeen halber, die sie den Portugalesern verkauffen, man findet sie auch in Bengalen und vornemlich in Pegu, in so grosser Menge, daß sie offtmals ein oder zwey tausent auff einmal umbbringen..."/(Lat): "Elephanti in India frequentissimi, maxime tamen in Aethiopia apud Caffres reperiuntur: ubi causa dentium, quos Lusitanis vendunt, occidi solent. Illorum certa copia quoque in Bengala est: nec minor in Pegu, ubi tanto numero & multitudine vagantur, ut una vice locoque interdum duo millia cogant...".

⁵⁷ W. Ashworth, jr., "The persistent beast: recurring images in early zoological illustration" In: A. Ellenius, ed., *The natural sciences and the arts. Aspects of interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th century* (Uppsala 1985) 46–66.

by analysing the illustrated works of Konrad Gesner.⁵⁸ Besides alluding to its distinctive appearances, Gesner had presented his readership with a favourable account of the elephant. He described it as

the largest land animal, and nearest to man in intelligence. It understands the language of its country, obeys orders, remembers duties it has learned, likes affection and honours—more, it has virtues rare in man—honesty, wisdom, justice, and respect for the stars and reverence for the sun and the moon.⁵⁹

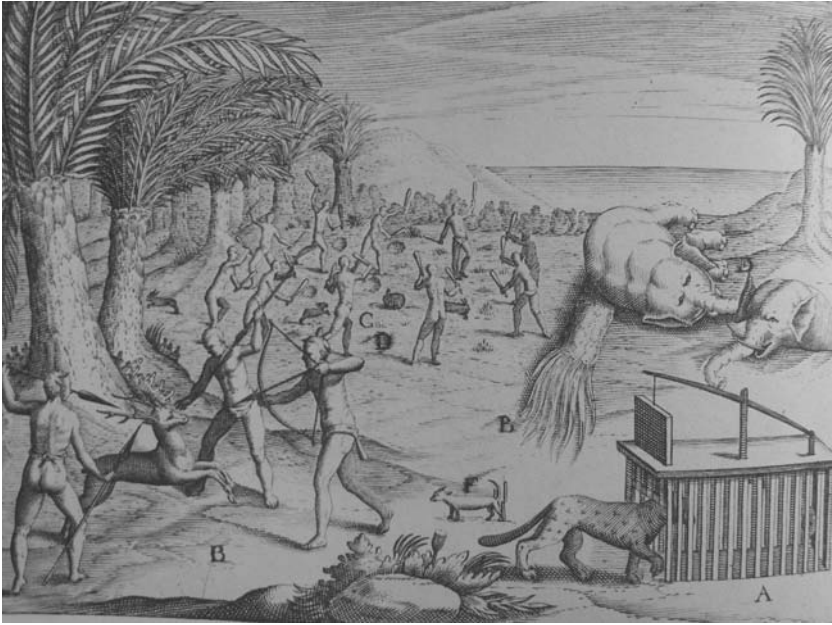
The authors of travel accounts generally seemed more reluctant to embrace the elephant. Instead of denoting its obedience, the travellers, and the De Brys in their wake, still concentrated on the various efforts to train the elephants, and thus, essentially, on the animal's fierceness. In *India Orientalis* VI its ferocity was presented unambiguously, since the elephant was included in an engraving depicting the wild animals of West Africa, as opposed to the domesticated ones in another illustration. The caption to this plate underlined wildness as the elephant's main feature by stating that it was permanently engaged in a bitter feud with the rhinoceros.⁶⁰ A second engraving demonstrated the way in which the population of the Gold Coast captured elephants, by trapping the animal in a concealed pit (ill. 15). Despite the apparent chance of success at catching elephants, the West Africans were not depicted with domesticated specimens, leaving doubts regarding their disciplinary abilities.

The control of humans over the elephant was more assured in Asia. An Indian warlord in Cochin, as well as the Mughals in northern India, employed the elephant as a means of transport, whereas elephants participated in religious processions in the kingdom of Narsinga in southern India. In the town of Tuban, an important trading centre in eastern Java, the local ruler had his throne installed on the back of an elephant. One of his servants could "lead the elephant to anywhere he

⁵⁸ Gesner (1551–58) I 409–42; Lach (1965–93) II-1 156–57 suggests that the De Brys used all the available literary and artistic evidence.

⁵⁹ Gesner (1551–58) I 425. Ludovico di Varthema, the Bolognese traveller who travelled extensively in Asia in the early sixteenth century, made a similar assessment of the elephant: Lach (1965–93) II-1 135.

⁶⁰ *Ind. Or.* VI, ill. xiii (Ger): "A. Ist ein Elephant, der grosse Feindschafft hat mit dem Rinoceros. [...] H. Ist ein Rinoceros, ein abgesagter Feind deß Elephanten"/(Lat): "A. Elephas (sic) est inimicitiam cum Rhinocerote habens. [...] H. Rhinoceros est animal unius in nare cornu, hostis Elephantis infensissimus".



Ill. 15. *Ind.Or.* VI, ill. xii

wanted by using a hooked pole”.⁶¹ Yet the dominance of humans over elephants was most obvious in Pegu and Patani. In Patani, people captured wild elephants by using tamed specimens which had been trained for this purpose. The disciplined elephants, ridden by one person, were used to lure their wild comrades into battle, and the ensuing tussle enabled the rest of the hunters to seize the wild elephant by tying its legs together. The captured animal was then starved into submission. The explanatory text noted that these elephants had become “so tame” that they were eager to be ruled by man, who also sold the tusks to Chinese merchants for huge profits. A second engraving showed an orderly escort of elephants in the entourage of the region’s female sovereign.⁶²

In the caption to the illustration of the elephant hunt in Patani, in *India Orientalis* VIII, the De Brys added a cross-reference to a similar

⁶¹ *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xviii; *Ind.Or.* XI, ill. viii; *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxii; *Ind.Or.* V, ill. xvii (Ger): “...welcher mit einem Hacken an einem Stecken den Elefant Lencken konnt, wo er ihn nur hin haben wolt”/(Lat): “...qui ferreum uncum baculo infixum gestabat”.

⁶² *Ind.Or.* VIII, ills. v and iv respectively.

plate in Volume VII depicting the catching of elephants in Pegu.⁶³ Parallel to the *modus operandi* in Patani, the population of Pegu also used domesticated elephants to capture wild specimens. Here female elephants, sprinkled with an aphrodisiac, were used to catch their male companions. This enabled the obedient animals to lead the wild specimens into a purpose-built pen, where the males were starved until they were “very tame”. Like the caption regarding Patani, this paraphrase emphasised that the domesticated elephants were trained to catch those at large and, as in Patani, the elephants were also depicted in an orderly procession to put the local taming skills in Pegu beyond doubt.

The description of Pegu however, which was based on an account of the Venetian Gasparo Balbi’s voyage, paid still more attention to the local elephants. In a sequence of five engravings, the obedience of the elephants was exemplary.⁶⁴ The most revered and most exceptional of elephants, the Asian white elephant, was even depicted kneeling before the monarch of Pegu, as if to confirm its ultimate subservience to man.⁶⁵ Apart from being a sign of approval for the taming skills of the inhabitants of Pegu, the humbleness of elephants could also be explained as a reward for man’s treatment of the animal. The elephants in Pegu received their food in a golden bowl, and were washed with water from a silver kettle. They were further shaded from bright sunlight by some of the ruler’s servants (ill. 16). In the Old Testament in particular, kindness to animals was deemed preferential to cruelty, since it stimulated kindness to other humans, a thought which echoes the anthropocentrism of the era.⁶⁶

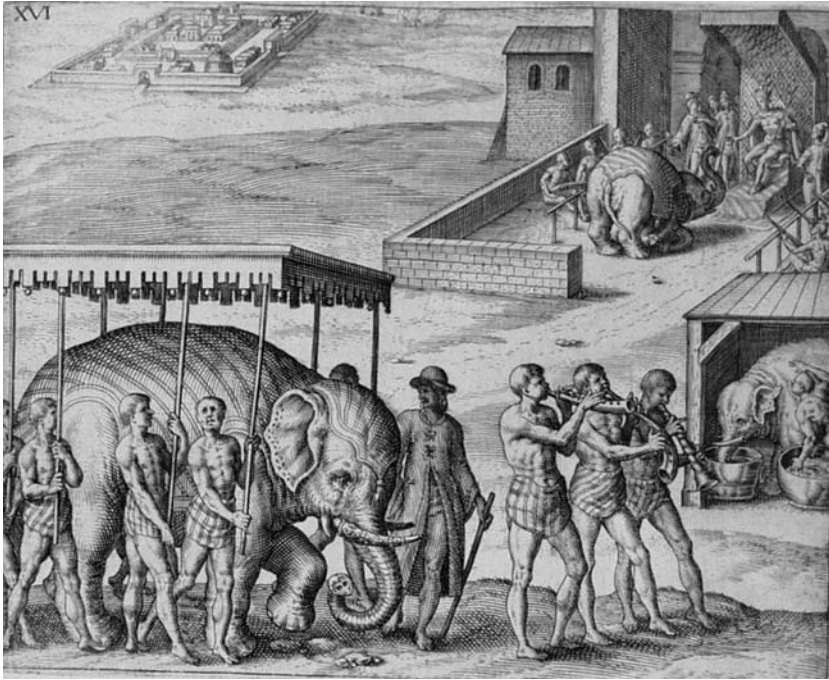
The manner of capturing elephants and the subsequent rate of success of the overseas population in training these animals provided early modern Europeans with attributes that could be used to compose a hierarchy of sophistication levels, in which the various regions and inhabitants of Africa and Asia took their natural place. The domesticated, utterly obedient elephants of South-East Asia were unquestionably perceived more positively than the supposedly similar creatures in Africa, which were chiefly qualified as quarrelsome. Furthermore, the practice of using tame elephants to catch wild ones, in Pegu and

⁶³ *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xix.

⁶⁴ *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xv, xvi, xviii, xix, and xx.

⁶⁵ Although the elephant’s ability to kneel had been a matter of debate among naturalists for a long time, the De Bry engraving was bereft of true zoological value.

⁶⁶ Thomas (1987) 150–51.



Ill. 16. *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xvi

Patani, was considered much more ingenious than the West African tactics of concealing deep pits, where chance remained an important factor of success. To help their readership interpret these different human-elephant relationships, the De Brys purposefully utilised the terms ‘wild’ and ‘tame’. Elephants in West Africa featured among the “wild animals”, whereas their South-East Asian counterparts were referred to as “so tame” or “very tame”.

5.6. ONE STEP TOO FAR: MAN AND ANIMAL INTERTWINED

Once the local wildlife had been tamed, overseas peoples were in a position to use the animals for their own purposes. Natural relations would hence be established and confirmed. Although such relations did not rule out that humans be kind to animals, one divide could by no means be crossed. Man and animal, according to both classical and Christian beliefs, were quintessentially dissimilar. Unlike man, animals

had no curiosity or intelligence, could not read the Scripture, and had no chance of salvation. This difference was recognised throughout the Old World, where the question of the Indians' humanity had been the subject of public debate in Spain in the early sixteenth century. In order to facilitate the missionary zeal of the clergy in the New World, Pope Paul III in his bull *Sublimis Deus* of 1537 had officially proclaimed the Indians capable of understanding the Catholic faith.⁶⁷

To cross the bridge between humanity and the animal world would signify a lack of reverence for God's creation of man in his own likeness, yet some of the overseas people in the De Bry collection were seen to be doing just that. There were several possible ways of violating this early modern law of conduct. One of these was to display too much affection for animals, and one of the prime examples of such behaviour has already been introduced above. The llamas of South America posed a problem by being so arbitrarily reluctant to serve as beasts of burden. The most successful way of returning them to obedience was described and depicted in detail by the De Brys. It involved placating the llamas by caressing them and—based on the illustration—even kissing them, sometimes for a period of two or three hours according to the caption.⁶⁸ Such behaviour, in addition to the incompetence in taming the animals properly, was considered an insult to man's natural position as the appointed ruler of the animal kingdom.

Being too affectionate towards animals was one thing strongly frowned upon, but distinctly worse was the tendency of certain overseas societies to worship some of the indigenous species.⁶⁹ Both in the representations of Mexico and India, such rituals were eagerly put on display by the De Brys. In *India Occidentalis* IX, Mexicans were depicted venerating an eagle. As some of the following chapters will demonstrate, the De Brys had a preference for the words 'idol' and 'idolatry', even when the authors of the original accounts had been more hesitant to use

⁶⁷ P. Seed, "‘Are these not also men?’: the Indians' humanity and capacity for Spanish civilisation", *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25 (1993) 629–52; L. Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians", *Harvard Theological Review* 30 (1937) 65–102.

⁶⁸ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. iv (Ger): "...sondern muß der Geleitsmänner einer sich neben das Thier legen, und bißweilen wol 2. oder 3. Stund liegen bleiben, unnd ihm liebekossen..." / (Lat): "...sed necesse omnino est, ut ex comitibus quidam iuxta animal in humum se prosternat, hocque habitu ad horas vel binas vel interdum ternas suavibus verbis ei adblandiatur".

⁶⁹ Meyer (2000) 354.

such strong terms. The caption to this illustration showed the De Brys at their condemning best:

...Here is depicted how the Mexicans have travelled through the reed and through barren regions, until they reached a place where, according to the prophecies of their idol Vitzliputzli, they found [...] an eagle, who had a beautiful bird in its claws—all of this according to their false God's prophesy. As soon as they saw this token, they fell down on their knees before the eagle, adulated it, and built a hut and subsequently the city of Mexico at this spot, in honour of their idol...⁷⁰

The veneration of a cow by a group of Banians, a name usually reserved for Indian brokers who functioned as agents to European merchants, was even more evocative of animal idolatry. Semi-naked men and women were depicted in solemn, exceedingly compliant adulation of the cow, while kissing its feet and 'claws'—according to both the illustration and the caption (ill. 17). In the background of the De Bry-designed engraving, presumably derived from sixteenth-century representations of the adulation of the Golden Calf, members of the indigenous group venerated effigies of a devilish figure, in order to further confirm the erring habits of the Indians.

Some distant peoples even bore a resemblance to animals, and here the often very slight modifications of the De Brys provide an exceptional insight into the construction of the overseas world in the collection of voyages. Firstly, the De Brys occasionally altered the captions to include direct comparisons between humans and animals which had not been made in the original reports. This type of adjustment can be observed in one of the illustrations of *India Occidentalis* II. With regard to the abilities of some of the local foot-soldiers in Florida, the

⁷⁰ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xii (Ger): "Hie wird etlicher Massen fürgebildet, welcher Gestalt die Mexicaner gezogen seyn, durch die Pinsen und wüste Oerter, biß sie nach Prophezeyhung ihres Abgotts Vitzliputzli an den Ort kommen, da sie [...] ein Adler [gefunden], so einen schönen Vogel in den Klauen gehabt, alles nach ihres falschen Gottes Weissagung, so bald sie nun dieses Wahrzeichen gesehen, seynd sie für diesem Adler auff ihre Knie nider gefallen, haben ihn angebetet und als bald dem Abgott alda zu Ehren eine Hütte, und demnach die Statt Mexico gebawet"/(Lat): "Hac figura quadamtenus exprimitur, qua specie modòve Mexicani primò per loca deserta migrarint, donec pro Idoli sui Vitzliputzli vaticinio ad ea loca, ubi [...] illis adventantibus aquila, pulcherrimam avem unguibus premens pro accepto augurio consederat. Quam, ubi primùm conspexerant, in genua provoluti, eam adoraverunt: eodemque momento in Idoli sui honorem tabernaculum, & tandem succedente tempore urbem Mexico isto loco extruxerunt".



Ill. 17. *Ind.Or.* XI, ill. iv

De Brys remarked that "...just like tracker dogs can trace deer, they can likewise track the footsteps of their enemies".⁷¹ This part, and only this part, of the caption cannot be traced to one of the original French accounts in this volume. Similarly, the De Brys reported that selected Floridians had the capacity to "smell the footprints of their enemies".⁷² On the one hand, these phrases may have been inserted as clarifications for a readership stunned by the strange habits of the Floridians. Yet at the same time, the alterations revealed the views of

⁷¹ *Ind.Occ.* II, ill. xiv (Ger): "...Dann wie die Spürhunde ein Wildt, also auch sie die Fußstapffen der Feinde außspähen können"/(Lat): "...atque canis ferae alicujus, & cognitis hostium vestigiis statim ad exercitum significatum recurrunt".

⁷² *Ind.Occ.* II, ill. xxx (Ger): "[solche Leute], welche die Fußstapffen der Feinde von ferne riechen können. Dann so baldt sie die Fußstapffen durch ihre Naßlöcher vernommen..."/(Lat): "...viri illi, qui hostium vestigia è longinquo odorantur: nam simulatque aliquorum vestigia naribus perceperunt...".

the De Brys and hence, almost automatically, their frame of mind as co-ordinators of the collection of voyages.

Some of the engravings also bear testimony to such considerations, albeit in a slightly different manner. The most obvious example of the presupposed fusion of humans and animals again stems from the volume on Florida, where locals were depicted being dressed up as deer in an effort to catch yet more specimens (ill. 18). The juxtaposition of the three stags on the right bank of the stream, and the three 'half man half stag' Floridian hunters on the opposite side, as well as the perfectly similar reflections of both creatures in the water reveal a dangerously fine line between man and animal in this part of the New World. As pretending to be an animal, for any reason, was deemed unacceptable—some Europeans even considered it immoral to dress up as one on stage in a play, let alone in real life—this plate must have thrown a negative light on Floridian habits.

The engraving arguably most typical of the mindset of the De Brys may well be the title-page to *India Occidentalis* I (ill. 19), where



Ill. 18. *Ind.Occ.* II, ill. xxv



Ill. 19. *Ind. Occ. I*, title-page

the publishers decided to portray an indigenous Virginian man based on one of the illustrations inside the volume.⁷³ One element which immediately caught the eye was the man's tail, first painted by John White. Since the illustration inside the volume showed both the hunter's front and back, it became apparent that the loose tail was used to tie spare arrows around the waist (ill. 20).⁷⁴ Out of context however, either without White's explanatory words on the attire, or without the native man turning his back on the European readers which revealed its practical use, the Algonquian's tail on the title-page appeared to be innate. As title-plates around 1600 were used to give potential buyers an impression of the work's contents, the decision to use this title-page in the shop-window should be regarded as an appeal to the longing for sensational views of the overseas world.⁷⁵ Such representations further lived up to European expectations, with rumours abounding about

⁷³ *Ind. Occ. I*, ill. iii.

⁷⁴ Hulton (1984) 78.

⁷⁵ Christadler (2004) 48–93.



Ill. 20. *Ind.Occ.* I, ill. iii



Ill. 21. *Ind.Occ.* X, ill. vii (detail)



Ill. 22. *Ind. Occ.* IV, ill. iii

men with tails living on the island of Cuba, and perhaps even closer to home. In *India Occidentalis* X, the De Brys routinely depicted another Virginian man with an innate tail (ill. 21).⁷⁶

And finally, one depicted human figure in the New World was explicitly made to exemplify the all-too-narrow borderline between man and animals. She was described in the caption to an illustration in *India Occidentalis* IV as the wife of a king Columbus had encountered in the province of Cumana, in what is now Venezuela (ill. 22). The ghastly appearance of the woman was briefly elaborated upon, both by Girolamo Benzoni and by the publishers, but unlike the Milanese chronicler, the De Brys opted to remark that “she looked more like a marvellous animal”, or “monster”, as the Latin version insisted, “than like a human being”.⁷⁷ The next chapter will discuss the ways in which the De Brys represented ‘genuine’ human beings in the overseas world.

⁷⁶ Thomas (1987) 134.

⁷⁷ *Ind. Occ.* IV, ill. iii (Ger): “Denn sie viel mehr einem Wunderthier weder menschlicher Figur und Bildnuß gleich gesehen”/(Lat): “monstri enim cuiusdam potius, quam humanam speciem habebat”.

CHAPTER SIX

NATIVE INHABITANTS: PHYSICAL APPEARANCES AND IDENTITIES

Humans, like plants and animals, were considered part of the natural world. While the boundaries between the various groupings of nature were clearly defined in early modern Europe, the different categories converged in the context of nutrition. Eating and drinking are of supreme importance in the daily life of any society, and the connected human habits were prime criteria for judging other cultures. These were therefore regularly described and depicted by European travellers abroad. Other elements which invariably drew their attention when examining the overseas population were clothing—and nakedness, posture, and more generally the ways in which the indigenous people nurtured their bodies. The De Brys followed the interests of the chroniclers, yet not without adding their own flavour.

6.1. EATING AND DRINKING IN THE OVERSEAS WORLD

When Richard Hakluyt presented Theodore de Bry with John White's watercolours in the late 1580s, his hopes were that the Frankfurt publisher would achieve two goals. Firstly, Theodore and his sons were supposed to inform Europeans of the Tudor claims to Virginia. Secondly, *India Occidentalis* I was meant to convince English readers of the attractiveness of the New World for settling. Several of the selected engravings sung the praise of the fertility of the American province.¹ The second volume of the series displayed a similar tendency, albeit to a lesser extent, portraying life in Florida as an appealing alternative to life in the Old World. The illustrations devoted to promising harvests in particular must have struck a chord in the early 1590s. Not only were harvest failures and famines uncomfortably regular, the later sixteenth century also saw a renewed emphasis on the representations

¹ *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. xiii–xvi, xx.

of traditional seasonal tasks, including farming work, which was conceptualised as a classical value, and a useful step towards Christian salvation.²

The Algonquians in Virginia and the Timucuan around Fort Caroline combined the merits of agricultural labour with the virtue of frugality. Throughout the first two volumes of the De Bry collection, the captions to the relevant engravings were truly admiring of the eating customs of the native inhabitants the English and the French encountered. This combination of topics must have been closely related to consecutive crop failures in Europe in the early 1590s, as a result of adverse climatic conditions.³ A single De Bry paraphrase that could be seen in this light, not traceable to the French reports on Florida, fervently endorsed the moderation of the New World natives:

...Christians [...] therefore, in fairness, deserve to be trained by these barbarous foreign people, yes even by the ignorant animals, to learn temperance from them.⁴

America I and *II* both mocked Old World decadence in a way that left little room for misunderstanding; such attitudes have traditionally been associated with the Protestant beliefs of either Richard Hakluyt or Theodore de Bry. While Hakluyt's programmatic objectives may have influenced the first, and possibly some of the contents of the second volume, the interpretation should probably largely be ascribed to Theodore de Bry himself. He emphasised the province's unspoilt nature through captions written in Frankfurt, where any pressure exerted by Hakluyt was minimal.⁵

Yet the emphasis on moderation as a virtue was by no means exclusively reserved for Calvinists in the late sixteenth century. Humanists like Montaigne had stressed self-discipline as an ethical notion to be shared by Christians of all confessions, in line with medieval condemnations

² *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xxi–xxiii. L. Vardi, "Imagining the harvest in early modern Europe", *American Historical Review* 101–5 (1996) 1364 ff.

³ P. Clark, ed., *The European crisis of the 1590s: essays in comparative history* (London and Boston 1985).

⁴ *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xxviii (Ger): "Die Christen [...] solten derhalben billich, unter diesen Barbarischen außländischen Leuthen, zur Schule gehen, und von inen, ja von den unvernünfftigen Thieren, Mässigkeit lehren" / (Lat): "Christianis [...] merito deberent tradi in disciplinam his barbaris hominibus & animantibus brutis ad ediscendam sobrietatem".

⁵ Miller (1998) 126–44, although she rightly stresses that the De Bry modifications are more complex.

of gluttony.⁶ Clusius and later Boissard, operating in the proximity of the De Brys, certainly subscribed to such ideas of proper Christian conduct, and may have influenced the outlook of Theodore de Bry. In the volumes published under the auspices of the two brothers, from 1597 onwards, confessional beliefs and public professions remained firmly separated. If the contents of these and other volumes are to be related to the personal persuasions of the publishers, then the points of view held within the Republic of Letters are perhaps more applicable than sectarian or confessional considerations.

Agricultural virtues and the vindication of moderate eating habits overseas were largely absent from the ensuing twenty-three volumes of the collection, a development that mirrors the declining interest in harvest scenes in contemporary prints.⁷ Elsewhere the brothers described and depicted lavish banquets in the *India Orientalis*-series, without the slightest trace of disapproval. These feasts of consumption were in fact another instrument to show the regard of the engravers for some of the overseas societies. In the representations of both China and the Moluccan island of Ternate, the De Brys showed themselves sympathetic to the stylish dinners to which European visitors were treated. Table etiquette and high-quality dishes were held in increasingly high esteem in Europe, as kitchens and tables became arenas for social distinction. The two illustrations show the orderly, well-mannered character of the overseas gatherings in accordance with Renaissance preferences.⁸ Appetite was matched by elegance, with jesting and jousting providing light entertainment. Both Asian dining tables were filled with dishes, yet no references were made to excess in either report, or in either of the two captions. Descriptions of a rich tablecloth and beautiful cutlery in the Moluccas, and gastronomic delights in China completed the favourable impressions.⁹

Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry, in contrast to their father, were unlikely to stress the immorality of overindulgence.¹⁰ One important

⁶ W. J. Bouwsma, *The waning of the Renaissance 1550–1640* (New Haven and London 2000) 173–74.

⁷ Vardi (1996) 1373–79.

⁸ T. Rahn, “Herrschaft der Zeichen. Zum Zeremoniell als ‘Zeichensystem’” In: H. Ottomeyer and M. Völkel, eds., *Die öffentliche Tafel: Tafelzeremoniell in Europa 1300–1900* (Berlin 2002) 24; M. Jeanneret, *A feast of words. Banquets and table talk in the Renaissance* (Cambridge 1991) 49–57.

⁹ *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxxi concerns China; *Ind.Or.* VIII, ill. i deals with Ternate.

¹⁰ K. Albala, *Eating right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley and London 2002) 34–35.

exception to this pattern, however, concerned the consumption of alcohol, which attracted the scorn of both generations. Ale and wine as such were acceptable, even indispensable to any early modern European diet. Alternatives were few, and it was additionally believed that alcoholic beverages were necessary to maintain good health. But ever greater emphasis was placed on delicacy and self-restraint: intoxication was strongly denounced by religious and secular authorities, and by most medical experts.¹¹ Such common values determined the interpretation of the De Bry engravings. The inhabitants of Guyana, and all their closest neighbours, were apparently so prone to drunkenness that the publishers decided to open the caption to one of their engravings with this observation, while showing various drinking parties in the illustration they designed.¹² The depiction of drunkenness as an integral part of life on the Gold Coast was comparable. The De Brys claimed as much by adding references to drinking to the German caption, to what originally had been a botanical engraving in the Dutchman Pieter de Marees' account and confined in the Latin caption to "a joyous feast".¹³

According to both Christian and humanist writings, the loss of self-control was a crucial factor in the negative perception of the over-consumption of alcohol. Excessive drinking caused further sinful behaviour, provoking lust and sexual activity without the aim of procreation.¹⁴ Dancing fuelled by alcohol was also frowned upon, as can be established from an engraving on such rites in Nicaragua, where fermented peanut drink was used as a catalyst for festivities which could last as long as twenty-four hours (ill. 23). Some of the participants, according to the De Brys' German caption:

...stoop like the beggars from Alsace, when they dance. [...] In short, they [all] behave so marvellously farcical, that one cannot stop writing about it.¹⁵

¹¹ A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, sex, and gender in late medieval and early modern Europe* (London and Basingstoke 2001) esp. chapters 4 & 6.

¹² *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. ii (Ger [first set of ill.]): "Die Eynwohner der Landtschafft Guaiana, wie auch alle ihre Nachbauwren, seynd der Trunckenheit sehr ergeben, und ubertreffen alle anderen Nationes im Zechen" / *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. xv (Lat): "Incola regni Guianae, quemadmodum etiam vicini populi, & omnes nationes potando superant".

¹³ *Ind.Occ.* VI, ill. xiv (Ger): "C. Ist wie sie nach verrichter Arbeit die Wurtzeln deß abgebrandten Waldds verbrennen, und drumbher sitzen und zechen" / (Lat): "C. Rationem ostendit, qua finita agricultura, radices & stipulas comburant, & lacti epulentur".

¹⁴ Lynn Martin (2001) 47–49.

¹⁵ *Ind.Occ.* V, ill. xxi (Ger): "Etliche bücken sich [...] wie die Elsässer Bettler, wenn



Ill. 23. *Ind.Occ.* V, ill. xxi

Excessive consumption of alcohol not only let down the guards of self-discipline, it also disclosed an alarming overall authority of temperament over sophistication. Bad taste and nutritional ignorance were similarly frowned upon. Dietary doctrines obviously varied within Europe, according to different culinary customs, but some common considerations applied. Food was deemed, by Renaissance practitioners and theorists alike, to have an influence on the physical and mental state of the human body, and its balance of the four humours. Each person was thought to have his own physical constitution, which required an individualised diet to prevent humoural imbalance. Those substances most similar to the human body, like meat, were considered the best and most nutritious. Corrupted food, however, fouled not only the body and its chief fluids, but ultimately also the mind they nourished.

sie ein Tanz halten. [...] in Summa, sie treiben so wunderbarliche Bessen, daß nicht genug darvon zu schreiben ist" / (Lat): "denique mille alios mirabiles gestus faciunt". There is no such analogy in the original account, Benzoni (1586) 229–31. The full text in the German collection does include the comparison: *Ind.Occ.* V (Ger) 87.

Eating fare, such as reptiles and insects, that could not be converted into one's own substance was hence seen as counterproductive and outright detrimental, a view supported by Old Testament books such as *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy*.¹⁶

How all this food was consumed was of equal significance. Uncooked food, for example, was believed to cause fevers and generate worms. Therefore the habit of some indigenous people to eat their food raw was a custom which fascinated European visitors.¹⁷ The De Brys combined their civilised dislike of uncooked fare with representations of an extraordinary lack of taste. Inhabitants of Patagonia were depicted eating raw birds in *India Occidentalis* IX (see ill. 74), while some of the positive attributions of Floridians in Volume II were cancelled out by graphically illustrating the amphibious and monstrous animals they consumed. The Indians considered snakes, lizards or iguanas, and small crocodiles all suitable for ingestion, after only having been dried with smoke (ill. 24).¹⁸

Reptiles, in any event, were surpassed in repugnance by some of the raw fare on the menu around the Cape of Good Hope, where the Khoikhoi or 'Hottentots' were seen devouring a slaughtered ox's intestines. The illustration is as good an example as any of the selection process and the modification techniques employed in the collection, as the De Brys decided to depict a slightly different part of the report, resulting in a vastly different representation. Having already featured in Willem Lodewijksz' Dutch account, the anecdote of Hottentots eating the raw bowels of cattle underwent various changes. Textual elements mitigating their loathsome appetite, like the observation that the natives "shook out most of the dirt"¹⁹ before putting the food into their mouths, were omitted. The De Brys added the derogatory word "savages"²⁰ to the German caption, and left out some of the traveller's more appreciative comments of the South African natives.

¹⁶ M. Douglas, *Purity and danger. An analysis of concept of pollution and taboo* (reprint; London and New York 2004 [1st ed. 1966]) chapter 3; Albala (2002) 48–64.

¹⁷ B. Ashley, et al., *Food and cultural studies* (London and New York 2004) 27–36, almost entirely based on C. Lévi-Strauss' structuralist model, as expounded in his article "The culinary triangle", *Partisan review* 33–4 (1966) 586–95. Bucher (1981) 51 ff. elaborates on the Lévi-Straussian model.

¹⁸ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xxiii; *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xxiv. Drying meat with smoke was considered to be the opposite to cooking food: Lestringant (1994) 69. On the uncleanness of lizards and snakes: *Leviticus* 11:29–30.

¹⁹ Lodewijksz (1598) f6v: "...de meeste vuylicheyt daer uytchuddende...".

²⁰ *Ind. Or.* III, ill. vii (Ger): "die Wilden". In the Latin caption they are referred to, neutrally, as "illi".



Ill. 24. *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xxiv

The comparison of the two illustrations (ills. 25 & 26) shows yet more palpable adaptations: the De Bry engraving actually caught the Hottentot in the act of consuming the intestines, hence increasing the spectacular appeal of the representation. The appearance of two Dutchmen in the picture merely served to emphasise the contrast between the civilised Europeans and the uncivilised Hottentots. One of the crew members, the artistic embodiment of the instinctive recognition of otherness, looked noticeably bemused at the native's craving. Early modern Europeans persistently represented the Hottentots as savages, who violated the rules of civility more than almost any other African group. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Hottentots were to exemplify racist theories as the discussions of skin colour and wildness merged, supported by the repetitive use of the De Bry composition.²¹

²¹ L. E. Merians, "'Hottentot': the emergence of an early modern racist epithet", *Shakespeare Studies* 26 (1998) 123–44; see also: E. Bassani and L. Tedeschi, "The image of the Hottentot in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An iconographic investigation", *Journal of the history of collections* II-2 (1990) 157–86, and *infra*, Ch. 11, pp. 361–63.



Ill. 25. *Historie van Indien*... (Amsterdam 1598) ill. 2

6.2. CANNIBALISM

While readers of the De Bry collection may have been astonished by the illustrations of humans consuming reptiles and bovine intestines, they probably expected nothing less than to find plenty of gruesome details on cannibalism. When the first generation of explorers reported on anthropophagous habits in Brazil, they confirmed various ancient and medieval fabrications.²² The European interest in cannibalism was little short of an obsession. It became a favourite theme in Renaissance art almost overnight, and a fundamental aspect of nearly every sixteenth-century tract dealing with the New World, even for an author like Sebastian Münster who touched upon overseas encounters only very briefly. Still the De Bry illustrations of cannibalism achieved canonical status, based on the account of Hans Staden, the adventurer from Hesse who had twice travelled to Brazil, where he lived among

²² F. Lestringant, *Cannibals. The discovery and representation of the cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* (Los Angeles 1997) 15–17; M. Palencia-Roth, “The cannibal law of 1503” In: J. M. Williams and R. E. Lewis, eds., *Early images of the Americas. Transfer and invention* (Tucson and London 1993) 28–31.



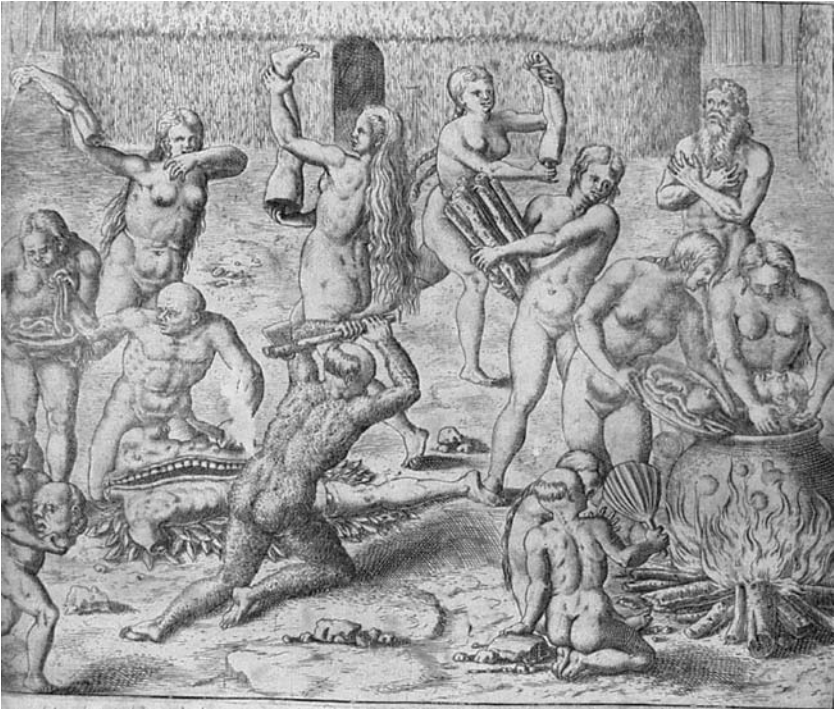
Ill. 26. *Ind.Or.* III, ill. vii

cannibalistic tribes (ill. 27).²³ Although eating human flesh, according to theories of the similarity of food, could be seen as nutritionally perfect, it was by no means to be tolerated, and no early modern reader needed advice on how to interpret the practice of eating human flesh. The De Brys nonetheless added explanatory adjectives like “barbarous” to the German descriptions of cannibals.²⁴

While the illustrations of manslaughter and man-eating were sure to make an impression in the mind of readers, the iconography of cannibalism in the De Bry collection was anything but innovative. Apart from the graphic representations of the Brazilian cannibals, which were more intricate, better executed, and presumably more widely distributed

²³ Staden’s account makes up the first part of *Ind.Occ.* III. The De Bry illustrations from this volume in particular have been used exhaustively for decoration of book covers in the late 20th century. See: F. Obermeier, “Hans Stadens Wahrhaftige Historia 1557 und die Literatur der Zeit”, *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte* 27–2 (2002) 43–80, with a comprehensive list of references.

²⁴ Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 16: “Et per certo molte sono le nationi, che ci cibano di carne humana”; *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) 14: “Es seindt zwar andere Barbarische Nationen mehr, die Menschenfleisch zur Speise wenden” / (Lat) 12: “Sunt sane plures hinc inde anthropophagi”.



Ill. 27. *Ind. Occ.* III (Lat) 127

than the crude woodcuts in Hans Staden's account of the 1550s, the textual adaptations in the De Bry collection testified to their careful handling of the issue. *India Orientalis* VII provides an edifying example of how minor rewordings could have large consequences. Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian jeweller recording the adventures of his overland journey to Asia, noted that the islanders of Carnalcubar, in the Indian Ocean, "were fond of human flesh". The De Brys subsequently altered Balbi's observation by stating, in German, that "they ate nothing but human flesh", only to leave the original testimony more or less unchanged for their Latin version.²⁵

²⁵ G. Balbi, *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali, dal 1579 al 1588: nelquale si contiene quanto egli in detto viaggio hà veduto per lo spatio di 9 anni 1579–1588* (Venice 1590) f133v: "che si pascono di carne humana"; *Ind. Or.* VII (Ger) 100: "die da anders nichts fressen, als Menschenfleisch" / (Lat) 119: "qui humanis maxime carnibus delectantur". Carnalcubar probably refers to one of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Similar circumspection is apparent in the changes made to a narrative on Africa. Odoardo Lopez, the Portuguese merchant whose adventures were recorded by the educated Roman military officer Filippo Pigafetta, testified to having encountered the Jaga, east of Congo, “who are physically large and deformed, and who live like cattle in the open country, eating human flesh”. For their German edition, *India Orientalis* I, the De Brys truthfully copied the assertion, but they omitted this single sentence from the Latin version published the following year.²⁶ The discrepancy was reflected in the penultimate copper engraving of the volume (ill. 28). Since the captions to the illustrations were generally paraphrases of the full texts, the readers of the German edition were invited to relish the dramatic story of the anthropophagous Jaga, whereas the Latin volume left readers uninformed.²⁷ Cannibalism was not the only subject which



Ill. 28. *Ind.Or.* I, ill. xiii

²⁶ Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 77: “Sono grandi di corpo, & deformati, & vivono alla bestiale in campagna, mangiando carne humana”; *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) 70: “Sie seynd groß von Leib, und leben auff dem Feld wie das unvernünftige Vieh, und fressen Menschen Fleisch.” / (Lat) 57.

²⁷ *Ind.Or.* I, ill. xiii (Ger): “...fressen auch Menschenfleisch”.

was handled in different ways for the two different translations of the collection, a phenomenon that will be analysed in detail in following chapters.

The modifications in *India Orientalis* I are systematic, and they are found in various stages of textual transformation. The De Brys, after having translated the account proper, also altered overseas representations when adapting the translation for the captions. While the full German text mentioned that the Anziquans, living to the north of Congo, “had abattoirs or slaughterhouses for human flesh, like we have for oxen, sheep, and other meats”, the corresponding caption claimed that they “had abattoirs for human flesh, which were just as common as ours for all types of livestock”, suggesting that these abattoirs were a regular public feature of sub-Saharan Africa.²⁸ The accompanying picture showed a standard contemporary image of a cannibal’s slaughterhouse, with various arms and legs hanging on hooks from the ceiling (ill. 29).

The De Brys almost certainly overstated the scope of cannibalism. While man-eating had been a customary topic in European representations of the New World, and, in some measure, Black Africa, the publishers also transferred the notion of anthropophagy to the Orient on two occasions. Based on Gasparo Balbi’s narrative, the De Brys reported that the king of Martaban, in modern-day Myanmar, extradited offenders to the man-eating Bataks, living on the island of Sumatra.²⁹ These traditions, however, were still being reported on in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The claim made in *India Orientalis* XI, based on the letters supposedly written by Vespucci, was less reliable. It placed cannibals in an unspecified region in the “East Indies”. The author prompted the De Brys to design a gruesome illustration of the murder and subsequent consumption of a young Portuguese traveller (ill. 30). In his letters, the author often referred to as the pseudo-Vespucci presumed to have sailed along Far Eastern shores while in fact he had stumbled upon the coast of Brazil. Well

²⁸ *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) 14: “Sie haben ihre Metzigen oder Fleischhäuser von Menschen Fleisch, wie man sie bei uns von Ochsen, Schaff, und ander Fleisch pflegt zu haben”; ill. xii: “dann sie ihre Metzigen von Menschenfleisch so gemein under ihnen haben, als wir hie aussen von allerley Viehe” / (Lat) 12: “Macella ipsorum, loco bovinum, ovium, aliorumve animalium, humanis carnibus sunt referta”; ill. xii: “unde fit ut ipsorum publica macella non pecuinis, sed humanis carnibus venum expositis, semper sint referta”.

²⁹ Balbi (1590) f130r; *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 97 / (Lat) 117.



Ill. 29. *Ind.Or.* I, ill. xii



Ill. 30. *Ind.Or.* XI, ill. i

over one-hundred years later, the De Brys were unable or unwilling to correct this misconception, hence prolonging the lifespan of the myth of cannibalism throughout Asia.³⁰

All forms of man-eating were naturally condemned by early modern Europeans, as it made resurrection of the body on the day of judgement impossible. As a violation of the commandment “Thou shalt not kill”, furthermore, cannibalism was depicted as the inversion of civilised and Christian conduct.³¹ There were nevertheless different shades of grey in the spectrum of anthropophagy. The brutal treatment of captured enemies, overseas as well as in Europe, was not unfamiliar around 1600. Consequently, the vengeful behaviour of some cannibals towards their rivals was deemed less unacceptable than ‘incestuous’ roasting—that is eating members of one’s own group or family, as, for example, Montaigne implied, in his essay *Des cannibales*.³² In all but one of the cited cases of cannibalism from the De Bry collection, the man-eaters ate others rather than their own, matching the testimonies in the various travel accounts. The Anziquans, eating friend rather than foe, thus may have incurred the most wrath from the civilised readership.³³

6.3. RESPECTING THE HUMAN BODY: MUTILATION AND SELF-MUTILATION

Beyond cannibalism, the De Brys displayed an equally avid interest in the destructions and mutilations of close friends, as well as in self-mutilation in the overseas world. “Tampering with Nature”, as one contemporary author wrote, was still considered an intolerable offence

³⁰ Lestringant (1997) 46–49, discusses André Thevet’s attempts to keep cannibalism away from Africa and Asia. The composition may partly rely on Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert’s image of Charles V’s triumph in the New World (1555), after a design by Maarten van Heemskerck. This plate depicts natives attacking an invading European fleet in the background, while they strip and cut to pieces one of the captured soldiers.

³¹ Palencia-Roth (1993) 53–54.

³² Montaigne had a cannibal, who himself was about to be cannibalised, say to his devourers, triumphantly: “Ces muscles, dit-il, cette cher et ces veines, ce sont les vostres, pauvres fols que vous estes; vous ne reconnoissez pas que la substance des membres de vos ancestres s’y tient encore: savourez les bien, vous y trouverez le goust de vostre propre chair”, M. de Montaigne, *Les Essais* [P. Villey, ed.] (2nd ed.; 3 vols.; Paris 1992) I 212. Also: Lestringant (1997) 28–30.

³³ *Ind. Or.* I (Ger) 14 / (Lat) 12; ill. xii.

to the corporal integrity of that Divinely created entity in God's own likeness.³⁴ The sixteenth century had witnessed a rise in the demand for corpses as essential objects for anatomical dissections, but the partitioning and opening of dead bodies was to remain contentious throughout the early modern era. The diversity in forms of capital punishment showed a similar tendency: hanging was considered a terrible sentence, primarily because the dead body often remained on the gallows until it disintegrated. Yet breaking offenders on the wheel was invariably seen as worse, and was reserved only for extremely serious crimes. These forms of public execution neatly reflected the extent to which a person's bodily integrity was being compromised. The fragmentation of the body was evidently something to be avoided at all costs, both before and after death.³⁵

Bodily destruction in its broadest sense can be found throughout the De Bry volumes. Murder, warfare, rape, and torture were all present in more than one narrative. With such topics also being endemic to the original accounts, their inclusion says more about the often violent nature of overseas encounters than about the family's editorial strategy. Self-mutilation however, a more narrowly defined cruelty, was more conspicuous in the De Bry collection than in the assembled original accounts. Once again it needs to be stressed that aside from using the instrument of adapting texts and illustrations to reshape the original representations, the publishers also selected isolated passages as suitable for making new designs. Selectiveness, more than anything else, enabled the De Brys to develop certain themes in their collection, regardless of the way in which these themes were subsequently described and depicted.

Two types of self-mutilation stand out. Examples of bruised, punctured, and perforated parts of the body were repeatedly brought to the fore, in what would now be called tattooing and piercing. On top of that, the De Brys put on display depictions of more ruthless mutilations of the body in the overseas world, with entire body parts being cut off. Both superficial tattoos and genuine amputations were considered

³⁴ S. Greenblatt, "Mutilation and meaning" In: D. Hillman and C. Mazzio, eds., *The body in parts. Fantasies of corporeality in early modern Europe* (New York and London 1997) 236.

³⁵ F. Egmond, "Execution, dissection, pain and infamy—a morphological investigation" In: Idem and R. Zwiijnenberg, eds., *Bodily extremities. Preoccupations with the human body in early modern European culture* (Aldershot 2003) 100–02, 108–09.

to be shameful, as both were closely associated with common punitive measures. Self-inflicted disfigurement was thus quickly interpreted as an acknowledgement of a sinful life, as well as an act of (partial) human sacrifice. The Old Testament was clear on this point. According to *Leviticus* 19:28, “You shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you”.³⁶

The De Bry collection both reflected and exploited these negative connotations of tattoos and mutilations in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe. The most famous engravings of tattoos in the collection have usually been regarded as anything but derogatory. Depictions of Algonquians in *India Occidentalis* I, with painted and punctured bodies, were presented side by side with five plates of similarly tattooed ancient Britons in a tantalising attempt to demonstrate that the native Virginians were almost identical to the ancestors of Elizabethan Englishmen. Hakluyt could have devised such analogies to reduce reluctance at home, and encourage settlers to populate the Virginian colony. But whether the illustrations conveyed only the intended, affirmative, Hakluyt-inspired ‘spin’ of the parallel between Virginian Indians and ancient Europeans is doubtful.³⁷

The juxtaposed images of Algonquians and tattooed English ancestors also indicated a barbarian past, acknowledged yet disavowed. Early Christians, like their early modern descendents, had disapproved of tattooing, and Theodore de Bry, in his introduction to the five extra engravings, explicitly used the word “savage” to explain the analogy between the Algonquians and ancient Britons.³⁸ The captions to the illustrations are ambiguous. The text accompanying the final illustration of Virginia is sympathetic, describing the branded signs on the backs of the Indians helping them to distinguish one another as a mark of “cleverness”. Yet an earlier engraving explains that, before going to war, some of the Virginians adorned their bodies “in the most terrible

³⁶ J. Fleming, “The Renaissance tattoo” In: J. Caplan, ed., *Written on the body. The tattoo in European and American history* (London 2000) 78–82.

³⁷ Campbell (1999) 63–67; Miller (1998) 56–57. Greve (2004) 107 rightly points to the representational ambivalence of the Picts.

³⁸ *Ind. Occ.* I (Ger) [E1r]: “...damit zu beweisen daß die Engelländer vor Jaren ebenso wild, als die Virginischen gewesen seyen” / (Lat) [E1r]: “...ad demonstrandum, Britanniae incolas non minus aliquando fuisse sylvestres ipsis Virginensibus”. On Christian disapproval of tattoos: Fleming (2000) 78. See also: D. Armitage, “The New World and British historical thought: from Richard Hakluyt to William Robertson” In: K. O. Kupperman, ed., *America in European consciousness 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill 1995) 63–64.

way they could". The caption to a plate in Volume II is unmistakably reproachful, claiming that Timucua women speckled their bodies, which precipitated a seven- or eight-day illness.³⁹ The causal connection of tattooing and poor health may well have been interpreted by readers as a rightful reprimand for harming the human body.

The De Brys revealed a further dislike for cosmetic scarring in other volumes. They took the initiative, for instance, to depict a Floridian scalping ritual for *America II*, suggested by the typical composition disclosing its invention in the Frankfurt workshop (ill. 31).⁴⁰ When Pieter de Marees, after his experiences on the Gold Coast, stated that some of the West Africans "had their bodies punctured with cuts, and their faces covered with paint, as a great beautification of their bodies", the De Brys omitted the clause that qualified the cuttings as an embellishment. In the caption to one of the plates in this volume, *India Orientalis VI*, a comparable omission can be observed. De Marees wrote approvingly that some inhabitants of the Gold Coast had their bodies "punctured, and attractively covered with paint", but the word "attractively" was singled out for deletion in the De Bry versions.⁴¹

The act of self-mutilating was repeatedly selected for depiction. In the margins of an illustration of Sir Francis Drake's encounter with South Americans living near Rio de la Plata, on his way to circumnavigating the globe while destroying Spanish possessions, an Amerindian woman scratched open her own cheeks and countenance for pleasure, "so much that [the women] seemed thirsty for blood".⁴² Capturing precisely this gripping moment of disfigurement suggests that the De Brys sought to portray the habit of self-mutilation at its most violent and unfamiliar (ill. 32). The predilection for the horrifying moment is discernible in

³⁹ *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. xxiii (Ger): "spitzfindigkeit" / (Lat): "industriam"; ill. iii (Ger): "auff das allerscheutlichste sie immer können" / (Lat): "maxime horrendam poßunt"; *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xxxix.

⁴⁰ Axtell and Sturtevant (1980) 451–72. Cf. supra, Ch. 4, p. 124 for the De Bry compositions.

⁴¹ De Marees (1602) 18: "zijnde op het lyf met sneden ghepickeert, ende het aensicht met Verf bestreken, tot een groot ciraet hares lichaem"; *Ind. Or.* VI, ill. iii (Ger): "auff dem Leibe sindt sie fast seltzam zerschnitten oder gerissen, und im Angesicht mit Farbe angestrichen oder gemahlet" / (Lat): "Faciem habet scissam varie & coloratam". De Marees (1602) 120: "ghepickeert, ende met Verf fray bestreken"; *Ind. Or.* VI, ill. xx (Ger): "geritzet, und mit Farbe bestrichen" / (Lat): "variis secturis & puncturis deformatam & colore certo infectam".

⁴² *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) ill. v [second set of ills.]: "etliche Weiber, so für Freuden ihre Backen und Angesichter zerkratzen, daß sie gar blutrüstig waren" / (Lat) ill. v: "mulieres [...] quae prae lacticia, maxillas & faciem, ad sanguinem usque lacerarant".



Ill. 31. *Ind.Occ.* II, ill. xv



Ill. 32. *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. v (Lat) / ill. v [second set of ills.] (Ger)

many of the collection's volumes, quite plainly, for example, in the illustrations of Mozambique and Florida natives mutilating and castrating their enemies.⁴³ For some readers, the plate of the Mozambican castrations may have been unacceptable, as it is reported missing from several copies of the collection (ill. 33).⁴⁴

From the New World to the East Indies, European travellers encountered many flagrant corporeal mutilations, enabling the De Brys to design pictures of the rituals regularly. An Aztec man piercing his foot before a statue of Vitzliputzli and a demonic Ceylon sorcerer cutting a hole in his thigh in order to pull a chain through it featured prominently in two of the De Bry compositions. One design was entirely devoted to the procession known as the Juggernaut, earlier described by John of Mandeville and others: devout inhabitants of the South Indian kingdom of Narsinga were seen slicing off chunks of their own flesh before ritually throwing these to their 'false god'



Ill. 33. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. iv

⁴³ *Ind.Occ.* II, ill. xv, where the Secota are depicted taking the scalps of their defeated enemies, and *Ind.Or.* II, ill. iv, where the Mozambicans castrated their victims.

⁴⁴ Ludovic Lindsay (1884) 65.

(ill. 34).⁴⁵ Although types of self-sacrifice had enjoyed prestige in medieval Christianity, mutilation outside the Christian world was more readily associated with judicial ordeals, or with perverse worship and outright heathendom. Voluntarily amputating parts of the human body could be further connected to considering such parts superfluous, and thus to excess in more general terms.⁴⁶ This in turn affected the interpretation of related practices, such as ritualised or punitive mutilations, or mutilations with the consent of the victims. After his election the king of Ormuz proceeded to blind his nearest relatives, a custom represented alongside his subjects tearing worms from their flesh (ill. 35). More familiar amputations were on display in *India Orientalis* I, where the Amazons were depicted routinely cutting off one of the breasts of a new member of their warring tribe.⁴⁷ All these brutal actions were added to the original iconography by the De Brys.



Ill. 34. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxii

⁴⁵ *Ind.Occ.* IX, ill. vii, *Ind.Or.* VIII, ill. viii, and *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxii respectively; on the Juggernaut: Greenblatt (1991) 224–27.

⁴⁶ Greenblatt (1997) 225.

⁴⁷ *Ind.Or.* I, ill. xiv; on the Amazons: K. Schwarz, “Missing the breast. Desire, disease, and the singular effect of Amazons” In: D. Hillman and C. Mazzio, eds., *The body in parts. Fantasies of corporeality in early modern Europe* (New York and London 1997) 147–69.



Ill. 35. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. vi

6.4. NATIVES UNDRESSED: NAKEDNESS

If adding elements to the original compositions was a regular trait of the De Bry collection, so was the opposite. Nowhere does the omission of iconographic details become more obvious than for the topic of clothing. The publishers regularly suggested nakedness when the original narratives provided no such insinuation. To approve of nudity, in the words of Theodore de Bry, was “unacceptable for anyone, let alone for Christians”, signalling the contempt the publisher had for the native lack of decency.⁴⁸ This disapproval, however, did not obstruct the readiness of the De Brys to design absorbing engravings. Two examples taken from the same volume, *India Occidentalis* IX, illustrate

⁴⁸ *Ind.Occ.* IV (Ger) [A4r]: “...ohne die welche gar nackent daher ziehen ohn alle schaam. Zwar dieses zu loben, stünde keinem Menschen geschweige einem Christen zu” / (Lat) [I:0:(3v): “...praeter eos qui omnino nudi incedunt nullo pudoris sensu, quod quidam probare humanum non esset nedum Christianum”.



Ill. 36. *Wijdtloopigh verhael*... (Amsterdam 1600) ill. 3

the diversity of the changes made. A group of West Africans, living near Cape Lopez, fell victim to a careful and methodical process of undressing. The author, the Dutch ship's physician Barent Jansz, had reported on a ceremonial encounter between Captain Sebald de Weert and an indigenous chief. The corresponding woodcut published in Amsterdam showed the two parties in animated discussion, both the Dutch captain and the African ruler being surrounded by several of their comrades (ill. 36). The De Brys supplanted the relatively crude woodcut with a more elaborate copper engraving and made a number of adjustments (ill. 37). Arguably the most degrading change was the removal of the garments covering the genitals of most of the natives. Only the king retained his dignity. The next plate, a De Bry-design loosely based on the same Dutch woodcut, confirmed the nakedness of the West African tribe.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ills. xviii and xix; B. Jansz, *Wijdtloopigh verhael*... (Amsterdam 1600) ill. 3. For an elaborate discussion of these adjustments: Van Groesen (2005) 29–48. Much of this information was also used in: Idem, "Portrait of the traveller with burin and printing press. The representation of Dutch maritime expansion in the De Bry collection of voyages", *The Low Countries. Arts and society in Flanders and The Netherlands* 14 (2006a) 48–55. See also: Van den Boogaart (2004) 115–18.



Ill. 37. *Ind. Occ. IX*, ill. xviii (detail)

The original text had given no reason to assume that the West Africans were naked, yet the De Brys made sure their texts and engravings correlated. Whereas Barent Jansz had written that during the meeting, the indigenous ruler “had been surrounded by his nobility”, the relevant Frankfurt captions, both Latin and German, declared instead that he “had been surrounded by his nobility, who were entirely naked”.⁵⁰ The efforts by the De Brys to have words and images support each other indicate the systematic nature of these alterations. Further modifications present an identical picture: an insignificant reference to an old woman from the same community in Barent Jansz’ narrative was selected for modification by the De Brys. They designated her as “ugly” and insisted that she was “entirely naked”.⁵¹ Subsequently she

⁵⁰ Jansz (1600) [C3v]: “Achter hem int ronde sat zynen Adel”; *Ind. Occ. IX*, ill. xviii (Ger): “...hinter ihm saß der Adel gantz nacket” / (Lat): “Post ipsum omnes eius nobiles, in totum nudi consederant”.

⁵¹ Jansz (1600) [C4r]: “...een out wijf, sterrelings op ziende, met een dose...”; *Ind. Occ. IX* (Ger) 21: “...ein heßlich alt Weib, welches sehr scheußlich auß sahe, gantz nacket, mit einer Schachtel...”; (Lat) 18: “...foedi ac horridi foemina, tota nuda ad eum propius aggressa, capsulam, cuius operculum...”.

was selected for illustration, further proof that the De Brys intended her to exemplify the natives at Cape Lopez. She was duly represented as a horrific, entirely naked old woman, with the caption once again confirming the display.

Not only this particular reference to the woman's nudity, but no reference whatsoever to any presumed nakedness of the populace around Cape Lopez can be found in the original account, making the alteration even more remarkable. The same can be established for the other treatise in this volume, Jose de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. The De Bry illustration discussed in Chapter 5, portraying the relationship between humans and llamas in Peru, depicted the natives as barely dressed, supposedly based on Acosta's observations (see ill. 14). The Jesuit missionary had nevertheless noted that these same llamas yielded wool, and that "the Indians made stuffs of this wool, which they used to clothe themselves". The contrast between the original account and the De Bry-invented illustration was enhanced by the caption, which truthfully reported that the Inca manufactured wool products, before conveniently skipping the rest of the sentence.⁵² The potentially complicating statement that the llamas favoured cold areas and were sometimes covered with ice and frost did not survive the De Brys' editorial methods either. Readers of the collection were thus left with the impression of nearly nude Andeans, a custom made possible or even desirable by an implied torrid habitat.

Other De Bry plates accompanying the translation of Acosta's text exposed naked inhabitants of Mexico and Peru in this fashion too, often with little or no foundation. Nudity in the early modern era was considered a fixed epithet of wildness, the domain of animals rather than humans, and the decision of the De Brys to pack the New World and sub-Saharan Africa in particular with naked men and women harmed the reputation of these peoples and continents. Nakedness, furthermore, not only indicated barbarism, it also pointed towards sexual immorality and other vices, as a number of Frankfurt-designed illustrations in *India Occidentalis* X and XI suggested. Female nudity was closely linked to promiscuity in one of the pseudo-Vespucci's letters

⁵² J. de Acosta, *Historie Naturael ende Morael van de Westersche Indien* ([transl. J. Huygen van Linschoten] Enkhuizen 1598) f209r: "De Wolle wordt van d'Indianen bereyt, ende gewaet af ghemaect, daer sy haer mede cleeden"; *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. iv (Ger): "...diese dienen in Indien [...] daß [...] auß der Wollen Tuch gemacht wirdt" / (Lat): "...ex lana panni texantur".

on America, which the De Brys selected for depiction and rewording, while a group of naked girls dancing in the Southern Pacific aroused the lust of the local ruler.⁵³

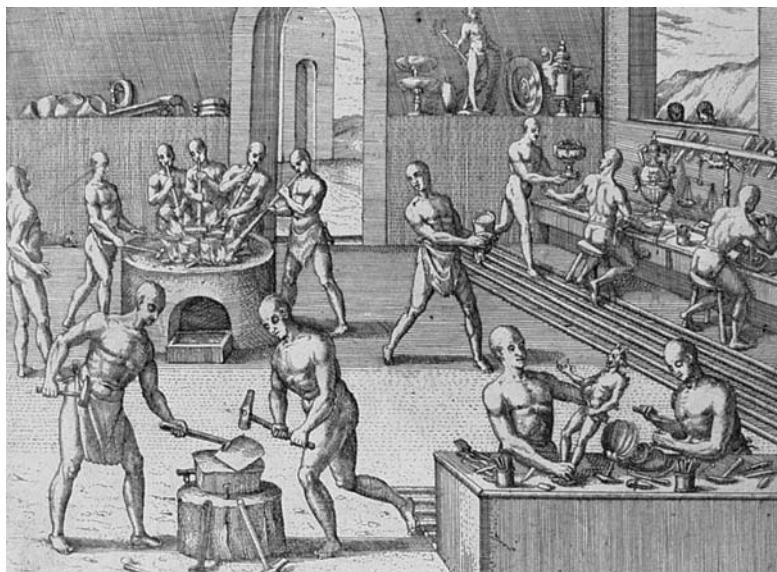
Nudity is one of the subthemes which hints at representational differences between pre-1598 and post-1598 volumes of the collection. It distinguishes, in other words, the volumes that were co-ordinated by Theodore de Bry from those of his sons. *India Occidentalis* VII provides something of a watershed, suggesting that Theodore's physical weaknesses in fact forced him to retire in 1597 or even earlier. Whereas in *America* VI (1596), and in previous volumes, indigenous genitals were generally covered by the composition of the engraving, by the shaping of individual bodies, or by the addition of the most inconspicuous pieces of textile, Indians in the next volumes were now and again fully exposed (ills. 38 & 39). The Amazons in the first volume of the *India Orientalis*-series, commenced in 1597 under the auspices of the brothers, and some of the Africans and Asians in later volumes were also depicted stark naked.⁵⁴ While the suggestive connotation of Theodore's 'veiled nudity' was no different from the more evident nakedness in the volumes after his death, the adjustments reveal a more blunt, straightforward method of representing otherness under the stewardship of the second generation of De Brys. Only Volume III of the *America*-series with the illustrations to Staden's narrative of cannibalism in Brazil forms a notable exception to this pattern.

6.5. NATIVES DRESSED UP: NEW WORLD FEATHERS

As clothing went a long way to determine early modern identity, nakedness, whether total or partial, further implied uniformity. Depicting many inhabitants of the New World and southern Africa in the nude blurred the cultural boundaries between adjacent and even geographically detached indigenous groups. One representational instrument which the De Brys could have employed to differentiate natives overseas,

⁵³ *Ind. Occ.* X, ill. i; *Ind. Occ.* XI, ill. viii.

⁵⁴ *Ind. Occ.* VI, ills. xii and xx are examples of 'veiled nudity'. Fully naked, however, are non-Europeans in *Ind. Occ.* VIII, ill. ii (Ger) [first set of ills.] / ill. xv (Lat); *Ind. Occ.* VIII, ill. iii (Ger) [second set of ills.] / ill. iii; *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xviii; *Ind. Or.* I, ill. xiv; and *Ind. Or.* II, ill. iv. The only example of 'unveiled' nudity before 1596 is *Ind. Occ.* II, ill. xxvii.



Ill. 38. *Ind.Occ.* VI, ill. xxvii



Ill. 39. *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. iii (Lat) / ill. iii [second set of ills.] (Ger)

skin colour, was left unused. Travellers generally did report on the colour of the natives they encountered, and the De Brys truthfully copied these statements, but refrained from modifying the illustrations accordingly. A handful of dark-coloured depictions can all be traced back to the original iconography.⁵⁵ The skin colour was commonly related to the degree of exposure to the sun, and hence to the latitude where the natives lived, although a geographer like López de Gómara already knew better. Only in the later seventeenth century did the discourse of racism emerge, and did the degree of blackness become a powerful representational tool.⁵⁶

Quite a few of the naked individuals portrayed in the collection shared another characteristic which made identifying differences between ethnic groups hard: feathers. The De Bry adjustments made readers believe that men and women wearing feathers, mostly as headdresses, were an everyday sight in all corners of the overseas world. Since the collection combined accounts of different regions in America, the volumes allowed readers to compare the various indigenous customs. The recurring use of feathers suggested that all inhabitants of the western hemisphere were to some extent interchangeable. Like the attribution of nudity to natives whose clothing was difficult to discern from the account, or perhaps in fact too familiar and unspectacular to fit the publishers' construction of otherness, feathers were added to the appearance of many people, seemingly at will or for lack of an alternative.

Ever since Hans Burgkmair made a number of woodcuts of the New World in the early sixteenth century, feathers were at the heart of its iconography as one of the stereotypical features of early modern America, alongside armadillos, cannibalism, and Spanish tyranny. Some of the New World feathers in the De Bry collection are hence the result of pictorial material in the original accounts, which was copied in Frankfurt.⁵⁷ Yet the seemingly indifferent way of transferring this trait to other regions, the range of the additions, and the extra

⁵⁵ Most notably *Ind.Or.* II, ill. iii, a copy of one of the Van Doetecum engravings to the *Itinerario*.

⁵⁶ Elliott (2006) 78–79. Van den Boogaart's suggestion (2004) 106, 124, that the De Brys did not colour the skins of the natives for readers to apply suitable colouring themselves seems farfetched, as hardly any coloured copies of the volumes survive.

⁵⁷ One of the Patagonians in Barent Jansz' narrative of the Strait of Magellan was wearing a headdress and a skirt of feathers, without any textual hint of such garments. While the illustration was changed by the De Brys for their purposes, the feathers survived: *Ind.Occ.* IX, ill. xxiv; Van Groesen (2005) 43–44.

possibilities a collection of voyages offered for comparative analysis made the De Bry modifications more significant for the representation of the overseas world as a whole.

Feathers first appeared in the collection in *India Occidentalis* I, depictions based on John White's watercolours of Virginia. Several Algonquians carried no more than three plumes on their heads, a derivation from the full-feathered Indians of sixteenth-century iconography.⁵⁸ Jacques le Moyne probably also provided the De Brys with feathered Floridians, although the provenance of the illustrations in *India Occidentalis* II remains problematic. There are nevertheless plenty of feathers on display throughout the second volume, and it is unlikely that every single one was invented in the De Bry workshop.⁵⁹ In subsequent volumes, for which no original pictures were available, feathers were almost routinely implanted. For *India Occidentalis* VIII, centred around Sir Walter Raleigh's search for Eldorado, the De Brys created four designs of human practices in a region loosely referred to as 'Guyana'.⁶⁰ All four engravings borrowed their feathers from a single illustration, appearing on the title-page of Cornelis Claesz' Dutch translation of the Englishman Lawrence Keymis' account.⁶¹ To this illustration of men with feathered waistbands, an image constructed in Amsterdam, feathered headbands were appended in Frankfurt.⁶²

Much more conspicuous was the emergence of these New World epithets in De Bry-designed Africa, as the makeshift method of indiscriminately adding feathers was taken to new heights—and new shores. Most of the feathered outfits in the *India Orientalis*-series were visibly derived from illustrations in the volumes on America. As a result, the whale-hunting population of Île Sainte Marie, just off the east coast of Madagascar, closely resembled the Guyanese encountered by Raleigh (ills. 40 & 41). The depiction of whale hunters in south-east Africa was then re-used in *India Orientalis* XI to illustrate the same practice

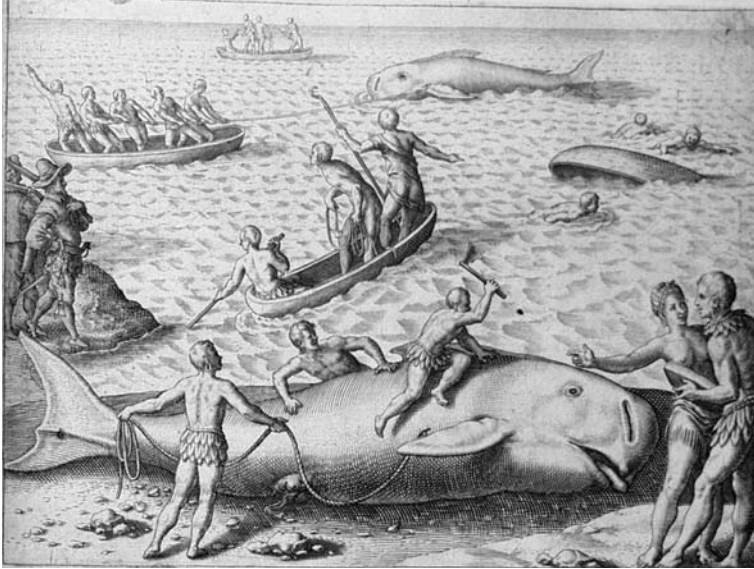
⁵⁸ *Ind. Occ.* I, ills. iii, xv–xviii, etc.; Hulton (1984) 69, 78, etc.

⁵⁹ Most notably *Ind. Occ.* II, ills. xi, xiv, xvi, etc. For some of the problems relating to the origin of these plates: C. F. Feest, "Jacques le Moyne minus four", *European review of native american studies* II-1 (1988) 33–38. The first ten engravings certainly do not seem to be by the same hand as the rest. Some of these may have been based on the unused White drawings: Hulton (1984) 41–42.

⁶⁰ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) ills. ii–v [first set of ills.] / (Lat) ills. xv–xviii. Further feathers appear indiscriminately throughout the *America*-series.

⁶¹ Keymis (1598). Cf. *supra*, Ch. 5, p. 142.

⁶² *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) ills. ii, v [first set of ills.], (Lat) ills. xv, xviii.



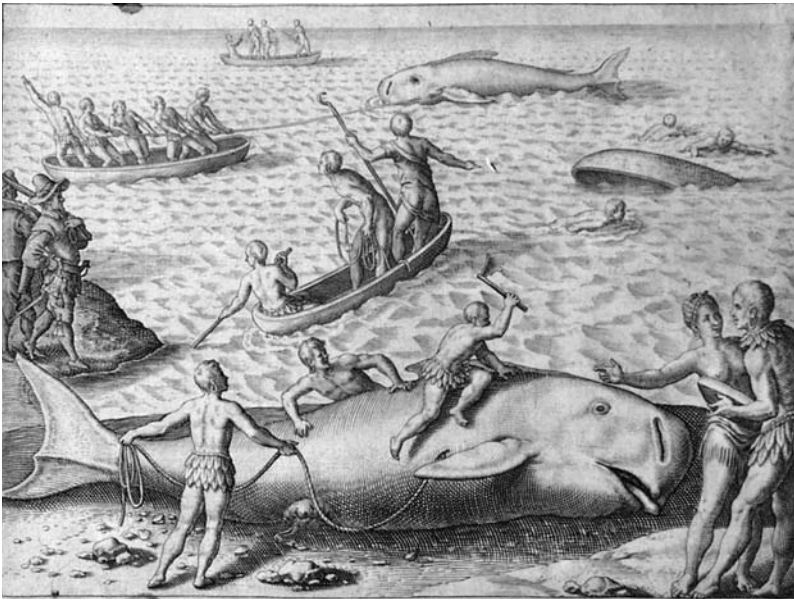
Ill. 40. *Ind.Or.* IV, ill. iv



Ill. 41. *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. xvii (Lat) / ill. iv [first set of ill.] (Ger)

in Spitsbergen, feathers and all (ill. 42)! To copy finished engravings in order to illustrate a completely different narrative is reminiscent of an outdated form of book-illustration, where one crude portrait or townscape was commonly employed to portray various individuals or cities, but by the early seventeenth century this practice was long regarded as unacceptable.

Convenience rather than accuracy ruled these practices in the De Bry workshop. Some of the warring Africans in the Gold Coast region looked like twin-brothers of the Timucua combatants of Florida, albeit with a slightly different hairstyle.⁶³ The De Brys also constructed feathered headdresses for Black Africans in three Frankfurt-designed additions to Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*. The precise arrangement of the feathers in this case cannot be traced to the *America*-series, but the three African rulers were seen wearing exactly similar head adornments, despite living as far apart as Cape Lopez and Mozambique. The king of the Kaffirs from Mozambique in *India Orientalis* II consequently looks



Ill. 42. *Ind.Or.* XI, ill. x

⁶³ *Ind.Or.* VI, ill. xxi; *Ind.Occ.* II, ills. xiv and xvi.

more like a West African than like his fellow countrymen depicted in the original Dutch account.⁶⁴

Going even further east, the picture was only marginally different, as plumed heads emerged elsewhere in *India Orientalis* II. In Ormuz, an island just south of modern-day Iran, the De Brys depicted a feathered man who looks remarkably like the African rulers. A Dutch crew encountered the local population of the Banda Islands, some of whom the De Brys depicted as wearing feathers.⁶⁵ The Banians of northern India, as well as other inhabitants of the Mughal Empire, also sported feathers, in distinctly Virginian fashion, with three plumes only (see ills. 17 & 20). Acosta's theory of a land bridge connecting the New World and Asia, finally, resulted in a De Bry depiction of Japanese men in *India Occidentalis* IX, who were dressed exactly like the Aztecs in the previous illustration. Feathers once again provided the finishing touch to a blurred identity.⁶⁶ Neither Acosta nor the other authors from whose accounts the depictions were derived referred to feathers as unmistakable features of the natives' appearance.

6.5. BODY LANGUAGE

One final, visual aspect of the physical appearance of the overseas population that may have caught the eye of the contemporary reader was human body posture. With the increasing importance of manners in the broadest sense in the Renaissance, the notion that the interior self was visible from the outside had acquired momentum. The importance of elegant posture therefore pervaded early modern manners books and artists' manuals. An erect position was regarded as a sign of civility, whereas, by contrast, violently swirling or stooping human bodies indicated an overall lack of composure. Johan Theodore de Bry, like many other artists, used this representational instrument to great effect in two printed drawings of dancing groups. The first print, depicting a court dance, shows all the human bodies in a straight, vertical position.

⁶⁴ *Ind.Or.* II, ills. i and ii deal with Cape Lopez, *Ind.Or.* II, ill. iv portrays the Kaffirs from Mozambique. Jan Huygen van Linschoten's engravers from the Van Doetecum family had devoted one of their illustrations to Kaffirs, copied by the De Brys for *Ind.Or.* II, ill. iii.

⁶⁵ *Ind.Or.* II, ill. vi; *Ind.Or.* IX, ill. v.

⁶⁶ *Ind.Or.* XI, ills. iv, vii, and viii; *Ind.Occ.* IX, ill. x. See also the newly designed engraving for *Ind.Or.* XII (Ger) 13.

The complementary engraving of peasants dancing has the bodies positioned in rather arbitrary fashion instead, displaying nothing of the orderly nature of the first illustration.⁶⁷

Such depictions of peasants, wild men, beggars, and other groups perceived as socially inferior were widely recognised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These illustrations served both to entertain cultured readers and art enthusiasts, and to present them with a counter-image of desirable behaviour. A collection of voyages was as good a medium as any to hold up a mirror to civilised European readers, and the De Brys modified the posture of some of the indigenous human bodies in order to achieve the desired effect. The Hottentot who fancied the bovine intestines in *India Orientalis* III, for instance, was portrayed in an admirably upright position in the original Dutch account, but he was slightly bent over while devouring the food in the De Bry engraving, also forming a marked contrast to the newly introduced Dutch travellers on the right (see ill. 26).⁶⁸

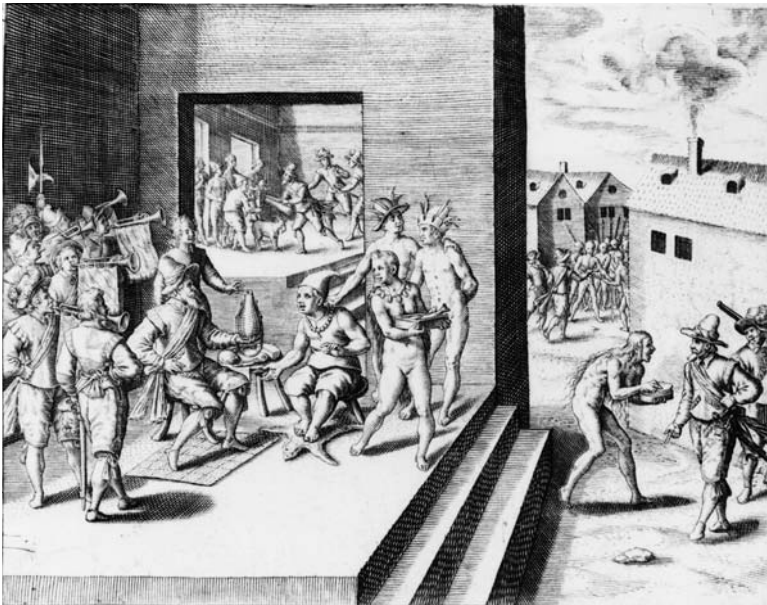
Accentuating the contrasts between Europeans and non-Europeans was a beloved modifying tactic of the De Brys. The famous engraving of Columbus' arrival on Hispaniola in *India Occidentalis* IV is an obvious example (ill. 43), yet the volumes on West Africa provide even more compositions where contrast plays a key role. The naked woman at Cape Lopez, highlighted by the De Brys in both text and image in *America* IX, was depicted facing the Dutch captain De Weert, whose erect posture was exemplary, especially in comparison to the woman's sagging shoulders (ill. 44). In Congo, the Portuguese and indigenous display of regard for the native king revealed a similar disparity. One of the Europeans kneeled respectfully before the throne, while surrounded by numerous native subjects venerating their ruler in a much more disorderly way. Unrestrained hand-and-arm gestures summed up the visible differences between the cultured Europeans and the coarse mannered Congolese. The same distinction was represented in the second engraving of *India Orientalis* II, where the excitedly gesturing

⁶⁷ H. Roodenburg, *The eloquence of the body: perspectives on gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle 2004) 131–32; also: Idem, “On ‘swelling’ the hips and crossing the legs: distinguishing public from private in paintings and prints from the Dutch Golden Age” In: A. K. Wheelock jr. and A. F. Seeff, eds., *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (Newark and London 2000) 73.

⁶⁸ *Ind.Or.* III, ill. vii; Lodewijcksz (1598) [B3r].



Ill. 43. *Ind. Occ.* IV, ill. ix



Ill. 44. *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xix



Ill. 45. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. ii

Gabonese accompanied two bewildered yet composed Dutch visitors to their ruler (ill. 45).⁶⁹

One of the most dramatic alterations made to any of the collection's engravings propagated the notion of a total, albeit temporary loss of command over one's own body. A change of posture, in this case, disclosed an overwhelming representational relegation. A Bantam warrior, portrayed in the possession of an arquebus in Willem Lodewijcksz' account, was depicted in the De Bry collection firing the rifle, or rather trying to use it properly (ills. 46 & 47).⁷⁰ From a man standing in an upright position, proudly showing a Dutch state-of-the-art weapon that so many other people in the overseas world blatantly did not possess, he was turned into a caricature of backwardness, his stumble revealing weakness rather than strength, ignorance rather than sophistication. The corresponding caption, translated from the original account yet

⁶⁹ *Ind.Or.* I, ill. ii; *Ind.Or.* II, ill. ii.

⁷⁰ Lodewijcksz (1598) [P2r]; *Ind.Or.* III, ill. xx.

once again taken from a slightly different passage than the one initially depicted, confirmed that the man from western Java, hurt by the weapon's recoil, was unlikely to reach for the arquebus again.

Body posture came under scrutiny most intensely in the context of dancing, when losing self-control was always a lurking possibility. Dancing, in short, was suspect.⁷¹ The De Brys were generally unsympathetic towards dancing, as became apparent from their textual adjustment to an excerpt of Acosta's work. The Jesuit, in the words of Dutch translator Jan Huygen van Linschoten, reported seeing "dances, most of which were superstitions, and a sort of idolatry", which the De Brys deemed not categorical enough when they discussed the same dances, most of which were—depending on the translation—either "a type of foul superstitions" or "superstitions, and full idolatry".⁷² The De Brys, in *America V*, also compared the intoxicated dancers in Nicaragua mentioned above to more familiar social outcasts in an amendment to the text.⁷³

Given such textual changes, and the common artistic practice of using posture to visualise the state of a person's interior self, the large number of engravings devoted to uncontrolled dancing routines should be interpreted as a condemnation of these festivities and the people concerned. Every representation of dancing in the collection transmitted a negative impression of the indigenous population, as the allusion to peasant vulgarity and implicit otherness, was inescapable. Sometimes these degrading connotations were made more emphatic, for instance in *India Occidentalis VIII*, where inhabitants of the Rio de la Plata area were not only depicted practising a disorderly dance, but the dance merely served as an overture to the seizure of an English traveller's hat and gold necklace, an explicit connection between exterior misdemeanour and interior shortcomings (ill. 48). Yet the staple illustrations

⁷¹ Hale (1994) 480–81.

⁷² Acosta (1598) f322v: "T'meeften deel van deze Dansspelen waren superstition, ende een soorte van Afgoderije"; *Ind. Or.* IX (Ger) 276: "Das meiste Theil dieser Tantzspiel waren *Superstitiones* und voller Abgötterey" / (Lat) 306–07: "Hi tamen ludi universi prope foedis superstitionibus contaminati erant".

⁷³ *Ind. Occ.* V, ill. xxi, see supra, Ch. 5, pp. 178–179. The engraving was (very) loosely based on a woodcut in the second edition of Benzoni's account (Venice 1572). In contrast to the original woodcut, the De Brys depicted the Nicaraguans as dancing entirely naked.



Ill. 46. *Historie van Indien...* (Amsterdam 1598) ill. 18

of dancing natives merely depicted them as excitedly gesturing. *India Occidentalis* X, based on the pseudo-Vespucchi's letters, included two such engravings, while a De Bry-designed illustration to the Dutchman Willem Schouten's narrative, of 'wild' girls dancing, was exceptionally close to depictions of peasant dance in Europe. Schouten's claim, in his narrative, that the girls were fulfilling their routine 'gracefully' was expediently overlooked.⁷⁴ The De Brys once more felt there was little to choose between the various overseas dancing routines, as they inserted a textual comparison between dances in Bantam and on Madagascar, without the prototypes referring to any such uniformity.⁷⁵

The De Bry collection, nevertheless, did not universally depict natives as having bad posture. Again the first two volumes, the first one in particular, provide an exception to the rule, which has inspired scholars to remark on the similitude of inhabitants of the New World and classical

⁷⁴ *Ind. Occ.* X, ills. i and iv; *Ind. Occ.* XI, ill. viii, but: Schouten (1618) 60: "met een goede gratie". See also: M. van Groesen, "Van de Stille Zuidzee tot de 'Frankfurter Buchmesse'. Beeldvorming in het Journael van Willem Schouten en de reiscollectie De Bry (1618–19)", *Transparant. Tijdschrift van de Vereniging van christen-historici* [special issue: 'Religion and the New World'] 17–2 (2006b) 19–24.

⁷⁵ *Ind. Or.* III, ill. xxix.



Ill. 47. *Ind.Or.* III, ill. xx



Ill. 48. *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. iv (Lat) / ill. iv [second set of ill.] (Ger)

prototypes. The posture of the Virginians, based on White's drawings, indeed approached perfection. It is, however, not representative of the collection as a whole, as many elements of the first two volumes are at odds with the general picture the collection presents. The contrasting Europeans added to many illustrations and the preference for badly postured natives throughout *India Occidentalis* and *India Orientalis*, their positions being adjusted if necessary, tell a different story.

6.7. RITES OF PASSAGE

Dancing often accompanied so-called rites of passage. Baptism, marriage, and burial, to name only the three most recognisable rituals, were key parameters of the early modern representation of overseas societies. More than many other subjects such rites of passage inspired the De Brys to add new engravings to already existing sets of illustrations. Other topics were sacrificed as a result of the urge to depict such telling ceremonies of transition: Willem Lodewijcksz' portrayal of a formal meeting between the indigenous governor of Bantam and foreign visitors was reworked into a meticulous description of a typical wedding day in the same region in western Java (ills. 49 & 50). The caption to this plate in *India Orientalis* III is a faithfully copied extract of the Dutch journal, although the De Brys added a sense of amazement over the unfamiliar approach to marriage, with no significant dowry having been donated by the bride's family.⁷⁶

Selection rather than modification was the prevailing De Bry technique to stress the alterity of these customary rituals. Occasionally new commentary was appended, however, when the engravers made new designs of rites of passage. One of the illustrations of China, added to Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* for *India Orientalis* II, was presented with a caption taken from another travel account, the *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China* written by the Augustinian friar Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza in 1586. Van Linschoten,

⁷⁶ *Ind.Or.* III, ill. xviii (Ger): "Nemblich sie geben inen nit grosse Haußsteuer mit, ohn was die Slaven oder Leibeygenen anlangt" / (Lat): "Igitur praeter Sclavos & mancipia, dotis non admodum multum contribuunt". This sentence cannot be traced to the Dutch version or the De Bry translations of the account: Lodewijcksz (1598) f40v; *Ind.Or.* III (Ger) 140 / (Lat) 100. Lodewijcksz (f40r-v; *Ind.Or.* III (Ger) 140 / (Lat) 100) in fact testifies to having seen a Bantam wedding ceremony with lavish gifts, in the paragraph immediately prior to the lines the De Brys used for their caption.

in his text, had warned against the imprecision in Mendoza's account, but the De Brys used his treatise on the religion of the Chinese all the same.⁷⁷ The plate, in typical De Bry fashion with different stages of the ritual captured in one composition (ill. 51), brought together various abhorrent practices: the veneration of the deceased body by relatives and friends, the making of a shroud, the offering ceremonies lasting a fortnight, the planting of a spruce tree, and lastly the burning of paper drawings of slaves and animals were all distinctly un-Christian traditions, that significantly revised Van Linschoten's comforting representation of the Chinese.⁷⁸ The predilection for such unfamiliar, un-Christian rites manifested itself just as poignantly in the *America*-series, where, as a striking example, the exhumation of the dead along the banks of the Orinoco River not only alarmed Sir Walter Raleigh, but, through the graphic De Bry design, may well have shaken a broad European readership (ill. 52).

Rites of passage were almost invariably related to religious customs

⁷⁷ Van Linschoten (1596) 32–33: "...doch die eenige lust heeft breeder hier af te weten, leest een Boec dat een spaensch Monick gemaect heeft van 't selfde lant van China, met namen Iuan Gonsales de Mendoça [...] hoewel daer sommige fauten by gevoecht zijn"; *Ind.Or.* II (Ger) 67: "Jedoch so jemand Lust und Begierde hette, weiters hiervon zu lesen, der nemme die Historien von China für sich, welche ein Spanischer Münch, genant Frater Iuan Gonsales de Mendoca beschrieben hat [...] und ob wol etliche errata darin fürfallen, von wegen daß der autor keinen rechten Bericht derselbigen Ding gehabt, so ist doch viel denckwürdiger Materien darinn begriffen" / (Lat) 62: "... in qua licet autor falsus fuerit, ut qui minus exactam earum rerum notitiam habuerit, leget tamen in ea pleraque memoratu dignissima". See: Van Groesen (2001) 110–12 for a discussion of the Mendoza plates in *Ind.Or.* II.

⁷⁸ *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxxii (Ger): "...darinn bekleiden sie den todten Körper, setzen ihn in ein Stuel, knien vor ihm nieder und nehmen Urlaub von ihm: Als dann legen sie ihn in eine von wolriechendem Holtz gemachte Bahr, bedecken dieselbe mit einem weissen Tuch, auff welchem der Todte gemahlet ist, lassen ihn also vierzehnen Tag stehen; under dessen werden viel Ceremonien und Opfer für deß Verstorbenen Seel verrichtet. Letzlich tragen sie ihn mit Gesang unnd Seitenspiel zum Grab, stecken einen Fichtenbaum, so nimmer abgehauwen wirdt, er verdorre dann, zu ihm in die Erde. Nach diesem allem verbrennen die Priester etliche Papier, darauff Slaven oder Thier gemahlet, und ziehen widerumben heimwärts" / (Lat): "...hoc habitu in sellam reponitur cadaver, ad cuius pedes propinqui in genua devolvuntur, valedicentes illi reponunt deinde cadaver in feretrum paratum ex ligno odorato, quod panno albo, in quo depicta est effigies defuncti insternitur. Haec tumba per quindenam integram in publico exponitur. Fiunt interim variae pro defuncti anima ceremoniae oblationesque. Tandem funus cum cantu & instrumentis musicis sepeliendum defertur, defoditurque, infigunt sepulchro pineam inciduam, donec exarescat. Finitis hisce ceremoniis sacerdotes chartas, in quibus animalia atque mancipia picta sunt, flammis absumentes domum revertuntur". For Van Linschoten's original view of China: Van den Boogaart (2003).



Ill. 49. *Historie van Indien*... (Amsterdam 1598) ill. 16

abroad—and many will therefore be addressed in Chapter 7. The De Brys, in their introductions, frequently stressed this connection, yet the association was also made explicit within the volumes. The Aztec burial ritual, selected for depiction in Frankfurt as part of *India Occidentalis* IX, was linked to heathendom in the first few words of the caption. The De Brys included a local ‘priest’, dressed as the devil, as the ceremony’s protagonist (ill. 53), and twice added the word ‘horrible’ to the caption to indicate their disapproval.⁷⁹ Elsewhere, sentences newly added revealed the heathen nature of a royal burial ceremony in Peru. Whereas Benzoni’s text and both the German and Latin editions of *India Occidentalis* VI had been fairly bland regarding the service, the relevant German caption presented readers with an unequivocal connection between the local custom of paying their last respects to a ruler,

⁷⁹ Acosta (1598) 228r–v: “...soo quam daer terstont een Priester uyt, met een Duyvels cleedt aen”; *Ind. Occ.* IX (Ger) 197–98: “...kam alßbald ein Priester herfür mit einem Teuffelskleidt angethan” / (Lat) 220: “...sacerdotum quidam Cacodaemonis veste”. Yet the two captions describe: (Ger): “...[ein Priester] der in ein abschewlich Teuffels gestalt verkleydet ist” / (Lat): “...à sacerdote, veste horribilem cacodaemonis speciem habente induto”. Here, once again, the natives were depicted naked without any textual support of this kind.



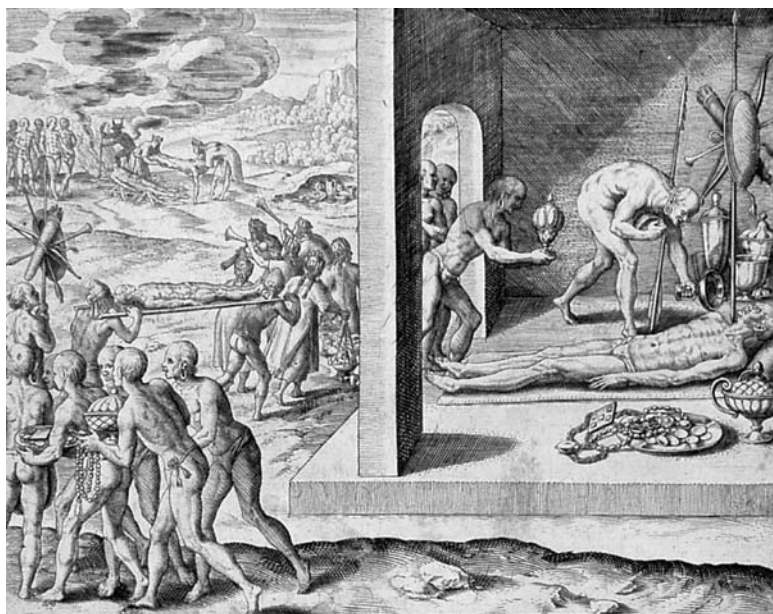
III. 50. *Ind.Or.* III, ill. xviii



III. 51. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxxii



Ill. 52. *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. xii (Lat) / ill. vi (Ger)



Ill. 53. *Ind.Occ.* IX, ill. v

and submission to Satanic influence. After describing the ceremony, the caption concludes that:

...they must have known of the immortality of the soul; yet they are blinded by the devil into thinking they travel to another place, where all is good, like before in their lives. The evil spirit, in order to confirm this, appears to them in the shape of their deceased sovereign, telling them that he is now living very peacefully in another realm, where he has everything he wishes at his disposal...⁸⁰

The Latin caption is less detailed, and phrased in more general terms than the German one: while the Peruvians were ‘blinded by the devil’ in the German caption, they were merely ‘persuaded’ by Satan in the Latin commentary. The elaborate treatment of the deceased sovereign’s return was not made available to readers of the Latin volume. Subsequent chapters will discuss in greater detail the numerous differences between German and Latin captions and even texts, and the sometimes astounding dimensions of these differences.

⁸⁰ *Ind. Occ.* VI, ill. xxvi (Ger): “Darauß abzunehmen, daß sie von der unsterblichkeit der Seelen wol müssen gewust haben, sind aber vom Teuffel dermassen verblendt, daß sie anders nicht meynen, als daß sie an ein ander Orth hinfahren, da sie nur guter ding seyen, wie auch zuvor in ihrem Leben geschehen. Und damit derselbige böse Geist ihnen solches bestättige, erscheinet er ihnen zu zeiten [...] in derselbigen abgestorbenen Fürsten gestalt, redet sie an, unnd spricht daß er nunmehr in einem andern Reich in grossen freuden lebe, da er alles hat was sein hertz begere...” / (Lat): “Ex quibus apparet eos immortalitatem animae non ignorasse: sed à Satana persuasos, alio transferendos, ubi viverent genio indulgentes quemadmodum ante obitum faciebant. Atque ut facilius persuaderet eis certa esse quae diceret, interdum [...] Principis alicuius defuncti formam capiebat, qui significaret se in alio regno nunc beate vivere, magno cum apparatu...”.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FROM GODS TO IDOLS: THE EXPANSION OF HEATHENDOM

7.1. PAGANISM IN FOCUS

The precarious state of contemporary European Christendom was one of the prime concerns of Theodore de Bry and his sons, according to several introductions to volumes of the collection. Volume IV of the *India Occidentalis*-series, the first of the three Benzoni-tomes, contained perhaps the most explicit overture of the entire project. Recalling the image of the frugal North Americans in the first two volumes, Theodore de Bry bemoaned the spread of luxury in Europe. “It is disgraceful”, he wrote, “that Christians were in need of such [native American] educators”, quite a statement given the Amerindians’ supposed adoration of the devil.¹ While the emphasis on moderation disappeared from the collection after the early 1590s, the publishers’ desire to address the *Respublica Christiana* as a whole, also apparent in this passage, remained significant. Theodore, in 1597, expressed the hope that

...God may give me his blessing to serve Christendom through further similar and more beautiful books [...] in order that we can lead an honourable Christian life together, in peace and unity.²

Since the next volume of the *America*-series did not appear until 1599, the burden to ‘serve Christendom’ in this manner fell to the second

¹ *Ind.Occ.* IV (Ger) [A4r]: “Es ist zwar ein schendlicher Handel, daß die Christen solche Lehrmeister haben müssen” / (Lat) []:(3v): “Rem sane pudendam oportere Christianos tales habere paedagogos & magistros”. The previous paragraph emphasised the devilish nature of the native beliefs.

² *Ind.Occ.* VII (Ger) [A2v]: “...daß mir Gott seinen Segen fernner verleihe, der Christenheit noch mit anderen dergleichen und viel schöneren Wercken zudienen [...] Gott der Allmächtige wöle uns seinen heyligen Geist verleyhen, welcher uns den rechten weg lehre damit wir in Frieden und Eynigkeit ein Christlich ehrbar Leben mit einander führen” / (Lat) [A3v]: “...& pro valetudine mea vota te facere velim, ut orbi Christiano adhuc aliis id genus inservire & prodesse opusculis [...] Deus aeternus pater Domini nostri, Jesu Christi Spiritum suum sanctum nobis omnibus largiatur, qui viam nobis in hac miserarium valle monstret, quam insistenten tranquille hic honestam vitam agamus”.

generation of De Brys. The following year the two brothers, in the preface to the German *Additamentum* to *India Occidentalis* VIII, disclosed their intentions to posthumously fulfil their father's commitment. Without much ado, they proclaimed that "these histories serve [...] the restoration of all of Christendom".³

For those who believed in the reconciliation of Christian confessions—and a fair number of intellectuals professed to do so⁴—paganism was a very useful instrument to represent otherness, as it reminded readers of Europe's shared Christian heritage. Christians on all sides of the religious divide employed sharply delineated boundaries between truth and error: stressing the heathendom of the aboriginal populace abroad, therefore, provided comfort in troubled times. It allowed the Old World to agree on overseas immorality and assimilate unfamiliar societies into their universal order, in which versions of heathendom were already an established category.⁵ The comparisons between Inca or Aztec and Greco-Roman deities multiplied in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶

Since Europeans themselves had been polytheists in classical times, it also allowed them to contemplate their own evolution, widening the divide between Christianity and the pagan beliefs encountered in the overseas world both geographically and chronologically. At the same time paganism implied humanity, which in turn created a platform for missionary efforts: Bartolomé de Las Casas, for instance, viewed some Amerindian convictions as *praeformatio evangelica*, but his interpretation was exceptionally positive. All these considerations combined, strengthened by the fact that the focus on heathendom did not obstruct the sale of books to any part of the confessionally divided European readership, turned paganism into a marketable strategy.

The pluriformity of paganism in the overseas world, more than any other topic, presented travellers with terminological difficulties. Since only familiar terms were at hand to capture unfamiliar rites, the native beliefs were often defined by what they were not. The word religion,

³ *Ind.Occ.* VIII add. (Ger) [A2v]: "Es dienen aber diese Historien [...] zu Aufferbauung der gantzen Christenheit". There is no corresponding Latin preface.

⁴ Bouwsma (2000) 107–11.

⁵ Ryan (1981) 519–38, esp. 525–26.

⁶ S. MacCormack, "Limits of understanding. Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian paganism in early modern Europe" In: K. O. Kupperman, ed., *America in European consciousness 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill 1995) 79–129.

exclusively reserved for the worship of a single god, was only moderately used. The contrasting practices in the overseas world were therefore described in terms of superstition and idolatry. Indigenous gods, accordingly, were portrayed as idols. The veneration of animals and objects—animism and fetishism according to modern vocabularies—were not defined as such: although these rituals were condemned, the reverence for some of the peculiar animals of West Africa depicted in *India Orientalis* I was, rather indiscriminately, referred to as “heathen blindness” (ill. 54).⁷ Finally, and perhaps most importantly: the overwhelming majority of the overseas people did not recognise the ‘true Christian God’, and they were routinely considered servants of the devil. Suitably derogative adjectives were amply used.⁸



Ill. 54. *Ind.Or.* I, ill. xi (Lat) / ill. x (Ger)

⁷ *Ind.Or.* I, ill. x (Ger): “Heydnischer Blindheit” / (Lat) ill. xi: “ab incolis [...] pro Deo habiti”.

⁸ The terms most commonly used were ‘Aberglauben’, ‘Götzendienst’, ‘Abgötterei’, and ‘Heidentum’ in the German versions, and ‘Idolatria’ and ‘Superstitio’ in the Latin volumes. See also: U. Faes, *Heidentum und Aberglauben der Schwarzafrikaner in der Beurteilung durch deutsche Reisende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich 1981) 69 ff.

The extensive use of the notions of idols and idolatry in tales of adventure often discloses the Reformed persuasion of the narrator, as Calvin's theology advocated the spirituality of Christendom by denouncing the role of 'material' worship.⁹ Reformed culture adopted idolatry as a powerful accusatory instrument during the wars of religion, and a Huguenot like Jean de Léry routinely made the connection between the idolatry of the Tupis in Brazil and Catholic rituals. Translations of his journal were eagerly printed in Geneva. The De Brys recognised the critical tendencies in some of the accounts, but resisted the temptation to enhance or in any way overemphasise the connection between Catholic 'paganism' and idolatry abroad. While they highlighted heathen rituals overseas, they avoided analogies with the Catholic worship of images and saints. Comparisons between the De Bry versions of accounts and other editions printed elsewhere demonstrate the reserved editorial strategy of the Frankfurt publishers on this point.

The collection accentuated paganism in various ways, beginning straight away in the first volume. Thomas Harriot and Richard Hakluyt had not felt the need to emphasise the heathen nature of the Algonquians: innocent as paganism may have been from afar, it was unlikely to help attract English settlers to Virginia. John White's watercolours displayed the natural richness and the promising fertility of the province, rather than any of the alien rituals the English must have witnessed. The only glimpse of Algonquian religion offered by White is found in a picture of a charnel house, where he included a statue of worship, albeit barely visible. The De Brys copied this drawing, but placed it immediately after a more detailed depiction of the North American idol, named 'Kiwasa' (ill. 55).¹⁰ With distinctly Floridian features, the pagan god may have been observed and designed by Jacques le Moyne, yet the decision to attach it to Harriot's *A briefe and true report* was made in Frankfurt. The caption to this plate was easily the most disturbing commentary in *India Occidentalis* I. The De Brys copied most of Harriot's text on the religion of the Virginians, but added a comprehensive description of the statue's appearance, rounded off with the observation that it was "terrifying".¹¹

⁹ C. M. N. Eire, *War against the idols: the Reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge 1986); for recent views on idolatry, see the thematic volume 67–4 (2006) of the *Journal of the History of Ideas* with contributions by a.o. Rubiés and MacCormack.

¹⁰ *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. xxii and xxi respectively.

¹¹ *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. xxi (Ger): "schrecklichen" / (Lat): "horrenda".



Ill. 55. *Ind. Occ. I*, ill. xxi

The illustration of Kiwasa was one of only three newly added plates. More significantly, the same figure also appeared at the top of the first title-page of the collection, being venerated by two Virginians (see ill. 19). The De Brys went to great lengths to make sure that the collection's frontispieces impressed potential customers, particularly in the 1590s, when the series still had to establish its reputation. Stately architectural designs fitting for the folio-size volumes, rugged land- and seascapes, and elaborate depictions of exotic flora and fauna permitted them to display the range of their unrivalled engraving skills. Indigenous people often formed the most eye-catching elements of these advertising efforts. The De Brys displayed a systematic fondness for the most unfamiliar, most sensational individuals encountered, with the first title-page showing, among others, an Algonquian man and woman, both noticeably tattooed. The man appeared to have a tail, as discussed in Chapter 5,¹² and the reader was not likely to find out the precise nature of this spectacular feature until he had left the bookstore with the volume

¹² *Supra*, Ch. 5, pp. 172–74.

under his arm. Above the tailed man, in the top-left corner, De Bry reserved a place for the conjurer, one of White's most memorable designs, who together with his female counterpart on the right adored the prominently placed statue of Kiwasa.

Subsequent title-pages show a similar predilection for bumped-up otherness and heathen tendencies.¹³ *India Occidentalis* II was introduced with depictions of the Floridian Timucuan and their revered ruler (ill. 56), but Volume III returned to the theme of paganism with naked Brazilians kneeling in prayer before an undefined, round object with the symbol of a crescent that could not even aspire to the status of an idol (ill. 57). The two cannibals standing before the pillars of the title-page's facade completed the representation of a shortfall in both civility and Christianity. The front-page of Volume IV provided more of the same, as nakedness and a general lack of bodily composure were depicted side-by-side (ill. 58). Once again, the most important place in the engraving was reserved for a pagan god, the hideous parrot-cum-lion-like idol of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, based on the final, De Bry-designed engraving of the volume (ill. 59). The image constituted the unmistakably pagan climax of what was essentially conceived as an anti-Spanish account.

This practice resembles the construction of the frontispiece of *India Orientalis* II in the late 1590s, where the three-headed Chinese deity designed by the De Brys, and mentioned only in Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's account of China—not in the original narrative by Van Linschoten—occupies the central position of the volume's title-page (ill. 60).¹⁴ The Dutchman's appreciative representation of the Chinese, then, was not only turned around inside the book, as discussed elsewhere, but the De Brys also considered their Frankfurt-conceived interpretation more appealing to potential customers than a more traditional appraisal. Although the front pages turned more sterile and more textual—and less costly—from 1600 onwards, the tendency to overstate the otherness abroad returned to the collection's title-pages in the 1620s. Under the auspices of Matthaeus Merian, the figures displayed bordered on the grotesque.¹⁵

The prominence of pagan images on these title-pages is all the more

¹³ See also: Christadler (2004) 48–60.

¹⁴ See, for a different interpretation of this title-page: Van den Boogaart (2002) 92–93.

¹⁵ For instance the title-page to *Ind. Occ.* XIII (1627).



Ill. 56. *Ind. Occ. II*, title-page



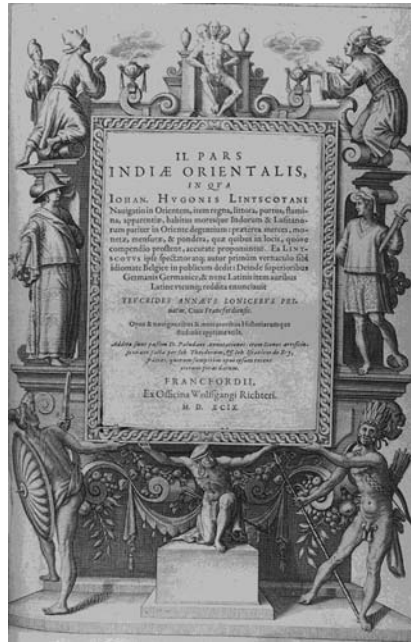
Ill. 57. *Ind. Occ. III*, title-page



Ill. 58. *Ind. Occ.* IV, title-page



Ill. 59. *Ind. Occ.* IV, ill. xxiv



Ill. 60. *Ind.Or.* II, title-page

intriguing when the ideological directions of the original accounts are considered. Jan Huygen van Linschoten intended to paint a positive picture of the Chinese, and the same applies to the objectives of Thomas Harriot regarding Virginia, albeit for different reasons. Girolamo Benzoni attempted to expose the cruelties of the Spanish conquistadors in the New World, and the edition of his report used by the De Brys, annotated by Urbain Chauveton, a Calvinist hard-liner from Geneva, only bolstered its bid to denounce Spanish tyranny.¹⁶ Yet the title-pages of the three matching volumes of the De Bry collection—*India Orientalis* II on China, and *India Occidentalis* I and IV on the Americas—announced the works as exposés of heathendom.

¹⁶ B. Keen, "The vision of America in the writings of Urbain Chauveton" In: F. Chiappelli, ed., *First images of America* (2 vols.; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976) 107–20.

7.2. PAGANISM COMPARED

If shifting the emphases of accounts was significant, so was the order of the different narratives in the collection. The disagreement between Hakluyt and De Bry in the late 1580s about the decision regarding which province of America to examine first proved as much: the order, apparently, mattered.¹⁷ The next choice regarding the arrangement of travel accounts undoubtedly had practical reasons, but also may have affected the readers' impressions of the New World: the De Brys were faced with the two accounts by Jean de Léry and Girolamo Benzoni simultaneously. The versions of the accounts in the collection betray the use of an edition published in Geneva in 1586, which had already combined the two narratives.¹⁸ The De Brys, in 1591 or 1592, decided to reverse the order. Instead of translating and printing Benzoni's narrative before De Léry's report, as in the Geneva edition, they picked the Huguenot's account for *India Occidentalis* III and postponed publication of the Milanese's text. De Léry's tale of French discord in Brazil thus received priority over Benzoni's assessment of Spanish brutalities. While De Léry's impressions had to be combined in the collection with another report on Brazil by Hans Staden, in order to achieve thematic and geographic cohesion, both could probably have been postponed until after Benzoni's views. Staden's report of cannibalism in turn took precedence over De Léry's *Histoire*.

India Occidentalis III briefly recapitulated the first two parts of the collection. Theodore de Bry, in his introduction to the German volume, opted to be frank: the Algonquians he described as "modest, simple, and keen to accept the Truth". The Floridians, however, demonstrated "immense blindness" in matters of religion. De Bry further labelled them "cunning, [and] malicious, and one can hardly persuade them of the true religion", which was ruthless summarising, considering that René de Laudonnière's discussion of Timucuan religion lacked any tone of horror or disgust. Dominique de Gourgues, another French adventurer, had even reported that the natives remembered Protestant psalms when he returned to the defeated colony several years later.¹⁹

¹⁷ Supra, Ch. 4, p. 112.

¹⁸ *Historia Indiae Occidentalis Tomis duobus comprehensa. [...] Hieronymo Benzoni Italico, & Ioanne Lerio Burgundo, testibus oculatis, autoribus* (Geneva 1586).

¹⁹ Fishman (1995) 550–52. The De Brys included De Gourgues' account in *Ind. Occ.* II.

Yet the people the collection was about to introduce, in Volume III, embodied the most abject characteristics of heathendom. They were, according to De Bry, “so obstinate, that even though they were often tormented and beaten by the devil, they could by no means be converted to the true religion”. Additionally they were “so wild, that one eats the other”.²⁰ Theodore thus announced to his readers the growing extent of paganism and wildness, seemingly going hand in hand, in the first three volumes of the collection.²¹ In the preface to Volume X of the *America*-series, the character of the “barbarous” Algonquians was summarised as “vengeful and uncompromising”.²²

Religious customs abroad, as was noted before, were an important feature of any early modern European travel account, and it is therefore useful to keep an eye on other narratives from the same period, and see how they dealt with these matters. An ideal case is presented by two translations of Jan Huygen van Linschoten’s *Itinerario* into Latin. Both were published in 1599, one by the De Brys—as *India Orientalis* II²³—and the other through the concerted efforts of the Dutch booksellers Aelbert Hendricksz in The Hague and Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam. The latter had issued the original report in Dutch three years earlier, but the relationship between Van Linschoten and the Amsterdam bookseller

²⁰ *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) [(:)2v–(:)3r]: on Virginia: “sittsam, schlecht und gutwillig, die warheit anzunehmen”; on Florida: “gar grosse blindheit” and “verschlagen, arglistig, und man kan sie schwerlich zu den waren Religion bereden”; and on Brazil: “...so halßstarrig, daß ob sie wol zum offternmal vom Teuffel geplagt und geschlagen werden, nichts desto weniger durch einiges Mittel können zum rechten glauben bekehret werden” and “...so Wild, daß einer den andern frisset”. Theodore’s conclusion, therefore, was: “Darumb alle die jenige welche Christen seind, mit grossem Fleiß und Ernst dasselbige betrachten sollen, und Gott für seine grosse Barmhertzigkeit danken die er uns erzeiget hat, und nog täglich beweißt” / (Lat) [a2v]: “nam Virginiae incolae placidi sunt, simplices, & ad recipiendam veritatem proni: Floridenses vafri & maligni, quique difficulter ad verae Religionis cognitionem pertrahi possunt: Brasiliani adeo pertinaces sunt, ut (licet à daemonibus saepissime caedantur & torqueantur) nulla ratione ad fidem amplectendam induci queant” and “in tantum furorem evadunt, ut sese mutuo vorare non vereantur”. The conclusion was phrased as [a3r]: “Nostrum igitur est, ô Christiani, haec diligenter perpendere, Deoque gratias agere, pro ingenti misericordia, qua erga nos usus est, & cottidie adhuc utitur”.

²¹ See Gossiaux (1985) and Greve (2004) for interpretations of gradual native decline.

²² *Ind. Occ.* X (Ger) [A2r]: “den Rachgierigen und unversöhnlichen Indianern” and “Barbarischen Unterthanen”. There is no preface to the corresponding Latin volume.

²³ *Ind. Or.* II discussed only around half of the material described in *Itinerario*, as *Ind. Or.* III and IV also contained chapters of Van Linschoten’s treatise.

had since deteriorated. Van Linschoten slated Cornelis Claesz' edition of Gerrit de Veer's narrative on Nova Zembla, maintaining that parts of it had been made up, and presented his own manuscripts to other publishers.²⁴ Both Latin editions were advertised in the catalogue of the 1599 spring fair in Frankfurt, and listed in immediate succession.²⁵ The translations, however, were not identical, and the differences between the two versions put the De Bry modifications in a better perspective.

A first remarkable difference was the measured use of italics in the De Bry version for highlighting fragments of the text they considered important. Hence the Juggernaut ceremony in Narsinga received special attention, as did the inclination for polygamy in the southern Indian region Nayris. In these examples, the Dutch edition, published in The Hague, did not alter any of the lettering, leaving the texts without any special reading instructions. The southern African habit of cutting off the penises of defeated enemies was another excerpt which received the same type of typographic attention from the De Brys. In this case, the two editions diverged further. The De Brys also decided to accompany the passage with a controversial illustration (see ill. 33). While they chose to emphasise the ritual in these ways, their Dutch colleagues omitted the excerpt.²⁶ The cumulative effect of these decisions makes the De Bry modification more meaningful: the weight attached to spectacular and gruesome tales, closely related to indigenous beliefs, becomes even more evident.

Aelbert Hendricksz and Cornelis Claesz left other potentially offensive fragments out of Van Linschoten's text. The Mozambican custom of selling children in times of famine cannot be found in the Dutch edition, whereas the De Brys saw no reason to alter the contents of the passage. Other adaptations to the text are more subtle, yet just as valuable in a comparative perspective. The Dutch booksellers, for example, did not include any engravings of the religious practices of the Chinese, which were so fundamental to the Frankfurt version of the *Itinerario*, although later Dutch editions of the same work, published in 1610, did include two of the six De Bry-conceived 'Mendoza engrav-

²⁴ Roeper (1998) 26–27.

²⁵ Supra, Ch. 4, pp. 120–21. Van Selm (1987) 180, 288 n. 53.

²⁶ J. Huygen van Linschoten, *Navigatio ac itinerarium [...] in Orientalem sive Lusitanorum Indiam: descriptiones eiusdem terrae ac tractuum littoralium...* (Amsterdam 1599) 50; *Ind.Or.* II (Lat) 106 and ill. iv. For the italics in the De Bry edition: *Ind.Or.* II (Lat) 107–08, 112.

ings'.²⁷ Van Linschoten's rather brief examination of Chinese polytheism—too brief according to the De Brys—was copied in both Latin translations, but the different attitudes of the publishers were obvious in the margins to the texts. While their Dutch colleagues summarised the traveller's observations in a businesslike manner, "On the religion of the Chinese", the De Brys, regarding the same extract, opted for "The devils are venerated by the Chinese",²⁸ clearly a much stronger interpretation of Van Linschoten's text. Once again they also selected the theme for one of the additional engravings (ill. 61). The next chapter will discuss other differences between the two Latin versions of the *Itinerario*.

Although Theodore de Bry had already concentrated on the heathen practices of the natives in North America, in Brazil, and elsewhere in South America, *India Occidentalis* VII once again proved to be a turning point in the representation of the overseas world. After the latest three volumes of *India Occidentalis* had focused on cruelties performed by Spaniards both on each other and on the Amerindian population, the header of the second illustration to Volume VIII proclaimed that "The Christians were being killed by the Indians in a treacherous manner".²⁹ The corresponding illustration shows the subsequent revenge the Spaniards exacted on the murderers (ill. 62). This signalled a fundamental representational realignment in two ways: firstly, the explicit juxtaposition of Christians and Indians had not been a common one throughout the previous volumes. Only one earlier engraving had seen the use of both these terms in the title, here with the intention to condemn the greed of the Spanish conquistadors.³⁰

²⁷ J. Huygen van Linschoten, *Histoire de la navigation de Jean Hugues de Linscot Hollandois et de son voyage es Indes Orientales* (Amsterdam 1610) 58, 59. Many other De Bry-conceived engravings from *Ind. Or.* II, III, and IV were also included. Two identical editions were printed in Amsterdam with different imprints of Hendrick Laurensz and Theodore Pierre (Dirck Pietersz Pers), cf. *infra*, Ch. 11, pp. 352–53.

²⁸ Van Linschoten (1599) 26: "Religio Chinae"; *Ind. Or.* II (Lat) 58: "Daemonium Chinensis venerantur". The observations on the Kaffirs, included in Van Linschoten (1596) 61 and *Ind. Or.* II (Lat) 106–07, were omitted from Van Linschoten (1599) 50.

²⁹ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) ill. ii [second set of ills.]: "Die Christen werden von den Indianern verrhäterischer weise umbracht" / (Lat) ill. ii: "Christiani ab Indianis nefarie et fraudulentur trucidantur".

³⁰ *Ind. Occ.* IV, ill. xxi (Ger): "Ein herrlicher Sententz eines Indianers von der Christen Geitz" / (Lat): "Indi cuiusdam Gnomologia insignis de Christianorum avaritia".



Ill. 61. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxviii



Ill. 62. *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. ii (Lat) / ill. ii [second set of ill.] (Ger)

Secondly, the description of the Indians as ‘treacherous’ is significant. Treachery, along with tyranny and avarice, was usually reserved as an epithet for the Spanish troops in the New World, and it had been used as such in previous volumes of the De Bry collection. *India Occidentalis* VI in particular had been a parable of broken Spanish promises: the conquistadors had pledged not to harm the captured Inca leader Atahualpa if he delivered them a considerable amount of gold and silver, yet when Atahualpa gave the order to bring what the Spaniards desired, they nevertheless decided to kill him, “against [their] most faithful promise”, according to the title to one De Bry engraving.³¹ They also described struggles between rivalling Spanish conquistadors in terms of unfaithful and traitorous behaviour.³²

The sudden reassignment of ‘treachery’ to the indigenous population in *India Occidentalis* VII, a shift which persisted into subsequent volumes, as well as into some of the *India Orientalis*-volumes, must have become apparent to readers who purchased the entire De Bry collection. In *India Occidentalis* VIII, the treacherous nature of the people from Guyana was revealed when they slaughtered several Spaniards whom they had initially agreed to accompany peacefully.³³ In Volume X, based on the pseudo-Vespucci’s letters, unspecified Indians—in the words of the De Brys—‘deceived’ Spanish voyagers.³⁴ The depiction of a Javanese attack on a Dutch ship off Bantam, in *India Orientalis* III, was fitted into the collection with the title “A treacherous murder by the Javanese on the vessel *Hollandia*”.³⁵ Johan Theodore and Johan Israel thus gradually steered the representation of the overseas world into the innocent and recognisable domain of easily objectionable ‘otherness’.

7.3. PAGANISM ENHANCED

The representation of heathendom in the De Bry collection was connected to issues such as treachery, and influenced other domains not

³¹ *Ind. Occ.* VI, ill. xi (Ger): “...wider verheissene trew und glauben” / (Lat): “...contra fidem datam”. The two previous plates also deal with the treason of Atahualpa.

³² *Ind. Occ.* VI, ills. iii, iv, xiv–xviii.

³³ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) ill. v [first set of ills.] / (Lat) ill. xviii.

³⁴ *Ind. Occ.* X, ill. iii (Ger): “Wie die Indianer die Spanier [...] zu betriegen vorhaben...” / (Lat): “Quomodo Indiani Hispanis [...] dolos struxerint”.

³⁵ *Ind. Or.* III, ill. xxxi (Ger): “Ein verrätherischer Mord, der Javaner, auff dem Schiff *Hollandia*” / (Lat): “Nefaria obruncatio quorundam in navi *Hollandia* dicta, à Iavanensibus instituta”.

typically associated with the subject of religion. The spheres of religion and cultural sophistication—the languages of Christianity and civility, in other words—were anything but strictly separated.³⁶ This becomes evident as early as *India Occidentalis* I, where De Bry gave readers of the German edition a late reminder, in the form of a final-page erratum, on how to interpret customs in Virginia:

Realise, dear reader, that in the places in this account where it says ‘the inhabitants of Virginia’, one should read ‘the savages in Virginia’ instead of ‘inhabitants’. Even though in recent years, a band of Christians has been sent to this region, it will be necessary to distinguish between the two.³⁷

Although religion may have been an indispensable part of the early modern European gaze of the overseas world, inevitably pervading the perceptions of itinerant and armchair travellers alike, the scaling-up of religious topics in the De Bry collection, in comparison to the original reports, still stands out. *India Occidentalis* IX saw the modification of a chapter written by Acosta, titled “On the foundation and the building of [the city of] Mexico”, into an engraving with a rather different focus. Although the caption was based on fragments of this chapter, the motto of the illustration read “How the Mexicans are being guided by their idol”.³⁸ The caption collected only those parts of the chapter devoted to religious customs, and one of the paragraphs concluded with the comment, not found in the original text, that the Aztecs “did all of this according to their false God’s prophecy”.³⁹

Comparisons between the original narratives and the De Bry translations provide a hatful of adaptations enhancing the pagan disposition of the indigenous peoples encountered. Captions to engravings presented the publishers with opportunities to amend the original accounts and to create more thrilling and more deprecating descriptions of indigenous

³⁶ Rubiés (2000a), esp. 94–95 ff.

³⁷ *Ind. Occ.* I (Ger) “An den günstigen Leser”: “Günstiger Leser wisse, daß man an den orten dieser Histori, da das Wort (Innwohner Virginie) stehet, für Innwohner (die Wilden in Virginia) [...] lesen sol. Dann dieweil verschienen Jaren ein Eynsatzung von Christen ist in gemeldte Landtschafft geschickt worden, wil es von nöten seyn, daß unter diesen beyden ein unterschied gehalten werde”. The *erratum* was not repeated in the three other translations.

³⁸ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xii (Ger): “Wie die Mexicaner durch ihren Abgott geleytet und geführet worden” / (Lat): “Mexicani, quomodo a suo deunculo seu idolo primum ducti fuerint”. The chapter was instead called “Von Stiftung und Aufbawung Mexico” / “De primordiis ac aedificatione Mexico” (*Ind. Occ.* IX (Ger) 287 / (Lat) 319).

³⁹ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xii (Ger): “...alles nach ihres falschen Gottes Weissagung” / (Lat): “pro accepto augurio”.

beliefs. The fifth plate of *India Orientalis* VI, for instance, was copied from De Marees' chronicle on the Gold Coast, but the commentary was different. The Dutchman had described their rituals as "superstitious and whimsical (instead of reverential)", but the De Brys used much stronger terms, like "exceptional superstition" and "exceptional monkeying".⁴⁰ The De Brys alluded to this correlation of pagan practices with apish behaviour on at least one more occasion.⁴¹

Rituals, often performed in honour of a turning point in someone's life, were explicitly drawn into the domain of paganism. The De Bry method of linking rites of passage to heathendom becomes especially perceptible in two engravings of *India Orientalis* II. Based on Van Linschoten's sketches, the Dutch engraver Johannes van Doetecum had made one plate of a wedding ceremony in Balghat in the sultanate of Bijapur in western India, a plate which the De Brys copied for their edition (ill. 63). The second engraving was a De Bry design, depicting Balghat customs once more. The illustration was closely connected to the previous one in both word and image: the first phrase of the caption reminded readers of the preceding plate, while, in the background, the new design included part of the procession that Van Doetecum had depicted (ill. 64).⁴² In the newly invented engraving, however, the pagan nature of the ceremony formed the heart of the representation. Participants in the parade walked seven times around a fire in order to ratify the marriage, and individual members thereupon swore an oath, standing in a circle of ashes. The De Brys placed this routine into the centre of the composition, with a diabolical idol on a stick clearly signalling the pagan nature of the ceremony.

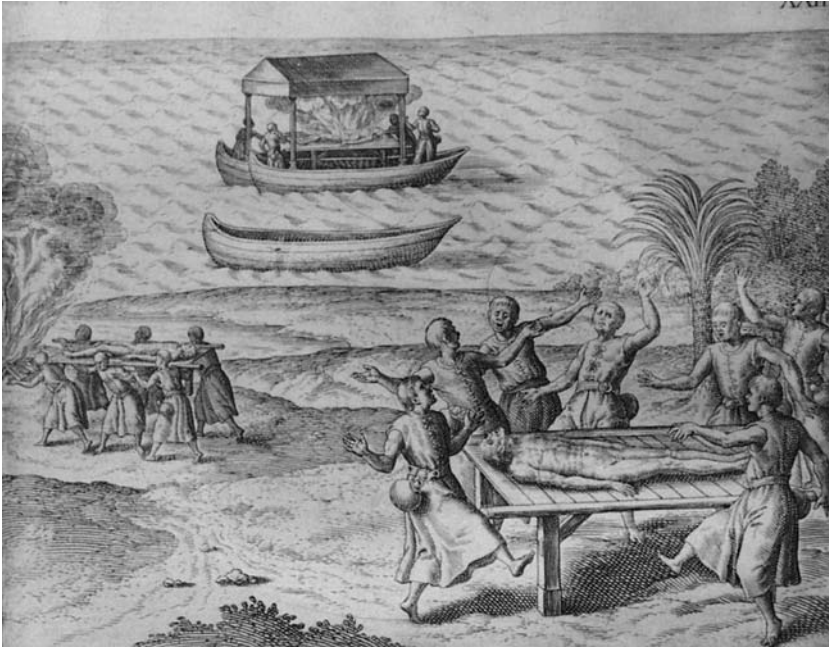
Gasparo Balbi's account of Pegu further provided the De Brys with ceremonies hinting at paganism. The final illustration of *India Orientalis* VII, showing the three-stage narrative composition so typical for the De Bry designs, deals with the deaths of local sovereigns and religious heads (ill. 65). The first phase saw mourners dancing around the naked

⁴⁰ De Marees (1602) 33: "...ende wat superstitie (ende grillen in plaets van reventie te doen)"; *Ind.Or.* VI, ill. v (Ger): "seltzame Superstition und Aberglauben in ihrem Gottesdienst" and "viel seltzam Affenspiel" / (Lat): "varias Ceremonias & superstitiones".

⁴¹ *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxviii (Ger): "Viel Affenwercks treiben die Chinesen...". The Latin caption does not have the same allusion to monkeying.

⁴² *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xi (Ger): "Wenn nach obgemelten Ceremonien die Braut zu Hauß geführt,..." / (Lat): "Sponsa ceremoniis celebratis domum reducitur...".

Ill. 63. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xIll. 64. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xi



Ill. 65. *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xxii

corpse of one of their spiritual leaders, their wild gestures typifying their unruliness. The second and third stages depicted the burning of the corpse, after four days of festivities, and the disposal of the ashes into the water. The cremation of human bodies evoked abhorrence in early modern Europe because, as in the case of mutilation, it rendered resurrection of the bodies impossible.⁴³ The custom of throwing the remains overboard was analogous to contemporary treatment of the ashes of heretics. Sometimes, as the De Bry caption described, remains were transformed into dough by the addition of milk to the ashes. Such a practice must have put off even the fiercest apologists for cremation. As a means of calling attention to the otherness of, in this case, South-East Asian beliefs, the engraving was unquestionably highly successful.

Several textual and terminological modifications were less obvious, but at least complementary to more gross alterations and additions.

⁴³ J. Lepage, "Kindled spirits: cremation and urn burial in Renaissance literature", *English literary Renaissance* 28-1 (1998) 3-4.

When Jose de Acosta described how the Aztecs found solace in their religious convictions, he maintained that “their God comforted them in their tribulations and their despondency”. The De Brys replicated the Jesuit’s statement, but replaced the word ‘God’ with ‘idol’.⁴⁴ Identical adaptations occurred elsewhere in this volume. Still in the same chapter, the word ‘idol’ once again took the place of Acosta’s word ‘God’ in the De Bry collection, yet here the Latin translation did not follow the disapproving change made to the German version; whereas the first part of the sentence was copied, the second part, and hence the reference to the native deity, was omitted altogether.⁴⁵ Another regularity in the modifying process was the enhanced juxtaposition of accepted and unfamiliar beliefs, for example in *India Orientalis* I, where the De Brys refined an original description of “Christians and others” into “Christians and pagans”.⁴⁶ Alterations of this type can be found throughout the twenty-five volumes.

7.4. THE OMNIPRESENT DEVIL

The addition of demonic images to the original accounts, and the rephrasing of related textual remarks was one of the most common modifications made for the De Bry volumes. Even when the diverse nature of the venerated ‘idols’ was made clear in the traveller’s account, the De Brys depicted these deities as traditionally diabolical instead. Gasparo Balbi, elaborating on the customs of worship near Negapatam at the Indian subcontinent’s Coromandel coast, professed that “their various gods [resembled] the image of a human, others [resembled] a cow or a snake”.⁴⁷ The depiction of the devil as the only visible figure

⁴⁴ Acosta (1598) f335v: “...haren Godt hen in de tribulation ende moeyloosheyt vertroostende”; *Ind.Occ.* IX (Ger) 287 uses the word “Abgott” / (Lat) 319: “Idolum”.

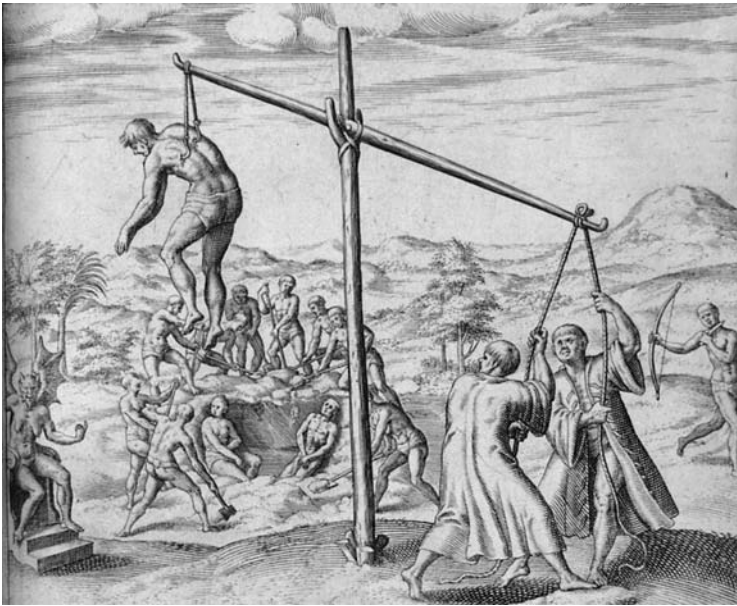
⁴⁵ Acosta (1598) f347v: “...dat men de Priesters dede roepen, ende den Setel met haren Godt bereydt maecken”; *Ind.Occ.* IX (Ger) 297: “...und die Priester die Senffte ires Abgotts lies fertig machen” / (Lat) 330: “...lectica à sacerdotibus ornata”.

⁴⁶ Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 49: “si li Christiani, come gl’altri”; *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) 44: “so wol Christen als Heyden”. The Latin translation (35) avoided the construction by omitting the juxtaposition.

⁴⁷ Balbi (1590) f90r: “...sono differenti nell’ adoratione, perche alcuni adorano statue, di figura humana, alcuni di vaccam altri di serpi”; *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 67: “...haben unterschiedliche Götter, als etliche das Bildtnuß eines Menschen, etliche eine Kuhe oder Schlangen” / (Lat) 95: “...idola quae invocent varia, quidam enim Deum in imagine hominis, quidam in vaccarum vel serpentum imagine colunt”.

admired in the corresponding engraving was not based upon the original report or its translations (ill. 66). The reason for the inclusion of Satan in this illustration is unclear. He was perhaps, as the composition suggests, the emblem for a convicted sinner, a logical association as it was widely believed that the devil was the instigator of every individual human vice. The caption, however, implied that the plate depicted a tangible idol or statue in the pagan sense, with local priests giving official status to the ceremony. Both the ‘priests’ and the ‘idol’ had been introduced only in the captions.⁴⁸

The devil, in whatever form or shape, was Europe’s most recognisable symbol of evil. The Reformations, Protestant as well as Catholic, in fact saw a renewed interest in the devil throughout Europe. The witch craze of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, particularly vehement in the Empire, added to the devil’s usefulness as an instrument of God,



Ill. 66. *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xiv

⁴⁸ Balbi (1590) f90v: “...à ciò stanno quivi assistenti alcuni deputati”; *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 67: “...da stehen etliche darzu verordnet” / (Lat) 96: “...à ministris ad hoc constitutis”; ill. xiv (Ger): “und nach dem die Priester deß Abgotts so zu gegen stehen, den Bußfertigen wol ermahnet haben...” / (Lat): “Sacerdotes igitur idolatrae, post admonitionem ad poenitentiam...”.

who would expose sin and immorality.⁴⁹ So-called devil-books formed a popular genre in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the De Brys must have been well aware of their appeal as Sigmund Feyerabend's anthologies of these works had dominated the market since the late 1560s.⁵⁰ Feyerabend, in his prefaces to these collections, stressed that they were not only aimed at a lay readership, but also at pastors, chaplains, and other Church officials. Several German devil-books included references to reformers such as Luther and Calvin alongside statements of Catholic theologians. Although Protestant concern about the devil was, on the whole, stronger than Catholic, readers of all confessions would interpret human sin as a service to Satan: the representation of the devil as the embodiment of evil therefore, to some extent, spanned the gap between Protestantism and Catholicism.

The devil, it was widely thought, authored paganism, and consequently became a major player in the interpretation of overseas identities.⁵¹ The predictability of his presence abroad was vaguely reassuring, as it enabled Europeans to assimilate overseas beliefs into their mental framework. The devil hence made an appearance in many travel texts, Protestant as well as Catholic, and the De Brys eagerly utilised his broad popularity by adding demonic figures to many of their illustrations. In seventeen of the collection's plates, the devil himself or a devilish representation following his timeless iconography—horns, tail, distorted facial features—was included. No fewer than fourteen of these illustrations were designed by the De Brys in Frankfurt. Matthaeus Merian, in the 1620s, created even more demons for the final volumes of the collection, and the editors of the collection's compilation of the early 1630s opted to include many of the 'devilish' representations of earlier volumes.⁵²

Textual modifications and explications accompanied the artistic accentuation of the devil's omnipresence abroad. René de Laudonnière had told of the French encounter with a Timucuan magician, but the negative conclusion in the caption to one of the related plates that

⁴⁹ S. Clark, *Thinking with demons: the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe* (Oxford 1997) 80–93.

⁵⁰ K. L. Roos, *The devil in 16th century German literature: The Teufelsbücher* (Bern and Frankfurt 1972) 59, 62–69, 115.

⁵¹ Ryan (1981) 530; Faes (1981) 63 ff.

⁵² Devils or pseudo-devils can be found in *Ind.Occ.* II, ill. xii; III (Ger) 215 / (Lat) 223; IV, ill. xxiv; VI, ills. ii, xxvi, xxvii; IX, ills. v, vii; *Ind.Or.* I, ill. xi (Ger) / ill. iii (Lat); II, ills. xi, xxi, xxii, xxviii, xxxii; III, ill. xxiv; VII, ill. xiv; XI, ill. iv.

“when he had [kneeled and prayed] for fifteen minutes, he looked so horrifying, that he ceased to resemble a human being”, was a De Bry verdict (ill. 67). The next engraving returned to the conjurer, although its primary topic was civil warfare in Florida: in the final sentences of this second caption the De Brys explicitly stated that the Timucuan was “certainly possessed by the devil”. Who else, after all, could have been responsible for the magician’s repugnant practices?⁵³ Elsewhere, smaller alterations, like the injection of the word ‘devilish’ into the translations, sustained Satan’s prominence.⁵⁴



Ill. 67. *Ind. Occ. II*, ill. xii

⁵³ *Ind. Occ. II*, ill. xii (Ger): “...als ers einer viertel stund lang angetrieben, erschröcklich anzusehen ward, daß er kein Menschen mehr gleiche” / (Lat): “...qua ad quadran-tem horae producta, illico tam horrendus apparuit, ut humanam effigiem amplius non exprimeret”; De Laudonnière (1586) f78v: “...aussi ne faillit-it de trouver ses ennemis au lieu mesme que le Magicien avoit nommé”; *Ind. Occ. II*, ill. xiii (Ger): “Dann er sich in der Warheyth befande, was der Zauberer (der gewißlich vom Teuffel besessen war) zuvor gesagt hatt” / (Lat): “nam verum apparuit quod Magus praedixerat, quem certum est à daemone fuisse obsessum”. Although the German and Latin captions were roughly translated, no other fragments of De Laudonnière’s account concerned the Timucuan magician.

⁵⁴ For example: Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 43: “abominevole superstitione”; *Ind. Or. I* (Ger) 39: “dem Teuffelischen Aberglauben und erschrecklichen Finsternuß” / (Lat) 31: “suis superstitionibus”. Once again the Latin translation is reluctant in comparison to the German text.

The prefaces to the volumes were meant to put readers on the right, anti-diabolical track. In the introduction to *India Occidentalis* IV in particular, Theodore left very little room for alternative interpretations: the New World Indians described by Girolamo Benzoni were manifestly worse than the pagans who had been on display in the previous three volumes:

Since these people do not worship the single God and Creator of all things through a wooden image, like the inhabitants of the island of Virginia, or the sun and the moon, like the Floridians, or even Maralea, like the Brazilians, but the devil himself, who reveals himself to them in all kinds of horrible shapes, as you will see in the following illustrations, and read in the book.⁵⁵

Commentary of this sort reveals closely the objectives of the De Brys. Additional indications can once more be found in the selection of passages for De Bry-invented plates. Several of the diabolical figures designed for the collection appeared in the sections devoted to Acosta's works on the New World. Five of the fourteen illustrations were dedicated to pagan practices and suicide ceremonies in Mexico, while the Jesuit had spent most of his series of seven books discussing the natural world in the Americas. Acosta, however, although it was not his principal concern, did consider knowledge of the pagan beliefs important, as he saw it as a necessary step towards changing the attitudes of the Indians for their own benefit. Yet missionary activities of that sort were certainly not part of the objectives of the De Bry family, and this particular sentence 'for the benefit of the Indians' was even omitted from both Frankfurt translations.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Ind. Occ.* IV (Ger) [A3v]: "Sintemal diese Leuth nit den einigen Gott den Schöpffer aller ding, in einem höltzern Bildnuß, wie die Eynwohner der Insel Virginiae, noch die Sonn oder den Mondt wie die Floridenser, noch auch Maralea, wie die Brasilianer verehren: sonder den Teuffel selbst, welcher in allerley schrecklicher Gestalt sich inen zeigt und sehen läst, wie du auß den folgenden Figuren und in dem Buch selber sehen und lesen wirst" / (Lat) [j:():(3r): "siquidem hi non unum solum Deum rerum omnium creatorem ac figura aliqua lignea repraesentatum instar Virginiae incolarum, nec solem aut Lunam sicut Floridenses, nec Maralea velut Brasiliani colunt, sed ipsum Diabolum, qui sese ipsis omnis generis horrendis formis exhibet & ostentat, sicut ex figuris sequentibus, ac ipsius libri lectione videbis & intelliges".

⁵⁶ Acosta (1598) f282r: "...also dat het in de Landen van *Indien* [...] wel noodich is, tot welvaren der Indianen". This sentence alone was removed: *Ind. Occ.* IX (Ger) 242 / (Lat) 268.

7.5. TARGETING READERSHIPS

Delicate editorial changes made to the original narratives regularly resulted in different versions: first a German and then a Latin translation, usually in that order.⁵⁷ The consequences of these dissimilarities for a thorough understanding of the De Bry series can hardly be overstated. More than once, the variations were so significant that it is not possible to regard the De Bry collection as one printed work with merely two different linguistic shapes; some of the diversity in fact suggests that there are two different collections altogether. The lion's share of the variations between the German and Latin translations can be found in the sphere of religion.

Analysing the decision to publish the collection in two languages is essential for grasping the intentions of the De Bry family in more ways than one. Earlier collections of voyages had all appeared in one language only, the translation into this single language being one of the prime assets of these collections which unified previously dispersed travel accounts. Producing a collection in two languages therefore revealed an ambition on a scale not seen before in the genre. Obviously the appearance in both German and Latin widened the potential audience for the volumes from the outset. The two successful Italian collections of voyages, from the early and mid-sixteenth century, were translated only after the original had made an impact on readers, while the French translation of Ramusio's *Navigazioni* was abandoned after the first volume. Other collections, like Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, were never rewarded with a version in another tongue.

Translating the accounts into Latin must have been a particularly astute decision, as it enabled the De Brys to distribute their collection throughout Europe with relatively little effort. Latin remained the scholarly language until at least 1650, and was comprehensible not only in Western Europe but also in Poland, Italy, and various corners of the Holy Roman Empire. Perhaps most importantly for a venture of these proportions, translating the accounts into Latin gave an inherent prestige to the texts, which had all been originally written in the vernacular.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Ind.Occ.* I–VI appeared in Latin first; all other volumes were first published in German, as probably another change instigated by Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry.

⁵⁸ P. Burke, *Lost (and found) in translation: a cultural history of translators and translating*

Converting the narratives into Latin hence made the accounts more readily available to a group of usually affluent readers who for a long time had favoured authoritative treatises from classical authors or humanists over the experiences and eye-witness testimonies of often unlearned travellers. Many copies of the De Bry collection found their way into the Republic of Letters. In addition, the Latin language both expressed and contributed to the cohesion of another international community in early modern Europe, the Catholic Church.⁵⁹

With these prospective readerships of the Latin edition in mind, the variety in alterations to the accounts may come as no surprise, yet the number of differences between the German and Latin editions of the same set of reports in the De Bry collection is still high. Whereas the illustrations are identical in all but two of the twenty-five tomes, and a third volume presented the same set of engravings in different sequences,⁶⁰ textual variations can be found in almost every volume, in both full texts and captions. To understand the alterations one needs to consider the practicalities of the editing process in the Frankfurt workshop. When, for instance, the Latin edition was based on the German translation made earlier, the differences tended to be unspectacular. But when both versions were based on the original account, as was often the case, the Latin translation usually remained closely aligned to the original wordings, while the German edition presented plenty of deviations. Or, in another variant, the Latin volumes omitted controversial and sensational passages which had been eagerly included in the German translations. These changes were made more or less autonomously, regardless of the original language of the report, and while the bulk of the modifications are small, and may seem insignificant at first, they correspond to the wider pattern of adaptations made by the De Brys.

in *early modern Europe* (The Hague 2005a); W. Leonard Grant, "European vernacular works in Latin translation", *Studies in the Renaissance* I (1954) 135–42.

⁵⁹ Burke (2004) 44–45.

⁶⁰ *Ind.Occ.* III is the main exception to the rule, with 45 and 36 illustrations in the Latin and German volumes respectively, but several of the extra plates in the Latin edition were merely included twice. The other volume concerned is *Ind.Occ.* VIII, cf. *infra*, Ch. 8, p. 269. *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Lat) has 18 illustrations, while *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Ger) has 21. The three illustrations missing from the Latin volume are attached to the Dutch account by Michiel Joostens van Heede, added to the German series—as part of *Ind.Occ.* VIII add.—but not to the Latin series. A few volumes, in addition, present the engravings in different orders. The two translations of *Ind.Or.* I have the illustrations in a different order: *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) ill. xi is identical to *Ind.Or.* I (Lat) ill. iii, a change which precipitates the re-numbering of several other plates: see App. 3.

The authors of the accounts, without exception God-fearing men who had endured hardships and serious perils on their voyages, thanked God when the most acute dangers had passed. Many of these pious sighs of relief ended up in their accounts: Willem Lodewijcksz, after an armed battle between Dutch and Javanese ships, praised God for saving all Dutch sailors. In the German version, the words “praise to God” were copied, but the interjection was deleted from the Latin version.⁶¹ Elsewhere, analogous changes and differences can be observed: Raleigh’s vow to God whilst in Guyana once again recurred in the German text, but the Latin version secularised the remark by stripping the oath of its religious connotation.⁶² Similar variations are apparent in some of the captions to the plates, like those in *India Orientalis* III devoted to Gerrit de Veer’s report on Nova Zembla, and in the prefaces, which are sometimes identical but for utterances like “in the name of God”, present in the German introductions but missing from their Latin counterparts.⁶³

Such variations are to a large extent idiomatic: the way of expressing experiences in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin—hardly the *lingua franca* of these intellectually unaspiring texts—was simply different from the vernacular way of writing prose, where interjections like “in the name of God” or “through God’s mercy” were much more casual and hence almost commonplace. Slightly different omissions, however, signified that the De Brys indeed attempted to keep the Latin volumes free of too many religious phrasings. Acosta, clarifying how long one could keep one’s hand in a pool of water he encountered in Peru, used the expression “the length of an *Ave Maria*”. The De Brys chose to integrate the metaphor into their German translation, but scaled it down for the Latin edition to “a very brief interval”, quite remarkable given the metaphor’s Catholic nature.⁶⁴ These adjustments were made

⁶¹ Lodewijcksz (1598) f34r: “dan en raecken niemandt (God lof) vande onse”; *Ind.Or.* III (Ger) 129: “es ward aber niemand der unsern getroffen, Gott sey lob” / (Lat) 90: “nullum tamen nostrorum laeserunt”.

⁶² W. Raleigh, *Waerachtighe ende grondighe beschryvinge van het groot ende Goudt-rijk Coninckrijk van Guiana*... (Amsterdam 1598) f21r: “... soo dat ick voor Godt betuyghe...”; *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Ger) 44: “... daß ich für Gott bezeuge...” / (Lat) 51: “...verè affirmare possim”.

⁶³ *Ind.Or.* III, ill. lii and liv, including “mit Gottes hülf” in German only. *Ind.Occ.* IX has identical introductions, with the exception of the interjection “im Nahmen Gottes” in the German preface.

⁶⁴ Acosta (1598) f110r: “de handt daer een *ave Maria* lanck in te houden”; *Ind.Occ.* IX (Ger) 97: “biß man ein *Ave Maria* sprechen möchte” / (Lat) 112: “brevissimo intervallo”.

across confessional lines, as Jean de Léry's tale of the murder of three Huguenots in Brazil was readily included in the German *India Occidentalis* III, but not in its entirety in the Latin equivalent, where the religious nature of the executions was left out.⁶⁵

There are more significant disparities between the supposedly corresponding De Bry editions of narratives. In spite of the general inclination to overemphasise paganism in the overseas world, the German volumes displayed a stronger preference for heathen rituals. Discussing the religious beliefs of the Algonquians in *India Occidentalis* I, three of the four editions—English, French, and Latin—neatly followed Harriot's original choice of words; after an elaboration on local prophecies regarding the arrival of the Europeans in Virginia, the next paragraph reiterated these beliefs by starting as follows: "In order to confirm these opinions, they were [...] so impudent...". The German text, in contrast, deviated, stating that "in order to confirm these fantasies, they were [...] so impudent...", thus disclosing a preconditioned lack of appreciation.⁶⁶

Throughout the collection, even more sensitive adjustments can be found, with specific words being translated markedly differently for the two remaining versions. A neutral word like 'inhabitants' could be faithfully translated for the Latin edition, but at the same time changed to 'infidels' in the German volume. Sometimes the modifications to the original accounts would point in opposite directions. If, for example, a traveller, in this case Odoardo Lopez, had reported that the West African natives "had lingered on in their blindness", reflecting on their religious customs, the German edition from Frankfurt had enlarged their 'blindness' to "terrible" proportions, while the sentence as a whole was missing from the Latin volume.⁶⁷ Another widespread variation were the elaborations on paganism in the German accounts. When the Latin caption to one of the engravings in *India Orientalis* I

⁶⁵ De Léry (1586) 305: "qui tres primo nominatos ob Evangelii confessionem morte adfecit"; *Ind.Occ.* III (Ger) 268: "der die jetzt ernandte drey ersten, von wegen der Evangelischen bekenndnuß had tödten lassen" / (Lat) 269: "quorum tres primo loco nominatos suffocandos curavit".

⁶⁶ Harriot (1588) [F2r] / *Ind.Occ.* I (Eng) 29: "To confirme this opinion..." / (Fre) 30: "Pour les confirmer en ceste opinion..." / (Lat) 31: "Ad opinionem hanc confirmandem..." / (Ger) 29: "Und damit sie dieser Phantasey ein schein machten..."

⁶⁷ All examples are taken from *Ind.Or.* I. Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 43: "quei popoli"; (Ger) 38: "den Unglaubigen" / (Lat) 31: "incolas". Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 35: "in quella cecità rimangono"; (Ger) 30: "[sic] bleiben in erschrecklichen Blindheit stecken" / (Lat) 24.

used the word ‘idols’ only for the images venerated by the Congolese before they were converted to Christianity, as the main text had done, the German version, in line with the gripping illustration, opted to describe the figures as “a terrible array of devils, dragons, snakes and other images”.⁶⁸

Although the precise implementation varied—the examples highlighted here are just the most common types of divergence—it is evident that readers of the German volumes were presented with different representations of paganism than those who bought the Latin versions. The nature of paganism in the De Bry collection in general was embedded in contemporary thinking, neatly confirming assumptions of demonic rule and often shocking rituals in the overseas world. Yet unlike many other late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century works, the De Bry volumes did not attempt to align exotic heathendom and its more common Greco-Roman equivalent, shying away from making straightforward analogies between Europeans and non-Europeans. Only the plates of ancient Picts added to *India Occidentalis* I form an exception to this pattern.

Despite the linguistic differences, the De Bry collection enhanced the significance of paganism in the overseas world, as a comparison with contemporary editions of the same narratives published by other booksellers reveals. Whether in the German or Latin versions, paganism crept into all corners of the collection as a representational tool. Its impact was extensive, and issues not necessarily related to religious matters were drawn into the realm of heathendom. Hence the boundaries between the so-called languages of civility and Christianity were blurred; unlike in many other early modern travel texts, the De Brys portrayed savagery as the direct nemesis of Christendom. In order to make this model of alterity more convincing, the juxtaposition between Christianity and paganism had to be complemented by a tendency to minimise interconfessional strife. The next chapter will discuss the attempts of the De Brys to do just that.

⁶⁸ *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) ill. xi: “grewlich viel allerley Teufels, Trachen, Schlangen und andere Bilder” / (Lat) ill. iii: “idoli”.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DIFFERENT REPRESENTATIONS FOR DIFFERENT READERSHIPS: CHRISTIANITY REFLECTED

Readers in the early seventeenth century must have immediately recognised the description of inhabitants of the Euphrates region in the De Bry collection as an unmistakable swipe at Catholics: the locals were seen as “inhabitants, [who] just like the Papists venerate the deceased saints”. The condemnation was apparent to German readers only, as the whole sentence was missing from the Latin translation. The traveller in question, Gasparo Balbi, himself a Catholic, had not been so critical of Catholicism, making a more inclusive comparison with how “we venerate the saints”.¹ The two De Bry editions, then, once again modified the text in opposite directions. This type of criticism of Catholic idolatry was bread and butter in Protestant circles in early modern Europe: the Reformed, after all, considered the worship of images blasphemous.² It was, however, quite unusual for the De Bry collection where not even a handful of such alterations can be found.³ The collection, instead, attempted to play down most of the confessional strife the travellers generated, regardless of their confessional background. The gross discrepancies between its Latin and German editions add to the complexity of the issue.

¹ Balbi (1590) f11v: “...che essi tengono in adoratione, come noi i santi”; *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 8: “...welchen die Innwohner derselbigen Gegendt anbeten, gleich wie die Papisten die verstorbene Heyligen” / (Lat) 48.

² Ryan (1981) 526; Eire (1986).

³ In the entire collection, I only found a single example of anti-Catholic editing which was apparent in both the German and the Latin editions. Balbi, with regard to the Canarins at Goa, stated ((1590) f68r): “...mà adorano l’Idolo, come noi adoriamo nelle imagini, quello che ci rappresentano”; *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 50: “...sondern sie verehren und beten dieses Bildt allein an, wie die Abergläubische ihre Götzen der verstorbenen Heyligen” / (Lat) 81: “...sed ut idolum aliquod, eadem qua superstitiosi alli defunctos sanctos colunt & venerantur”.

8.1. ANTI-SPANISH TENDENCIES: THE BENZONI VOLUMES

Plenty of attention has been paid to the ‘Black Legend’ of Spanish New World tyranny the De Brys presented in the three volumes dedicated to the narrative of Girolamo Benzoni, *India Occidentalis* IV, V, and VI.⁴ Although Benzoni’s text offers a more balanced view of the Spanish conquest than Las Casas’ *Brevissima relación*, which the De Brys deliberately issued outside their collection, the presence of Spanish brutalities in these volumes is anything but fictitious.⁵ The last two books in particular denounce the practices of conversion and exploitation. The De Bry collection, moreover, presents this tyrannical behaviour in spellbinding fashion. While from the many versions published, only the second edition of Benzoni’s report contained illustrations,⁶ the three De Bry volumes together had no fewer than seventy-eight engravings. Around a third of these plates depicted the main topoi of Spanish atrocities and indigenous retaliations, and given the quality of the illustrations and the reputation of the collection, many of these engravings became part of the stock of New World representations, especially in Protestant parts of Europe (ill. 68).⁷

The Benzoni volumes, however, were not exclusively devoted to Spanish tyranny and greed. Roughly another third of the set of seventy-eight was dedicated to factional rivalry among the conquistadors; themes like Indian heathendom, and the struggle for Caribbean supremacy between Spain and France were also prominently represented. To interpret the three *America*-volumes as purely a means to distribute graphic knowledge of the Black Legend would therefore be a mistake. The title-page of the first of the volumes shows as much, as indigenous nudity and heathen rituals were the themes deemed suitable for attracting customers to the collection. The subsequent title-pages emphasised the zeal and the cruelties of the Spaniards. Even more important for a nuanced appreciation of these volumes are the De Bry-written

⁴ Greve (2004) 173–208.

⁵ Keen (1976) 108–09.

⁶ G. Benzoni, *La Historia del mondo nuovo* (Venice 1572). The first edition is: G. Benzoni, *La historia del Mondo Nuovo [...] La qual tratta dell’isole & mari nuova mente ritrovati & delle nuove città da lui proprio vedute, per acqua & per terra in quattordec anni, libro primo* (Venice 1565).

⁷ See for instance: Schmidt (2001) for the Dutch application of the Black Legend, and the influence of the De Bry volumes. See for the origin of the engravings: *infra*, App. 3.



Ill. 68. *Ind.Occ.* IV, ill. xx

prefaces. The introduction to Volume IV, largely similar in German and Latin, was an unmistakable attempt to steer the collection away from unwelcome political controversy and from possible repercussions by censors across Europe. Several fragments of the preface in fact tried to take some of the supposedly inherently Spanish defects like tyranny and greed off the shoulders of the conquistadors and into the broader Christian realm. Theodore de Bry warned readers as follows:

But in order to have nobody attribute these vices as dishonourable and slanderous to the Spanish people, everyone should think for themselves what other people in other nations do. [...] Therefore we should not readily rebuke the Spaniards, but instead question ourselves if we are any better than they are, for I know many God-fearing and devout Spaniards, no fewer than in any other country. [...] For who does not know how gruesome the French, the Germans, the Walloons, and others have behaved in all expeditions and wars?⁸

⁸ *Ind.Occ.* IV (Ger) [A4v]: “Aber doch damit nit jemand dieses dem Spanischen Volck

While the next two prefaces were more ambiguous, the De Brys were still careful not to antagonise segments of their prospective readership and were reluctant to solely and explicitly accredit tyranny or avarice to the Spanish explorers. The dedication to the Reformed Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel in the German Volume VI—the only prelude to this part—made no mention whatsoever of Spanish conduct in the Americas, while the introduction to Volume V merely pointed out that Columbus' successors in the New World had failed to display his many virtues, and that tyranny and greed had been an inevitable result.

The Benzoni volumes also contained textual modifications. Most of these adjustments took place in the process of turning full texts into captions, where the sharpest edges of Benzoni's often polemical report and the even more contentious annotations by the Genevan editor Urbain Chauveton were blunted. Several vivid details of Spanish cruelties were not considered suitable for repetition in the captions, a remarkable feat as the De Brys seemed to thrive on precisely such spectacular details in other volumes, regarding other issues. One of the captions copied a paragraph from the full text, but omitted its most intense passage, that

...when [the Indians] were wrongfully and continuously beaten and tortured by [the Spaniards], and forced to catch pearls, they have answered such unjustifiable slander and violence with violence.⁹

Another caption from the same volume, *India Occidentalis* IV, was conceived in similar style, with Benzoni's portrayal of the Spaniards as

zur unehr und schmachheit uffhebe, betrachte ein jeder bey im selbs, was ander Leut in andern Nationen thun [...] Derwegen wir nit so schnell laufend seyn sollen die Spanier zuschelten, sonder uns zuvor selbs wol prüfen, ob wir besser seyen, weder sie, denn ich viel unter den Spaniern kenne, Gottsförchtige und fromme Männer, nit weniger als in einiger andern Nation [...] Denn wer weiß nit, wie greuwlich gehandelt haben, und noch täglich handeln die Frantzosen, Teutschen, Waalen und andere beynah in allen Zügen und Kriegen?" / (Lat) []:(3v): "Veruntamen ne quis haec in Hispanicac gentis ignominiam trahat, expendat unusquisque quid ab aliis aliarum nationum hominibus fiat. [...] Ne simus ergo tam praecipites in damnandis Hispanis, quin priores non ipsos serio examinaverimus, num ipsis meliores simus. Multos enim inter Hispanos novi viros pios & probos non minus quam in ulla alia gente. [...] Quis enim ignorat quam multa crudeliter patrata sint atque etiamnum hodie patrentur a militibus Gallis, Germanis, Italis, & aliis in omnibus fere expeditionibus ac bellis".

⁹ *Ind.Occ.* IV (Ger) 64: "...als von denen [the Spaniards] sie [the Indians] unbillicher weiß ohn underlaß geschlagen unnd gepeiniget wurden, unnd gezwungen zu dem Perrlenfang haben solche unbilliche Schmachheit und Gewalt, unterstanden mit Gewalt" / (Lat) 72: "...a quibus nimirum violenter correpti fustibus & plagis assiduis ad piscandos uniones adigerentur, indignas contumelias & vim vi arcere statuunt". This sentence is missing from the caption to ill. xvi.

“terrible murderers and ruthlessly horrible tyrants” withheld from the commentary.¹⁰ The volumes further showed all the adaptations which characterised the collection as a whole. Hence Chauveton’s expression “the sin of sodomy” was enhanced in the captions to “the terrible sin of sodomy”, many of the New World inhabitants were depicted naked when there was no textual ground for nudity, and the most marvellous indigenous routines and habits received special attention.¹¹

8.2. CHRISTIANITY COMPARED

All in all, had they wished to add fuel to the flames of confessional animosity in Europe, the De Brys could have exploited Benzoni’s volumes much more extensively. They did select several descriptions of Spanish atrocities for depiction, but left just as many anecdotes for what they were. The most biting engravings had been already, in a crude form, included in Benzoni’s original Italian report, and were thus not invented in Frankfurt.¹² The De Brys further watered down some of the comments made by both the Milanese explorer and his Genevan editor, were anything but bellicose in their prefaces—quite the opposite—and although they did select Benzoni’s report for inclusion in the collection, the De Brys did not add any further narratives supporting the Black Legend, even though they had a glorious opportunity to do so with Las Casas’ *Brevissima relación* in the late 1590s. In this latter work, the De Brys truly did focus on anti-Spanish comments by adding anti-Spanish engravings only, seventeen pictures designed by Jodocus van Winghe, yet they chose to publish this treatise separately, outside the collection of voyages.¹³

¹⁰ *Ind.Occ.* IV (Ger) 113: “...solchen erschrecklichen Mördern und Unbarmhertzigigen greuwlichen Tyrannen” / (Lat) 114: “...eiuscemodi latronibus teterrimis & ferocissimis tyrannis...”. These words are missing from the caption to ill. xxiii.

¹¹ *Ind.Occ.* IV (Ger) 102: “die Sodomiter” and “der Sünd wider die Natur”; ill. xxii: “die schreckliche Sünd der Sodomey” and “der schrecklichen Sünd wider die Natur” / (Lat) 100: “illo peccato naturae adverso infectos” and “Sodomitas”; ill. xxii: “nefandum Sodomiae scelus” and “nefando illo peccato naturae adverso infectos”. The Peruvians were depicted naked in *Ind.Occ.* VI, ill. ii, while the relevant excerpt said nothing of the sort: (Ger) f3r–v / (Lat) 6–7. Elsewhere in the text (Ger f53v / Lat 68–69), Benzoni did report on the clothing of the Peruvians. The De Brys chose the representation of pagan rituals as the closing engraving of *Ind.Occ.* IV.

¹² *Ind.Occ.* IV, ills. iii, xx, and xxiii. See: Caraci (1991) 40–41, 74–75, 80–81. See also: App. 3.

¹³ App. 1, nrs. 45 & 54.

Benzoni's narrative had been translated so often that a late sixteenth-century collection without it would have been almost unthinkable. The Venetian original of 1565 was followed up by a second edition in 1572. A French edition appeared in Geneva in 1579, but most other versions were printed in either German or Latin, the languages of the De Bry collection. Many of the potential customers of *India Occidentalis* IV, V, and VI may therefore have known either the Latin Benzoni-editions of 1578, 1581 or 1586, all issued in Geneva, or alternatively the German versions of 1579, 1582–83 or 1590. The penultimate work, the Basel-published German text of the early 1580s, was translated by Nicolaus Höniger, a local minister, and his translation was still used by the De Brys in Frankfurt more than ten years later. Many of the earlier editions had already found a place for Chauveton's annotations since the initial publication of his footnotes in 1578.¹⁴

The last edition to be published before the first De Bry volume in 1594, also including Chauveton's commentary, had come off the presses in the German town of Helmstedt, in 1590.¹⁵ A comparison with the De Bry volumes immediately reveals the more vigorous anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic intentions of the Helmstedt edition, introducing readers in its foreword to "the Catholic, Spanish outrage" and its inspiring force, "the whole anti-Christian, devil-founded Papism".¹⁶ The preface as a whole was thoroughly anti-Catholic, much more condemnatory than De Bry's interpretation. In this light, then, the version in the Frankfurt collection was anything but negative, mitigating rather than exacerbating the report's Black Legend tendencies, and with a clear eye for other themes in Benzoni's account, like heathendom and internal Spanish hostilities.

¹⁴ On Chauveton's annotations: Keen (1976) 107–20.

¹⁵ G. Benzoni, *Novae novi orbis historiae, Das ist Alles Geschichten, So in der neuen Welt welche Occidentalis India, das ist India, nach Abendwärts genent wird, und etwa Anno 1492. von Christophoro Columbo gefunden worden, bey den Einwohnern derselbigen, und den Spaniern mehrers so dann auch den Frantzosen eins theils, biß auff Annum 1556. sich zugetragen, und besonders, wie Tyrannisch und unbarmhertzig die Spanier mit den armen simpeln wehrlosen Einwohnern und Völkern haußgehalten und umgangen sind. Warhaffter gründlicher bericht, Auß Hieronymi Benzonis, in Welscher Sprache beschriebenen verzeichnus, Welche Urbanus Calveto jetzt eylff Jahr ins Latein gebracht, und außgehen lassen* (Helmstedt 1590). The minister Abel Scherdiger was responsible for this German translation.

¹⁶ Benzoni (1590) [A3v]: "die Catholische, Spanische unthaten", and [A2v]: "des ganzen antichristischen, vom Teuffel gestifften Babstumbs".

Discussing the conception and the resulting representations of the Benzoni volumes, it is impossible to ignore the private developments of the De Brys in the mid-1590s. While Theodore de Bry co-ordinated the publication of the Benzoni volumes, his sons, in 1596, published as one of their first independent works a book written by the Jesuit Julius Roscius. This work, as was mentioned elsewhere, landed the De Brys in trouble with Frankfurt's city censors for its obvious Catholic nature.¹⁷ Could the subsequent row between father and sons have indicated a substantial divergence in interests and publishing strategies? And could this in turn have influenced the nature of later volumes of the collection, like the first *India Orientalis*-volume of 1597? This volume, published by the two brothers without any reference on the title-page to their father, opened with the successful conversion of the Congolese to Christianity by Catholic visitors from Portugal (ill. 69). The illustrations showing the building of a Christian church, and the ensuing destruction of local, demonic idols (ill. 70) were a world away from the anti-Spanish sentiments of the Benzoni volumes finished in the years before.

After Theodore's death in March 1598, *India Occidentalis* and *India Orientalis* both became the exclusive responsibility of the brothers. Their stepmother's name continued to figure on the title-pages of the *America*-series, which presumably meant that investments and benefits were divided. Yet the prudence which had characterised the collection's handling of confessional tensions continued: like Theodore, the two brothers were attuned to the importance of offering the various customer groups—the readers of Latin and the readers of the vernacular—the versions they expected and preferred. The discrepancies between the two editions, however, were not as profound as they had been under Theodore's stewardship, fuelling the hypothesis that while the father's consciousness was scarred by decades of religious uncertainties, the activities of Johan Theodore and Johan Israel were not to the same extent determined by the confessional wars of the late sixteenth century. As a result, they had no objection to publishing Roscius' treatise, albeit outside Frankfurt in Montbéliard, or designing illustrations for Lutheran and Catholic Bibles in 1602 and 1609 respectively.¹⁸

¹⁷ App. 1, nr. 23. Cf. *supra*, Ch. 2, p. 71.

¹⁸ App. 1, nrs. C1 & C2.



Ill. 69. *Ind.Or.* I, ill. i



Ill. 70. *Ind.Or.* I, ill. iii (Lat) / ill. xi (Ger)

Such contributions to publications expressing the theological viewpoints of other confessions were regular fare in the decades around 1600. Religious tensions persisted, and toleration still presented governments across Europe with awkward problems. But many citizens, especially the more educated inhabitants of cosmopolitan towns like Frankfurt had gradually found a *modus vivendi* of mutual comprehension, which neither encouraged nor obstructed interconfessional relations: this 'moral tradition' in early modern Christendom came down to the notion that to be Christian meant to love one's neighbour, and in particular one's enemy.¹⁹ In the bookstores where the paths of literate men of different denominations crossed, vengeful pamphlets advocating the oppression of either Catholicism or Protestantism could therefore be found alongside joint publishing efforts and conciliatory writings. High-brow cultural cross-currents like humanist philology and natural philosophy, meanwhile, surpassed confessional frictions.²⁰ The De Brys published many books on such broadly acceptable topics as medicine and antiquarianism. The collection of voyages, with its emphasis in both texts and images on the overseas world and indigenous populations, surely falls into this latter category of universally tolerable books.

The two Latin versions of Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* discussed in the previous chapter make interesting reading in this context. The traveller had reported lengthily on the missionary activities of the Jesuits in Asia, and not exclusively in a negative manner. Yet the Dutch booksellers Aelbert Hendricksz and Cornelis Claesz left out large parts of Van Linschoten's observations on the Society in their Latin translation of the text, as if to suppress information on the Jesuit efforts. The De Brys by contrast did include these parts, leaving the collection more authentic and less biased in favour of the Reformed.²¹ An assessment of the smaller modifications to the *Itinerario* in the two Latin editions of

¹⁹ J. Bossy, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (Cambridge 1998) 2–3; also: W. Th. M. Frijhoff, "The threshold of toleration. Interconfessional conviviality in Holland during the early modern period" In: Idem, *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum 2002) 39–65.

²⁰ B.J. Kaplan, "Coexistence, conflict, and the practice of toleration" In: R. Po-chia Hsia, ed., *A companion to the Reformation world* (Malden 2004) 486–90.

²¹ Compare Van Linschoten (1599) 32, 42, and 50 to *Ind.Or.* II (Lat) 68–69, 88, and 106. Some of the observations made by the Dutchman emphasised the privileged position Jesuits had acquired in Japan. Paludanus certainly co-operated with the De Brys for the other two volumes containing parts of the *Itinerario*, *Ind.Or.* III and IV. See: *supra*, Ch. 7, pp. 229–31.

1599 reveals something similar. The description of the Portuguese in Asia in the original Dutch version as “Christians” retained its neutral religious connotation in the corresponding De Bry volume, but had been changed, almost dismissively, into “the religion of the Portuguese” for the version issued in The Hague.²²

Small textual adaptations elsewhere in the De Bry collection also showed a conscious approach to religious terminology and labelling. When offered the possibility of ‘confessionalising’ the contents of some of the accounts, the De Brys refused, sometimes ‘Christianising’ the texts instead: Gasparo Balbi, when in Pegu, was allowed to enter a sanctuary, and admitted his surprise at the free access to the building: “and to go inside is also open to us”. The De Brys, in both German and Latin, turned the word “us” into “Christians”, thus overlooking Balbi’s Catholic background and strengthening the juxtaposition between Christians and non-Christians.²³ Another option for the De Brys was to omit passages and phrases which could be considered too partial: when Balbi described indigenous priests in Pegu, he clarified their role by recording that they were “just like our religious brothers”. This analogy was kept out of the German De Bry volume, and as the Latin translation was based on the German version, it was also absent there. Both a confessional complexion of the text and the suggestion of similitude of Europeans and overseas people were thus avoided.²⁴

8.3. CUSTOM-MADE DIFFERENCES

Such refined editorial adjustments formed an aspect of the deliberately construed differences between the two De Bry translations. The objectives of this construction become clearer when looking at an example from *India Orientalis* IX. The German Johan Verken, whose impressions had not been published before appearing as part of the De Bry collection in 1612 and 1613, reported several skirmishes between Dutch and Portuguese ships in Asian waters. He also testified that the local

²² Van Linschoten (1596) 17: “Portugaloyzers ende Christenen; *Ind.Or.* II (Lat) 37: “Christianis”; Van Linschoten (1599) 16: “Lusitanorum religionem”.

²³ Balbi (1590) f97r: “& è libera l’andata per noi anchora”; *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 71: “und derowegen auch den Christen erlaubt hinzu zugehen” / (Lat) 97: “licitumque est omnibus, etiam Christianis”.

²⁴ Balbi (1590) f123v: “e sono come i nostri Frati religiosi”; *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 92 / (Lat) 113.

population “was not a little delighted that they were finally liberated from Portuguese tyranny”, but this sentence was not available to readers of the Latin volume. Similar discrepancies can be found elsewhere in this account, which was thoroughly revised by Gotthard Artus before publication. Margin texts accusing the Portuguese of holding slaves in Asia, or reporting on the successful Dutch destruction of a Portuguese vessel before Malacca were printed only in the German volume.²⁵

Textual variations of this sort were not unheard of in early modern Europe, as confirmed by a set of letters written by the London-based Dutch historian Emanuel van Meteren. Van Meteren, in a letter to Bernardus Paludanus in September 1599—shortly after the physician had assisted the De Bry brothers with *India Orientalis* III and IV—grumbled about another German publisher modifying the original Dutch manuscript of his *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie*. This publisher and copper engraver had translated the treatise into Latin, adding several supplements “to my disadvantage”, according to Van Meteren. Van Meteren complained to Paludanus that the fragments added to the Latin version were derived from “Papist authors”:²⁶ the publisher had apparently added extracts of a Catholic nature to the Latin edition of Van Meteren’s analysis of the Dutch Revolt against Spain. Simultaneously, however, the same publisher produced a German edition of the treatise which did not incur Van Meteren’s wrath: apparently this version did not include the undesired Catholic additions.

The addition of ‘Papist’ excerpts to Van Meteren’s Latin edition by the anonymous German printer is comparable to the De Bry methods of modifying travel accounts. The De Bry adjustments, however, are more complex, suggesting that they anticipated greater sympathy for Catholicism among readers of their Latin editions, while assuming predominantly Protestant tendencies within the group of customers buying the German versions. In general, Latin was seen by contemporaries

²⁵ *Ind.Or.* IX (Ger) 17: “welches dardurch nit wenig erfrewet worden, daß sie ein mal von der Portugesen Tyranny frey und ledig worden”. On the same page, the margin text “Schlaven der Portugesen werden durch die Holländer frey gemacht” / (Lat) 15. *Ind.Or.* IX (Ger) 34: “Sie verbrennen ein Portugesisch Schiff vor Malacca” / (Lat) 29.

²⁶ L. Brummel, “De eerste Nederlandse editie van Van Meteren’s geschiedwerk” In: Idem, *Twee ballingen ’s lands tijdens onze opstand tegen Spanje. Hugo Blotius (1534–1608), Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612)* (The Hague 1972) 90–91. According to Van Meteren, the textual additions were “wt Papistighe authueren int latijn daer by gevoeght”. Brummel suggests that the publisher concerned may have been Arnold Mylius in Cologne.

as the language of Catholic liturgy and the clergy—its status had been reconfirmed at the Council of Trent—but the Reformation had led to a drastic reduction in its territory. The everyday vernacular was therefore readily associated with Protestantism in the late sixteenth century, and German, as the language of some of the Reformation's main protagonists, may have carried this connotation most intensely.²⁷ In modifying narratives for the collection, the publishers attempted to please both sets of readers. Hence, if necessary, the Latin editions were stripped of Protestant notions, whereas the German editions were, significantly, also purified, yet to a lesser extent, probably in order to avoid confessional antagonism as well as problems with local and Imperial censors in Frankfurt and Prague—and possibly with German-reading Catholics in the Empire.

8.4. THE CASE OF JEAN DE LÉRY'S *HISTOIRE*

The most revealing volume in this context is *India Occidentalis III*, and the distinct ways in which the account by the Huguenot traveller Jean de Léry was modified is particularly striking. De Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil* (1578) was one of the most avidly read and reprinted accounts on the New World in late sixteenth-century Europe, especially in Protestant circles. De Léry's perceptions of Brazilian indigenous life were closely affiliated to Calvinist discourse on moderation, predestination, and the Eucharist.²⁸ The narrator, moreover, made no effort to hide his contempt for other French voyagers, Catholics mostly, who frequented Brazil, thus sparking controversy inside and outside France. Firstly, the atmosphere in the French colony around Rio de Janeiro in the late 1550s had turned sour after vigorous disagreements between Huguenots like De Léry and the leader of *France Antarctique*, Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon.²⁹ Villegagnon had ruled like a monarchical despot, according to the Huguenots, and De Léry devoted an entire chapter of his work to Villegagnon's hypocrisy alone. Yet his *Histoire* was also a stinging corrective to the *Cosmographie*

²⁷ Burke (2004) 49–52.

²⁸ A. Frisch, "In a sacramental mode: Jean de Léry's Calvinist ethnography", *Representations* 77 (2002) 82–106.

²⁹ J. T. McGrath, "Polemic and history in French Brazil 1555–1560", *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXVII-2 (1996) 385–97.

Universelle by the royal cosmographer André Thevet, who despite having visited South America himself, had based his cosmography mostly on assumptions of other authors, assumptions which were largely incorrect in the eyes of De Léry.

The process of incorporating De Léry's *Histoire* into the De Bry collection, in or shortly before 1592, exposed the prevailing commercial considerations of the publishers. Whether contemporary readers understood the extent of the textual variations, or if they were surprised at these differences should they have noticed them, is not the key issue here. The greatest significance lies in the fact that the vast majority of customers of the De Brys bought only one version of the collection, either Latin or German, and stuck to that language for later volumes. Their perceptions of European expansion and indigenous life overseas were therefore based on either the German or the Latin representation. Whereas the volumes in the vernacular were generally dedicated to one of the Protestant rulers in the scattered religious and political landscape of early modern Germany, the De Brys furnished some of the Latin versions with a dedication to the Archbishop of Mainz, or to the Imperial book-commissioner in Frankfurt, appointed by the Habsburgs in an attempt to contain the flood of hostile, anti-Catholic publications. This practice, however, was not uncommon, not even for prudent Calvinists like the De Brys, and attentive readers would probably not have raised an eyebrow.

Comparing the two *India Occidentalis* III-versions, it becomes obvious that religious themes in particular were handled with the utmost prudence. The 1586 Geneva edition of De Léry's *Histoire*, in Latin, used by the De Brys for their collection, had opened with a substantial number of poems, psalms, and other preliminary material. Several of the most momentous alterations took place here. One of the most eye-catching elements of De Léry's preface was Psalm 107, under the heading "To have experience is better than to have money and goods". The psalm was one of the underpinnings of Calvinist theology, elaborating on Divine providence and on the need for man to respect and fear God. Its seventeen verses occupied no fewer than five pages in the German De Bry edition, but were absent altogether from the Latin volume, almost certainly considered too partial for inclusion.³⁰

³⁰ De Léry (1586) [***6r-***7r]; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) [D1r-D3r].

There are several multi-page excerpts omitted from the Latin edition, but included in the German translation. All these fragments are connected through their propagandistic, Reformed tone. Another text withheld from readers of the Latin volume was a letter from Villegagnon to Calvin, written in Brazil in 1560.³¹ After the group of fifteen Huguenot ministers, including De Léry, had arrived at Fort Coligny near Rio in 1557, Villegagnon had denounced Genevan beliefs, calling Calvin a ‘frightful heretic’. De Léry had used the letter in his preface to substantiate his accusation about Villegagnon’s tyrannical and fraudulent rule, and thus to support the Reformed efforts in the New World. This was clearly an unwanted message for the De Brys. Elsewhere in *India Occidentalis* III, in the main body of De Léry’s account, similar references to Villegagnon’s rejection of Calvinism, ranging from a sentence on Villegagnon’s brutal murder of three Huguenots to the better part of a paragraph which contained the observation that Villegagnon had “abandoned the pure [i.e. Calvinist] religion”, were left out of the Latin version.³²

Other careful omissions in this volume corroborate the confessional reasoning behind the editing process. In the first few pages of his report, De Léry paid ample attention to the sending of missionaries from the ‘Genevan church’ to Brazil, devoting some five pages to the religious objectives of the operation in which he took part. The German De Bry translation copied this statement of intent; the Latin volume did not.³³ A little further on, Chapter VI of the Huguenot’s account was missing in its entirety in Latin. This chapter discussed the growing rift between Villegagnon and De Léry’s party, included a prayer by the colony’s leader, and recorded a detailed theological debate between the

³¹ De Léry (1586) [**4r–**6v]; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) [A4r–B1v]. I. Backus, “Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon contre Calvin: le ‘Consensus Tigurinus’ et la présence réelle” In: O. Millet, ed., *Calvin et ses contemporains. Actes du colloque de Paris 1995* (Geneva 1998) 163–65; the Huguenot attempts at settlement in the New World are discussed in: Lestringant (1995a) 285–95.

³² De Léry (1586) 103–04; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 149, half a paragraph was omitted from (Lat) 174, including the phrase “...wo nicht der *Villegagno* von der reinigkeit der Religion abgefallen were”. The single sentence on the murder on one of the three Huguenots: De Léry (1586) 155; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 176: “denn er deren einer war, die der *Villegagno*, wegen der Bekandtnuß der Reinigkeit deß Worts, liesse in das Meer werffen” / (Lat) 198. Villegagnon, according to De Léry and modern historians like Frank Lestringant, had converted to Calvinism before returning to Catholicism while in French Brazil; but see for a different point of view: McGrath (1996) 385–91.

³³ De Léry (1586) 2–6; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 93–96 / (Lat) 145.

Genevan ministers and Villegagnon, still in the fold of the Reformed Church according to De Léry:

And not long hereafter, [Villegagnon et al.] started disputing several matters of religion, particularly regarding the Last Supper. For they rejected the Papist transsubstantiation, and also totally discarded the consubstantiation: they were however, of a wholly different opinion, as they had been trained by ministers of God's word. Namely that bread and wine could by no means be changed into the body and blood of Christ, and also that the body and blood of Christ could not be one with bread and wine, but that Christ's body was in heaven.

Still on the same page, De Léry then drew the personal conclusion, based on these theological disputations, that

Doctor Calvinus is the most learned person since the age of the Apostles, and I have never read a teacher who better and more purely explained the Scripture.³⁴

Confrontational commentary like this, so divisive throughout the sixteenth century, was not available to readers of the Latin volume. Yet controversy dictated De Léry's treatise: the *Histoire* was basically just another pamphlet in the bitter religious wars in France. The De Brys and their translators consequently must have spent long hours preparing the text for the presses. Another large chunk of text withheld from the Latin edition was dedicated to the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Although De Léry, in his narrative, did not hurl abuses at Catholics using the stinging rhetoric which many other Protestant authors had employed in the 1570s, he did not avoid—and probably did not want to avoid—references to the confessional tension which had resulted in the Parisian bloodbath. The exposé on the massacre and the confessional hostilities in France filled no fewer than nine pages in German.³⁵

³⁴ De Léry (1586) 42–71; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 118–33 / (Lat) 162. Both quotes from the German De Bry volume, 123–24: “Und nicht lang hernacher, fiengen sie an umb etliche Puncten der Religion, insonderheit vom Nachtmal, zustreiten, Denn ob sie wol die Papistische Transsubstantiation verwarffen, und improbieren auch gantz unnd gar die Consubstantiation; Jedoch waren sie weit einer anderen meynung, denn sie von den Ministris auß Gottes Wort gelehret wurden, Nemblich, daß das Brot unnd Wein in den Leib unnd Blut Christi in keine weiß könne verwandelt werden, Und widerumb könne der Leib und Blut Christi nicht im Brot und Wein eyngeschlossen werden, sondern Christi Leib sey im Himmel”; (Ger) 124: “Es ist Doctor Calvinus der gelehrtesten einer, so je nach der Apostel zeit gewesen sind, Und ich hab keinen Lehrer jemals gelesen, der besser und reiner die Schrifft außgelegt hatte”.

³⁵ De Léry (1586) 206–19; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 204–12 / (Lat) 220.

De Léry's criticism of André Thevet's cosmographical works was often closely related to the religious wars and was therefore also prone to exclusion from the De Bry collection. He also questioned other assertions made by Thevet, regarding passages from Pliny's *Historia naturalis* for example, and these fragments were left out of the Latin De Bry versions as well.³⁶ Apparently it was not just religious controversy that the De Brys considered superfluous or potentially harmful. They deemed too contentious for inclusion the debate between armchair-travellers like Thevet and voyagers like De Léry, often Huguenots, as it rumbled on in the final decades of the sixteenth century. A fair number of well-informed customers interested in De Brys' Latin volumes may have resided in France, and may have therefore taken sides in this semi-confessional scholarly quarrel. Once again, the De Brys attempted not to alienate a potentially large share of their readership, and this objective dominated the editing of the Latin accounts.

Adding up all the omissions, some twenty-two 'German' pages of De Léry's preliminaries and report were missing from the Latin *India Occidentalis* III, making this part less hefty than its counterpart in the vernacular.³⁷ The addition of nine extra engravings only partly compensated for this, the plates being merely second printings of illustrations already appearing elsewhere in the Latin volume. The De Brys therefore decided to add another narrative, written by another traveller, to the Latin volume. Hence the Latin collection incorporated two letters by the French navigator Nicolas Barré, first published in Paris in 1557, and translated into Latin by Carolus Clusius.³⁸

³⁶ De Léry (1586) 22–25, 74–76; *Ind.Occ.* III (Ger) 107–08, 135–36 / (Lat) 154, 163.

³⁷ De Léry's anti-Catholic dedication to William of Hesse: (1586) [*2r–*4v], was missing entirely from both Frankfurt translations. Only the final six pages of the Huguenot's 'praefatio'—forty-two pages in the Geneva edition ((1586) [*1r–****5v])—were re-issued in the Latin De Bry version, and not in their entirety: *Ind.Occ.* III (Lat) 141–43. The Latin edition, markedly, picked up the preface where the focus switched from anti-Catholic to anti-pagan. Hence the first words of the Latin De Bry caption read "Religionem inter ea quae diligenti observatione digna censentur primum obtinere locum nemo unquam negavit" (141). The German edition contained passages excluded from the Latin edition on [A3r–C3v], and [D1r–D3r]. The German preface also omitted the most fiercely anti-Catholic passages, for instance: De Léry (1586) [*1v–**2r], [*7v–**8v], [***2v], and many selected single phrases.

³⁸ *Ind.Occ.* III (Lat) 285–95. Clusius' name is mentioned on the separate title-page, *Ind.Occ.* III (Lat) 285.

The author was a member of the order of Minim brothers, an order closely related to the Franciscans, which had a sizeable following in sixteenth-century France. Barré's version of events in French Brazil in the late 1550s substantiated the claims made in Villegagnon's omitted letter to Calvin of the same period, thus neutralising, to an extent, De Léry's bitter criticism ventilated elsewhere in the volume.³⁹ In the Latin version of *India Occidentalis* III, then, and in contrast to the German tome, the De Brys had not only watered down the strong Calvinist nature of De Léry's report on French Brazil, but had also decided to include the testimony of a Catholic traveller who put the credibility of De Léry's claims under scrutiny.

8.5. DIFFERENT ACCOUNTS FOR DIFFERENT READERSHIPS

Barré's letters are not the only accounts to appear in only one of the two versions, as the early volumes, published by Theodore de Bry, show plenty of variation, not necessarily related to confessional matters.⁴⁰ The final Benzoni-volume, *India Occidentalis* VI, rounded off with two chapters on the Canary Islands, but both chapters were left out of the German volume.⁴¹ One of these chapters made its way into the German edition by means of a comprehensive caption to the final illustration of the volume, but the other chapter, devoted to the discovery of the islands, the comments by Pliny, and the history of the archipelago in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was exclusively reserved for the presumably more learned readers of the Latin collection.

Other additions also point to the assumed differences in the levels of knowledge of the two readerships, as the Latin volumes sometimes contained scholarly pieces of text left out of the vernacular. One such example was Carolus Clusius' letter to the De Bry brothers regarding the correct interpretation of an account in *India Occidentalis* VIII.⁴²

³⁹ McGrath (1996) 391.

⁴⁰ Greve (2004) does not discuss the different translations. She appears to have examined the German translations only, and thus missed both the inclusion of Barré's letters written in support of Villegagnon and Le Challeux's report added to *Ind. Occ.* VI (Lat), which will be discussed below.

⁴¹ *Ind. Occ.* VI (Lat) 78–83.

⁴² *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Lat) 13–14: "Nota. Nobilibimus & claribimus Dn. Carolus Clusius, suis literis nuper ad duos fratres de Bry Lugduno exaratis, commemorat se anno 1565..." / (Ger) 10. The Dutch version of Raleigh's account used by the De Brys does not mention this letter either.

Two variations in the *India Orientalis*-series reveal similar considerations. The German version of *India Orientalis* VII made room for twenty-two pages on exchange rates and prices of commodities in Asian waters not available in the Latin volume, probably in an attempt to make the German collection more attractive for merchants. In *India Orientalis* III, six German pages with information on the operation of the pepper trade in Cochin were summarised in two paragraphs in the Latin translation.⁴³ Readers of the Latin collection, conversely, were treated to a comprehensive Latin-Malaccan phrasebook at the end of the appendix to *India Orientalis* IX, which was missing from its German counterpart.⁴⁴

The two chapters on the Canary Islands in *India Occidentalis* VI were followed by another travel account, once again in the Latin version only. The author was another Frenchman, Nicolas le Challeux from Dieppe, whose report on Florida was first published in his hometown in 1566, and subsequently in 1579 in Geneva with comments by Urbain Chauveton.⁴⁵ Le Challeux, a carpenter by trade, presented another view on the fateful events of 1565, when he was one of the few survivors of the Spanish massacre of hundreds of French colonists around Fort Caroline. The De Brys must have used the Latin edition of 1586, as the erratic numbering of chapters in this version was copied in the Frankfurt edition. The brief bulletin had also been published in Geneva, in the same tome as the Latin Benzoni- and De Léry-reports used by the De Brys.⁴⁶

Several of the narratives in *India Occidentalis* II had already described the brutal Spanish-French encounter in Florida, and Le Challeux's report was no less anti-Spanish than the previously incorporated French accounts. Just why it was included into the Latin De Bry volume, but not in the German edition may therefore seem puzzling at first. Anti-Spanish narratives, after all, were likely to appeal to readers of the German collection as well, given that the De Brys, based on

⁴³ *Ind.Or.* VII (Ger) 110–31; *Ind.Or.* III (Ger) 29–35 / (Lat) 22–23; *Ind.Or.* IV (Ger) 90–94 / (Lat) 85–87.

⁴⁴ *Ind.Or.* IX app. (Lat) 33–88.

⁴⁵ N. le Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride, contenant la cruauté des Espagnols contre les sujets du Roy; en l'an mil cinq cens soixante cinq* (Dieppe 1566); Idem, *Brief discours et histoire d'un voyage de quelques François en la Floride: & du massacre autant iniquement que barbarement exécuté sur eux, par les Hespagnols, l'an mil cinq cens soixante cinq* (Geneva 1579).

⁴⁶ Benzoni/Le Challeux (1586) 427–77; *Ind.Occ.* VI (Lat) 84–108. See, on Florida: McGrath (2000).

their modifications to the volumes in the vernacular, expected their readership to have at least some affinity with Protestantism and anti-Spanish sentiments. It is perhaps noteworthy that the additions to the Latin collection were of French origin. After the emergence of the collection in four languages in 1590, the French and English editions were quickly terminated. English may have been a useful language for publishing Harriot's report, but was hardly going to present the De Brys with a commercially attractive proposition in later years, while the French accounts used for *India Occidentalis* II made the appeal of a continuation of the French De Bry series doubtful. The viability of a collection in French has to be questioned for other reasons as well, as the Latin editions presumably sold well in France. Spain and France had been bitter enemies for decades, and anti-Spanish sentiments were rife north of the Pyrenees. In this light, the addition of two French accounts full of anti-Spanish anecdotes to the Latin volumes makes sense from a publisher's perspective who expected to distribute more books in France than in Spain.

This assumption also sheds light on the decision to preserve Paul Perrot de la Salle's anti-Spanish poem for the preliminaries of the Latin *India Occidentalis* IV. It was even printed in French, despite the remainder of the preliminaries and the accounts being translated into Latin as usual.⁴⁷ This sonnet—yet another textual discrepancy—was missing from the German Volume IV. In similar fashion, the letter to King Charles IX describing anti-French atrocities in the New World was printed in both versions of *India Occidentalis* II, but only for readers of the Latin collection did it reappear in *India Occidentalis* VI.⁴⁸ An equally critical, anti-Spanish poem by the Englishman George Buchanan, however, included in the 1586 Genevan edition of Le Challeux's report used by the De Brys, was omitted from both Frankfurt translations.⁴⁹ The

⁴⁷ *Ind. Occ.* IV (Lat) []:(4v): "Ce n'estoit pas assez qu'un hazardeux Pilote / Eust franchi le fossé de L'Océan ronfleur, / Pour nous venir conter le plam, Et la grandeur, / D'un royaume incognu, et le cours de sa flote // Il falloit que de Bry qui d'un burin nous note / Le beau de ce voyage; augmentat la valeur / De L'Histoire, Et le nom de son obscur auteur, / Monstant ce que pour voir l'impossible nous oste. // Au moins sans nul hazard on peut prouffit tirer / De luy, voire un prouffit qu'on doit plus desirer / Que L'Or Perusien, le caillou de nos feus: // Car en representant de ce peuple barbare / Les Abus, Et les faicts D'un Espagnol avare / Il apprend d'éviter le vice de ces deux.

⁴⁸ *Ind. Occ.* II (Ger) [Mr–M3v] / (Lat) [H2r–H4v]; *Ind. Occ.* VI (Lat) 105–08. The two versions of the letter are not identical.

⁴⁹ Benzoni/Le Challeux (1586) 478–80. It would logically have followed *Ind. Occ.* VI.

inclusion of French reports, then, may simply have been inspired by the expectation that the Latin collection might appeal to all confessional groups in France.

Latin was also the language of the Republic of Letters, and provided geographical breadth, as scholars from Portugal to Poland and from England to Hungary, many of them interested in antiquity and classical texts, frequently used Latin until well into the seventeenth century. It further provided prestige, as those who had not been educated at a Latin school were excluded from this literary community.⁵⁰ Large sections of this erudite group refused to be drawn into the confessional debate. At the height of the religious wars, Montaigne blamed ‘stupidity’ for the dogmatic controversy, and he was not the only one; religious contention was widely denounced as a product of ignorance.⁵¹ This situation remained more or less unchanged throughout the seventeenth century. As Pierre Bayle put it in the 1680s:

What is of concern [in the Republic of Letters] is not religion, but knowledge: one must therefore set aside all terms that divide people into different factions, and consider only the point in which they are united, which is [in possessing] the quality of an illustrious man in the Republic of Letters. In this sense, all learned men must regard one another as brothers.⁵²

In order to accommodate this important group of potential customers, then, the De Brys had to adjust their tactics. Certain episodes were apparently regarded as too spectacular and too sensational for this readership, and were therefore omitted from the Latin translation. The most striking example, already mentioned in Chapter 6, was the embellishment of the cannibalistic nature of an African tribe in both the text and corresponding caption in the German edition of *India Orientalis* I, which was altogether missing from its Latin counterpart.⁵³ Similar examples of selective editing were manifold, for instance in *India Orientalis* III, where the readers of the Latin volume were deprived

⁵⁰ Burke (2004) 52–60.

⁵¹ Bouwsma (2000) 100–11.

⁵² Cited by A. G. Shelford, “Confessional division and the Republic of Letters: the case of Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721)” In: H. Jaumann, ed., *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus / The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism* (Wiesbaden 2001) 42, who in turns refers to P. J. Lambe, “Critics and sceptics in the seventeenth-century Republic of Letters”, *Harvard Theological Review* 81–3 (1988) 276.

⁵³ Supra, Ch. 6, p. 185; *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) 70 / (Lat) 57, and *Ind.Or.* I, ill. xiii.

of the story of an indigenous man captured near Madagascar who drowned trying to escape from the Dutch.⁵⁴

After Theodore's death, his sons followed up the earlier variations with one more substantial discrepancy: only the German *Additamentum* to *India Occidentalis* VIII contained the account by the Dutchman Michiel Joostens van Heede. Its Latin equivalent did not, although the second edition issued by Merian in 1625 included a translation of Van Heede's report. The Dutchman was aboard one of the ships taking part in a seventy-five vessel raid on Spanish settlements in the Canary Islands. The expedition resulted in material gains for the Dutch in Atlantic waters—several ships continued their plundering all the way to Brazil—and in at least two eye-witness accounts of the attacks in the Canary Islands, by Van Heede and Ellert de Jonghe.⁵⁵ The De Bry brothers, ever hungry for accounts freshly published, selected Van Heede's report, adding to it some remarks from other sources, and had it printed as part of their German collection in 1600.⁵⁶ Hence, all in all, three travel accounts were available to only a single group of readers, while various large fragments of reports and letters were also deliberately left out of one of the two versions.

The omission of Van Heede's account of Dutch-Spanish hostilities from the Latin edition may have been an attempt to shun the all too open polemics of anti-Spanish warfare. The alterations reveal the prudence of the De Brys in religious matters, especially regarding the Latin version of the collection, which was ostentatiously purged of Protestant and, in broader terms, sensational notions, and probably made more attractive for French customers. The exclusion from both versions of the poem

⁵⁴ Lodewijcksz (1598) f11r; *Ind.Or.* III (Ger) 98 / (Lat) 65.

⁵⁵ M. Joostens van Heede, *Discours ende Beschrijvinghe van het groot Eylandt Canaria, ende Gomera, midtsgaders het innemen, ende verlaten van dien. [...] Begrijpende alle de courssen ghedaen in dese Zeevaert, van daghe tot daghe, beghinnende vanden xxv. Meye 1599. tot op den tienden Septembris deszelven Jaers, stilo novo* (Rotterdam 1599); *Ind.Occ.* VIII add. (Ger) 47–73. E. de Jonghe, *Waerachtigh verhael vande machtighe Scheeps Armade, toegerust hyde moghende E. Heeren Staten Generael der vereenighde Nederlandsche Provintien, tot afbreucke des Konings van Spaengien, onder het ghebiet en gheleyde van Joncker Pieter vander Does, als Generael der selber: Wat by den selvighen bestaen ende wytghevoert is, so op Eylanden, Steden, Casteelen als Schepen, ende den Buijt aldaer becomen vande gheheele Voyagie: Midtsgaders al tghene de Armade op Zee op de heen ende weer reyse is bejeghent, vanden 28. Mey 1599. tot den 6. Meert 1600.* (Amsterdam [1600]). A. Rumeu de Armas, *La invasión de Las Palmas por el almirante holandés Van der Does en 1599* (Las Palmas 1999) provides a brief bibliography and a meticulous discussion of the expedition.

⁵⁶ The engravings belonging to this account were also missing from the Latin edition: *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Ger) ill. xiii–xv.

by George Buchanan, however, shows that the De Brys were aware that discretion was of importance for the German volumes as well. A comparison with other German introductions to editions of Benzoni's account, the version printed in Helmstedt for example, already pointed in that direction. The De Brys' translations provide further evidence of their circumspection, as some of the most aggressive confessional remarks were left out of both versions.

Once again, De Léry's report in *India Occidentalis* III makes interesting reading. The De Brys, in preparing their Latin introduction, had been wary of the prefaces to De Léry's 1586 Geneva edition, omitting as many as thirty-six of the octavo-volume's preliminary pages. Several passages were considered just as unacceptable for the German edition: the explicitly religious climax to one of De Léry's outbursts against André Thevet, occupying almost two full pages in the version used by the De Brys, was omitted entirely. The subsequent juxtaposition of "the Roman Church" and "we the Reformed" was also deemed too strong for inclusion into the German edition.⁵⁷ Other sections of the Huguenot's introduction considered risky were also eliminated.⁵⁸ The actual travel account invited more such omissions, where the De Brys particularly disliked blasphemous language, as this was an obvious incentive for censors and other sensitive readers to disapprove of or refuse to buy the volumes.⁵⁹

In the last of the three anti-Spanish Benzoni-volumes, *India Occidentalis* VI, such mitigations of anti-Catholic sentiments are also apparent in both versions. An example is provided by an encounter in Peru between indigenous inhabitants and conquistadors, which saw Inca ruler Atahualpa insult the Bible given to him by a Spanish cleric, and which the De Brys selected for depiction. Benzoni, in the relevant phrases in his account, had used harsh words to describe the 'false' Spanish monk's conduct, and the De Brys copied these statements for their two translations. In the captions to the illustration, however, the derogative adjectives were left out; the German caption had further omitted most of the textual allusions to Catholicism. The Latin caption did refer to

⁵⁷ De Léry (1586) [**7v–**8r]: "Ecclesia Romana" vs. "nos reformatos".

⁵⁸ Most notably De Léry (1586) [**2r–**3r].

⁵⁹ For instance: De Léry (1586) 222, 320; *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 223, 275 / (Lat) 230, 276.

St. Peter and his successors as rulers of the Church of Rome.⁶⁰ For both captions, nevertheless, the De Brys chose to exclude the most obvious anti-Catholic references, to the Virgin Mary and the pope.

8.6. CHRISTIANS VERSUS NON-CHRISTIANS

Despite the emphasis on non-Christians throughout the collection, enhanced and modified by the De Brys, and their circumspection in dealing with possible confessional controversy, the publishers also described and depicted Christians. They were almost always included so as to put indigenous societies in perspective. Hence engravings exclusively depicting Europeans, available in the original reports, were deleted from the collection.⁶¹ Meanwhile the De Brys regularly added Europeans to already existing engravings, thus presenting obvious juxtapositions between Christians and non-Christians, or the civilised and the uncivilised. Next to the cultured Europeans, without exception depicted as well-dressed with excellent posture and visibly in possession of powerful firearms, the Americans, Africans, and Asians in the De Bry collection looked distinctly second best.

The addition of Europeans to illustrations as a civilised counterweight to the unrefined overseas world is especially evident in Volume IX of the *America*-series, for which the De Brys adapted the account by Barent Jansz published in Amsterdam. Dutch woodcuts of the encounters with both West Africans and ‘Patagonian Giants’ in the Strait of Magellan were adorned with additional European adventurers in the De Bry

⁶⁰ *Ind. Occ.* VI (Ger) f8r: “der falsch Prophet unnd Mönch” / (Lat) 13: “his Pseudopropheta”. *Ind. Occ.* VI, ill. vii (Ger): “Darauff zeigte er ihm sein Breviarium, sagt darinnen stehe verfasst das Gesetz deß ewigen Allmechtigen Gottes, etc. König Atabaliba fragte...” / (Lat): “Deinde ostendes suum breviarium in eo legem Dei contineri affirmat, qui omnia ex nihilo creasset, atque ab Adam & Eva sermonem exorsus, de hominis creatione & casu agere coepit, tum Christum ex coelo descendisse, carnem in virginis utero adsumpsisse, denique cruci adfixum fuisse & resurrexisse, ut humanum genus redimeret, postremo in coelum ascendisse, & Ecclesiae suae curam Divo Petro reliquisset, tamquam suo vicario, deinde ipsius successoribus Papis. Interrogatus monachus ab Atabaliba...”.

⁶¹ This was, for example, the case in *India Orientalis* II, where a Dutch illustration of Portuguese women in Goa was the only engraving in the *Itinerario* to be completely omitted from the De Bry volume: Van Linschoten (1596) 48–49; see also: Van den Boogaart (2003) 76–77.



Ill. 71. *Wijdtloopigh verhael*... (Amsterdam 1600) ill. 5

workshop.⁶² The modifications to two woodcuts of the Patagonian Giants are a case in point. The first Dutch plate had presented the Giants as formidable creatures, showing off their daunting bodies (ill. 71). According to the traveller, the Patagonians were “ten or eleven foot tall”.⁶³ Whereas the De Brys truthfully translated the comment on the size of the Giants, the resulting engraving in the collection not only portrayed them as fearful rather than fearsome, it also included a small boat full of belligerent Dutch sailors armed with arquebuses or muskets, which explained the Giants’ apprehension (ill. 72).

The modifications to the succeeding illustration were even clearer. The Amsterdam woodcut depicted a Patagonian mother feeding her two children a raw bird (ill. 73). The children were completely naked, while the woman wore only a cape. Skirmishes between the Dutch and the Patagonians took place in the background. The De Brys included the plate, but added three Dutchmen to the composition, presumably

⁶² Van Groesen (2005) 35–43.

⁶³ Jansz (1600) [D4v]: “10. oft 11. voet langh”.



Ill. 72. *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xxii

as a numerical and moral counterbalance (ill. 74), hence making the alterity of the indigenous people in the Strait of Magellan strikingly obvious. The addition of impressive Dutch vessels in both De Bry plates, reduced to a single ship for the second engraving after bad weather had decimated the fleet, underlined the differences between New World immorality and backwardness, on the one hand, and European cultural and military prowess, on the other. Other engravings in the same volume display the same pattern of adaptation.⁶⁴

The woman in the second South American engraving is intriguing for another reason. She, and possibly the other Patagonian woman in the subsequent De Bry plate, provided the inspiration for yet another female figure depicted in the same volume. This latter woman, however, despite

⁶⁴ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ills. xviii and xxiv. For a different interpretation of the otherness of the Patagonians in the De Bry collection: Burghartz (2004a) 109–37, who historicises some of Bucher's earlier conclusions of reversing gender patterns.



Ill. 73. *Wijdtloopigh verhael...* (Amsterdam 1600) ill. 6

her unmistakable Patagonian features already included in the original image, was situated in West Africa, where she served local dishes in honour of the official visit of the Dutch captain Sebald de Weert (see ill. 44).⁶⁵ This example reveals a form of modification which is typical for the De Bry collection and which profoundly influenced its representation of the overseas world: inhabitants of different regions, or even different continents, were assigned identical qualities and characteristics. This sharing of traits occurred principally when there was insufficient iconographical material on which to base the illustrations for the collection. Physical features and accessories were then taken from already existing engravings on the shelves of the De Bry workshop, which the publishers amalgamated at will, sometimes resulting in exact analogies between rituals and habits in opposite corners of the globe.

This constructed 'homogenisation of the other' in the collection materialised in both textual and iconographical form. The Banians in northern India, in one of the illustrations to *India Orientalis* XI, were

⁶⁵ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xix; Van Groesen (2005) 36–37.



Ill. 74. *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. xxiii

almost indistinguishable from some of the Algonquians depicted by John White in Virginia.⁶⁶ No indigenous groups other than these two sported the distinctive ‘three-feathers only’ headdress, allowing readers who had purchased both series of the collection to quickly compare and perhaps equate the two peoples. The residents of the Canary Islands in the final engraving to *India Occidentalis* VI were, in similar fashion, impossible to differentiate from the Peruvians who had been the focus of attention in the plates immediately preceding.⁶⁷ Succeeding engravings portraying different people in the same way can also be found in *India Orientalis* II, where one of the figures in a De Bry-designed engraving of Ormuz was copied from an earlier engraving in this volume devoted to the Mozambicans.⁶⁸

More subtle iconographical adjustments displayed the same tendency to homogenise the indigenous peoples of the overseas world.

⁶⁶ *Ind. Or.* XI, ill. vii; *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. iii.

⁶⁷ *Ind. Occ.* VI, ills. xxviii and xxv–xxvii.

⁶⁸ *Ind. Or.* II, ills. iv and vi.

Once again, the reasons for making these modifications may have been partly practical, yet the shift in the representations of the people and their environment was nevertheless considerable. Two originally separate plates in Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* were deliberately made to distinguish the ships of Goa and Cochin, yet the De Brys combined both engravings into a single illustration, suggesting that both types of vessels navigated the same waters.⁶⁹ Similar modifications resulting in blurred geographical representations can be found in *India Orientalis* VII, where two reports by Gasparo Balbi divided by more than a month of travelling were combined into the same illustration (see ill. 13),⁷⁰ and in the early volumes of the *America*-series, where houses depicted by Hans Staden were readily included into engravings in the Benzoni-volumes. Settlements first drawn by John White in Virginia also reappeared in other regions of the New World.⁷¹ In *India Orientalis* IX and its continuation issued the following year, a De Bry-designed townscape was used for settlements in both the Banda Islands and Mozambique.⁷²

Iconographical levelling of this sort was supported by textual adaptations. Sometimes these alterations were directly related to the familiar and unfamiliar religions of the overseas world: monotheistic Islam and polytheistic heathendom, though strictly separated in the perception of early modern Christians, were now and then used as synonymous concepts. A modification typical of the De Bry volumes becomes apparent when the account by Lopez and Pigafetta is compared to the two Frankfurt translations: "This king of Matama [in West Africa] is of the pagan belief" stated the original narrative. Yet the German version of *India Orientalis* I incorrectly reported that "The king of Matama is of the Muhammedan belief", while the Latin volume shunned all reference to local religion, disclosing instead that "The king of Matama possessed a very large kingdom".⁷³ Analogous alterations can be found in other volumes, like in Francis Pretty's account of Sir Thomas Cavendish's circumnavigation in the late 1580s. *India Occidentalis* VIII turned the

⁶⁹ *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xiv; Van Groesen (2001) 115.

⁷⁰ *Ind.Or.* VII, ill. xiii combined the watermill described by Balbi in Karakose, near the source of the Euphrates River in modern-day Turkey, and the carrier pigeons seen in Basra.

⁷¹ *Ind.Occ.* IV, ill. xviii; *Ind.Occ.* III (Ger) 35, 70 / (Lat) 52, 106.

⁷² *Ind.Or.* IX, ill. iii; *Ind.Or.* IX (cont.), ill. iii.

⁷³ Lopez and Pigafetta (1591) 18: "Questo Re di Matama è di fe gentile"; *Ind.Or.* I (Ger) 16: "Der König von Matama ist dem Mahometischen Glauben zugethan" / (Lat) 14: "Rex Matamanus regnum obtinet amplissimum".

heathens referred to in the Dutch edition used by the De Brys into Muslims for both the German and Latin texts.⁷⁴ This is particularly interesting because the indigenous people concerned, the Sanguelos of Manila, were favourably depicted, and the De Brys may have decided to complement this picture by stripping them of their paganism.

The geographical uniformity in the illustrations of the overseas world was strengthened by terminological imprecision. The captions, in general, were regularly indistinct regarding the exact geographical location of some of the scenes depicted and would settle for the description that “when Thomas Cavendish circumnavigated the world, he came to an island” without informing readers where it should be located.⁷⁵ When travellers like Acosta used the term ‘Indies’ in their reports, this was translated accordingly, but sometimes the same translation ‘Indies’ was applied to the original term ‘West Indies’. Exactly the same overestimation of the geographical spread, from the West Indies in the original to Indies in the De Bry collection, occurred in *America* VIII, in this case regarding the quality of the air in *Nombre de Diós*.⁷⁶ Certain strange phenomena were hence made to look more encompassing in the De Bry volumes than in the actual sources.

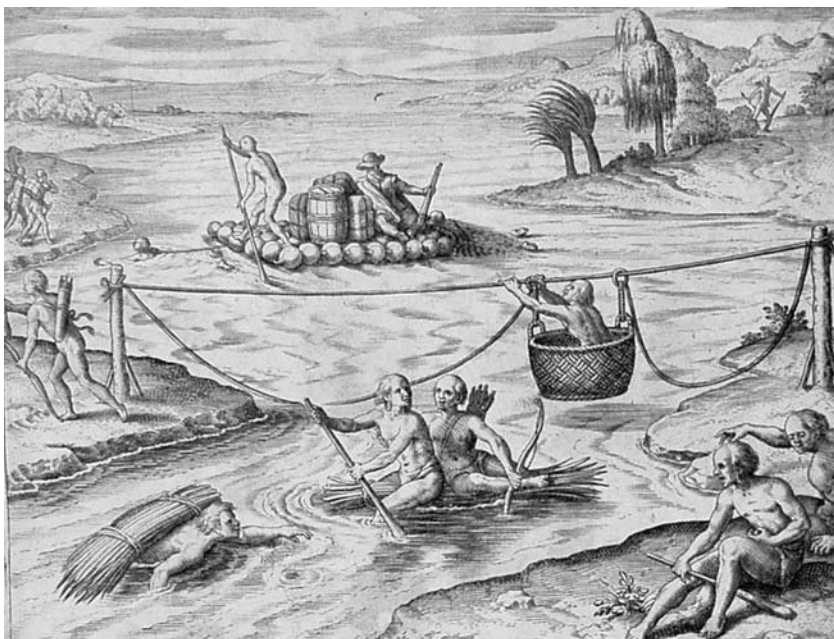
The headings to the engravings were particularly vulnerable to geographical exaggeration, even when the original descriptions of the different regions had been more definite. The seventh plate in *India Orientalis* IV, the volume dedicated to the natural world, was titled “Some of the animals found in the Indies”, while the animals concerned were found in entirely different corners of the eastern hemisphere.⁷⁷ Something similar occurred twice in quick succession in *India Occidentalis*

⁷⁴ Pretty (1598) f15r: “Dese Cooplyuden van China, ende vande Sanguelos zijn eensdeels Morisschen ende Heydens Volck...”; *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Ger) 26: “Diese Kauffleut auß China und Sanguelos seind zum theil Moren und Mahometisten...” / (Lat) 67: “Mercatores ex China & Sanguelos magna ex parte Aethiopes sunt & Mahometistae...”.

⁷⁵ *Ind.Occ.* VIII, ill. x (Ger): “Als Thomas Cavendish in seinem Lauf was, auf dem er die ganze Welt umschiffte, kam er unter andern zu einer Insel...” / “Cum Thomas Candisch in suo itinere, Insulam quandam ingressus esset...”.

⁷⁶ Acosta (1598) f101v: “Indianen”; *Ind.Occ.* IX (Ger) 89: “Indier” / (Lat) 102: “Indi”; Acosta (1598) f140v: “West-Indien”; *Ind.Occ.* IX (Ger) 123: “Indien” / (Lat) 141: “India”. Pretty (1598) f25r: “...ende so een onghesonde locht, als eenige plaetse in West-Indie[n]”; *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Ger) 43: “...und hat so einen ungesunden Lufft, als sonst ein ort in gantz Indien” / (Lat) 39: “...& aërem tam habet malum, qualis in nulla Indiae civitate reperitur”. The town is located in modern-day Panama.

⁷⁷ *Ind.Or.* IV, ill. vii (Ger): “etlicher Thiere, so in Indien gefunden werden” / (Lat): “Quorundam animalium, in India celebrium”.



Ill. 75. *Ind. Occ.* IX, ill. ii

IX, where Acosta explicitly referred first to Florida and then Mexico, and the De Brys turned inhabitants and habits of both provinces of the New World into ‘Indians’ and ‘Indian’ respectively.⁷⁸ In between these two plates, three different ways of crossing a river employed in various parts of the New World were combined in a single engraving (ill. 75). Homogenisations of different types thus enabled readers in early modern Europe to gauge the overseas continents as landmasses bereft of rich cultural, ethnological, and anthropological differentiation, and facilitated the comparatively blunt antithesis between Christian and non-Christian, civilised and uncivilised, and European and non-European in the De Bry collection.

Emphasising these differences was attractive from a publisher’s perspective. An unambiguous confessional bias would have hampered the

⁷⁸ *Ind. Occ.* IX, ills. i and vi. The text from which the captions and titles were taken refers to Florida (*Ind. Occ.* IX (Ger) 98 / (Lat) 107–08) and Tlascala (*Ind. Occ.* IX (Ger) 201 / (Lat) 224). The titles to the plates were “Von seltzamer Fischerey der Indianer” / “De Indorum mira piscationis ratione” and “Wie die Indianer ihr Wild jagen” / “Quo modo Indi feras venentur” respectively.

collection's success in early modern Europe. Works written by Protestant authors, and issued by Protestant publishers in Protestant towns were almost by default suspect in Catholic regions of Europe, and many of these titles ended up on the Roman Index of Forbidden Books. Should the De Bry collection of voyages have been proscribed by Rome—not unlikely considering its many narratives by Reformed travellers—it would have severely damaged the sales figures of the volumes, and the prosperity of the officina. This was hence to be avoided at all costs. The following chapter will demonstrate that the De Brys succeeded, but only just.

CHAPTER NINE

THE IMPACT OF CENSORSHIP: THE *INDEX LIBRORUM EXPURGATORUM* AND OTHER INDICES

In spite of their editorial efforts, the De Brys could not avoid the watchful eyes of Catholic censors and inquisitors. Issued and often augmented in the aftermath of the Council of Trent, the Index of Forbidden Books and its less restrictive cousins formed a serious obstacle to the unrestrained circulation of printed material in early modern Europe. Although the objective of the Catholic Church to control what could be written, printed, and read in domains still under its jurisdiction was ambitious, publishing firms unquestionably suffered from inclusion of their titles on the Index. Chapter 4 discussed various forms of prepublication censorship.¹ This chapter will study the attempts of inquisitors throughout Europe to put the De Bry collection on the Index after the volumes had appeared, as well as the endeavours of the De Bry family to avoid provoking the officials responsible for the various inventories of prohibited books.

9.1. CATHOLIC CENSORSHIP IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

The proscription of books had been an instrument of repression since ancient times, but the Reformation, which saw an explosion of Protestant literature, inspired the Catholic Church to respond in order to protect its flock from infection by heretical ideas. Pope Paul III, in the early 1540s, put forward an initiative to ban books, but the first Roman Index was supervised by the erstwhile Inquisitor-General Paul IV. Issued in 1559, it was a vehement declaration of war against Protestant literature. More than one thousand books were banned outright. Numerous authors and more than sixty printers and publishers were identified as the prime culprits. Their total output was proscribed, as were works

¹ Supra, Ch. 4, pp. 135–37.

which were not heretical, but judged to be anticlerical, immoral, or obscene. All works published anonymously in the previous forty years were also banned. The 'Index of Paul IV' was sent to all dioceses, with the instruction that those who were found in possession of forbidden literature be denied absolution.²

This unprecedented form of censorship caused large numbers of books to be destroyed and produced great consternation and loud protests against the new Index, even from Jesuits and members of the Congregation of the Inquisition. Publishers throughout Italy refused to print and distribute the Index, demanding concessions to minimise their losses, but eventually they had to bow to pressure from Rome. There was relief all around when Pius IV, in 1562, ordered the Council of Trent to compose a more workable alternative. A committee was installed to issue the list which is generally considered the starting point of the Index proper, the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of March 1564. As dictated in Pius IV's bull *Dominici Gregis*, the Tridentine Index articulated ten ground rules for censorship.³ Bishops and theological faculties at universities were given extensive responsibilities over the precise composition of the Index. Very few dioceses, however, had sufficient theological expertise for such a task. To see to these and other practical problems, Pius V established the Congregation of the Index in 1571.

One of the tasks the new congregation faced from the outset was the implementation of their restrictive measures. The situation in Frankfurt is a case in point. As the centre of the international book trade, it was placed under close scrutiny, but as an Imperial Free City with a Lutheran council, it did not fall within the Church's sphere of influence. Hence the immediate impact of the Roman Index in Frankfurt was limited. Catholic interest was represented by the Imperial book commissioner, Valentin Leucht, appointed by Rudolf II in the mid-1590s to check the stream of Protestant publications. His plight, however, is indicative of the problems encountered by central governments, both

² This paragraph and much of the following is based on: J. M. de Bujanda, "Die verschiedenen Epochen des Index (1550–1615)" In: H. Wolf, ed., *Inquisition, Index, Zensur. Wissenskulturen der Neuzeit im Widerstreit* (2nd ed.; Paderborn etc. 2003; 1st ed. 2001) 215 ff.; H. H. Schwedt, "Der Römische Index der verbotenen Bücher", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 107 (1987) 296–314; P. F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian press, 1540–1605* (Princeton 1977) 116 ff. All these studies are indebted to F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (2 vols.; Aix-la-Chapelle 1967 [1st ed. Bonn 1883]).

³ For an elaborate discussion of the ten rules, often vague and contradictory: Reusch (1967) I 330–41.

secular and religious, in their attempts to control the early modern book trade. Leucht was continually frustrated by the Frankfurt city council, whose income depended on the broad international appeal of the fairs. Outsiders like Leucht, whose task was to block the publication of or trade in certain works, were considered harmful to the city's prosperity. In the early years of his tenure as book commissioner, the local authorities succeeded in thwarting his ambitions.

Leucht's situation improved after Johan Schweikard von Kronberg was named Archbishop of Mainz in 1604. Schweikard, a powerful Imperial politician loyal to Tridentine reforms, helped Leucht to fulfil one of his more lasting achievements, the establishment of a Catholic catalogue of newly published books at the Frankfurt fairs. Catholic publishers had complained about the incomplete listings of their works in the traditional fair catalogues, published by the city magistrates from 1598 onwards. The Catholic catalogues, issued in Mainz for every semi-annual Frankfurt fair, included friendly as well as religiously neutral literature. Very few copies have survived, but the appearance of the first 'counter-catalogue' should probably be dated around 1605. Three years later, the commissioner had a large Imperial placard printed, proclaiming his authority for all to see in the *Buchgasse*, the alley where most of the booksellers kept shop. Although the city quickly moved to reduce his aspirations by publishing its own placard, Leucht was more successful in the 1610s, when he regularly managed to prevent the appearance of undesired books.⁴

Publishers like the De Brys had their own way of dealing with Leucht and his successors. They avoided producing controversial books, and once their titles had passed the local censors, who had to approve of every work regardless of whether there was any suspicion about its contents, there was no obstacle to publication. Potentially awkward works like the Rosicrucian treatises by Fludd and Maier were sensibly published under the protection of the Elector Palatine in Oppenheim. Some of the family's books, however, still attracted the attention of Rome: the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of 1632, the first revised edition to appear after the death of the last of the De Brys, mentioned several of the officina's titles. Fludd's hermetic treatises were listed, and the Index

⁴ Brückner (1962) 79–85. Also: I. Heitjan, "Zur Arbeit Valentin Leuchts als Bücherkommissar", *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* XIV (1974) 123–32.

also contained Boissard's four volumes of biographies of illustrious men, presumably because his *Icones virorum illustrium* included portraits and descriptions of Luther, Zwingli, and Erasmus.⁵ The collection of voyages was not listed.

In a ploy to engineer a favourable response to the collection locally, the De Brys dedicated two Latin volumes to Archbishop Schweikard. *India Orientalis* VI and VII, published in 1604 and 1606, reveal an obvious attempt to have the collection included in the Catholic fair catalogues issued by Leucht. Such an admission would have represented a significant coup for the publishers, as it ensured that the collection remained an item which Catholic visitors to the fairs were officially allowed to acquire. Unfortunately the handful of surviving 'counter catalogues' were issued for fairs where no new volumes of the collection appeared, thus making it impossible to establish whether the voyages actually received the stamp of approval.⁶ The heirs to the De Bry firm furnished two other volumes, the Latin version of *India Occidentalis* XII (1624) and the German edition of *India Orientalis* XIII (1628), with dedications to Johan Ludwig von Hagen, Leucht's successor as Imperial book commissioner in Frankfurt.⁷

9.2. THE IBERIAN INDICES: PROHIBITIONS AND EXPURGATIONS

Even in staunchly Catholic parts of Europe, the implementation of the restrictions devised by the Congregation of the Index was anything but a certainty. Spain and Portugal, for example, were affected by the measures of Rome, but had their own independent inquisitorial policy, and Madrid in particular used its autonomy amply. Iberian censorship began in earnest in 1558 with a decree issued by Phillip II's regent Doña Juana. One of its regulations banned the introduction of all foreign books in Spanish translation. Contravention would be punished by death and confiscation, and the decree was so effective that it remained

⁵ App. 1, nrs. 175, 194, 205, 219 & 228 written by Fludd; App. 1, nrs. 39, 46, 47 & 55 by Boissard. The Index concerned is: *Elenchus librorum omnium tum in Tridentino, Clementinoq[ue] Indice, tum in aliis omnibus sacrae Indicis Congreg[ati]onis particularibus Decretis hactenus prohibitorum* (Rome 1632) 302, 563–64.

⁶ *Ind.Or.* VI (Lat) [(?)2r–?)3v]; *Ind.Or.* VII (Lat) [(:)2r–v]. I have examined 'counter catalogues' issued in 1606, 1608, 1612, and 1615. Some of these catalogues did contain other De Bry publications.

⁷ *Ind.Occ.* XII (Lat) [A2r]; *Ind.Or.* XIII (Ger) [(?)2r].

in force until the end of the *ancien regime*. The main function of the Spanish and Portuguese Indices was to dissuade the public from reading foreign works, rather than to purge or restrict domestic creativity. As a result, the scope of the Iberian Indices was staggeringly broad: editions of classical authors and the Church Fathers, as well as selected works by Dante, Bodin, Rabelais, and Thomas More were all part of the comprehensive list of casualties.⁸

Accounts of European expansion to Asia and the New World were liable to thorough investigation in Spain and Portugal. Both monarchies had been trying to shield the information they had gathered in the Indies: Phillip II, in 1556, had issued a law imposing prior censorship by the Council of the Indies on all Spanish works concerning America. Hence the printing and distribution of books written by Bartolomé de Las Casas, Pedro Cieza de León, and Francisco López de Gómara was at some stage obstructed.⁹ Knowledge of riches like gold, silver, and spices had nevertheless spread widely by 1600. Even though the Dutch, French, and English had begun to pursue their own interest in expansion, the Iberians still approached the appearance of literature on the overseas world as a matter of state security. The Portuguese Inquisition had been quite successful in its bid to control news of the voyages made from the time of Vasco da Gama to the sending of Jesuit missionaries to Asia from the 1540s onwards.¹⁰ Still, in the early seventeenth century, Lisbon's position as a hub of international trade was reflected in the Inquisition's policy to proscribe all books written in English, French or German if these had not first been inspected by one of its officials.¹¹

In this more specific climate of censorship, the collection of voyages did not elude the attention of the inquisitors as it had done in Rome. Another decision taken by the Church in the late sixteenth century, however, inadvertently limited the damage. The possibility of issuing books of a questionable nature in expurgated form had initially been handed to the Congregation of the Index, and the Clementine Index

⁸ H. Kamen, *Inquisition and society in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London 1985) 80–86.

⁹ J. M. de Bujanda, "Literary censorship in sixteenth-century Spain", *Canadian Catholic Historical Association study sessions* 38 (1971) 55–56; J. Friede, "La censura española del siglo xvi y los libros de historia de América", *Revista de historia de América* 47 (1959) 53, 58–59.

¹⁰ Lach (1965–93) I–1 171–81.

¹¹ Reusch (1967) II–1 47.

of 1596 first promulgated many of its excisions, to the satisfaction of booksellers who would rather sell expurgated versions of their books than no books at all. The responsibility for purging works was mainly bestowed on local inquisitors, driven by their own anxieties and by their superior awareness of local printing activities. Publishers considered this a further change for the better for two reasons: firstly, the introduction of local officials accelerated the process of censorship, and secondly, familiar censors were regarded as malleable. Rome undertook one final effort to publish a collective Index of expurgations in 1607, but only one such volume materialised.¹²

The papacy's scheme to have local inquisitors publish their own *Indices librorum expurgatorum* was not as successful as planned. Only Spain and Portugal published their own expurgatory Indices after 1600.¹³ Spain eagerly used this opportunity to demonstrate its reluctance to follow the Roman cardinals and did not automatically copy the titles they had banned. The Spanish Index of Expurgated Books which set the tone for the seventeenth century was printed in 1612 in Madrid, under the auspices of Inquisitor-General Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Archbishop of Toledo.¹⁴ Several editions followed in later decades, authorised by the inquisitors Zapata (1632), Sotomayor (1640 and 1667) and Marín (1707). Portugal was more compliant towards Rome, and the only Portuguese Index of Expurgated Books, sanctioned by Inquisitor-General Fernando Martins Mascarenhas and issued in 1624, also contained the titles of works which the Holy Office had prohibited.¹⁵ With Madrid in control of Lusitanian affairs, the expurgatory Index followed the Spanish archetype of the 1610s closely, but the officials in Lisbon nevertheless found room for additions and improvements.

¹² Grendler (1977) 261–62; *Index librorum expurgandorum in studiosorum gratiam confecti tomus primus: in quo quinquaginta auctorum libri prae caeteris desiderati emendantur* (Rome 1607), reprinted in 1608.

¹³ Reusch (1967) II–1 42–49. These were not the first Indices including expurgations. Both in The Netherlands (1570) and Spain (1583–84) such works had been published earlier.

¹⁴ *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum* (Madrid 1612).

¹⁵ *Index Auctorum da[m]natae memoriae, tum etiam librorum, qui vel simpliciter, vel adexpurgatione[m] usque prohibentur, vel deniq[ue] iam expurgati permittuntur* (Lisbon 1624). The first 75 pages are devoted to books prohibited in Rome, followed by a second part titled 'Index prohibitorium Lusitaniae', and a final part containing the Portuguese expurgations.

9.3. THE COLLECTION CENSORED

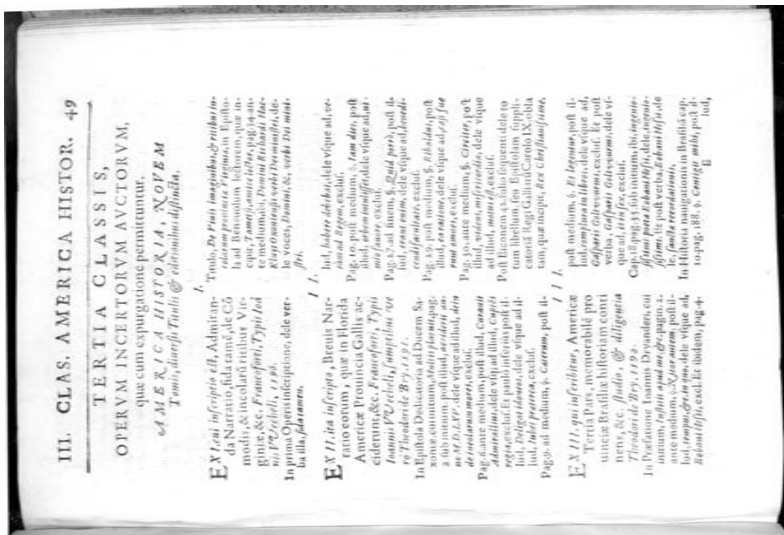
The collection of voyages was placed on the Index for the first time in 1612, and the volumes appear on all subsequent editions of the Spanish Index of Expurgated Books of the seventeenth century. The expurgations were supplemented by corrections of new De Bry volumes in the Index of 1632. Volumes published in the intervening years, such as *India Occidentalis* IX and *India Orientalis* IX and X, were mentioned in the 1632 Index for the first time. The final three tomes of the *America*-series and the last two *India Orientalis*-volumes apparently did not warrant any Spanish expurgations. The Portuguese expurgatory Index of 1624 also contained the De Bry collection, and included several volumes printed after 1612. Most of its expurgations were taken from Sandoval's listings, and even blatant typographical errors were now and then mechanically copied.¹⁶ Yet the De Bry volumes were certainly re-read in Lisbon, and often purged in a different manner.

In both the Spanish Index of 1612 and the Portuguese Index of 1624, which will be discussed in detail below, the De Bry collection was represented in the sections on books of the 'Third Class'. Ever since the 'Index of Paul IV', all Indices were divided into three main categories. The section titled 'First Class' contained the names of authors like Erasmus and Luther whose complete oeuvre was forbidden. The 'Second Class' was reserved for the names of authors who had selected writings prohibited or purged, while the 'Third Class' comprised works published anonymously.¹⁷ The De Bry collection was included in the last category, as it contained reports by various authors. Given the size of the collection, each of the Indices devoted three or four folio-pages to both the *America*-series and the *India Orientalis*-series (ill. 76). Since these were the exact titles used by the inquisitors, and the Indices were arranged in alphabetical order, the entries were separated. The name of the publishing firm was mentioned only in passing, and the De Brys were not earmarked as offenders, as earlier Indices might have done.¹⁸

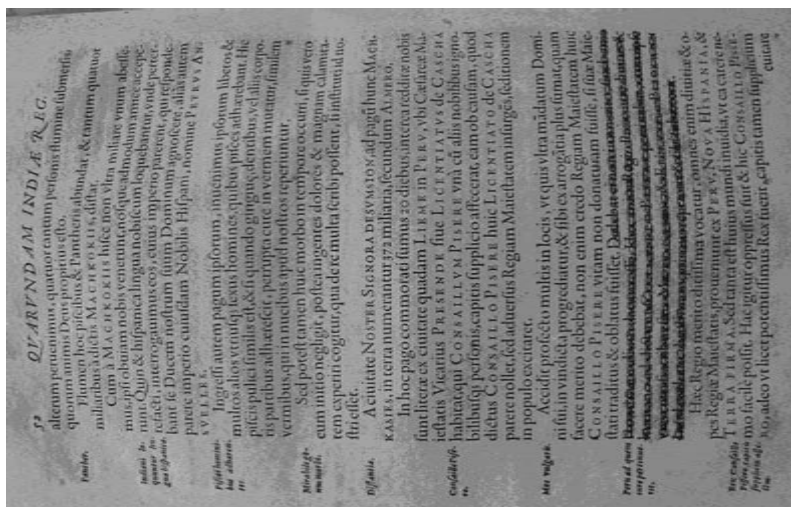
¹⁶ Both Indices erroneously stated that *Ind. Occ.* VI (Lat) had first been published in 1569 instead of 1596: *Index* (Madrid 1612) 51; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 227.

¹⁷ Reusch (1967) I 261–62.

¹⁸ *Index* (Madrid 1612), 2nd section, 49–52, 592–94; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226–29, 723–25.



III. 76. *Index Librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum* (Madrid 1612)
2nd section, 49



There were more reasons for the publishers not to be too downhearted because of the collection's entry on the Index. Seven years after its first impression in 1612, the Spanish Index was re-issued in Geneva, where it was dedicated to the champion of the Protestant cause, Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate. Its contents were nevertheless identical to the original edition sanctioned by Sandoval. The 1619 edition of the Index circulated in Northern Europe, with an introduction by the Reformed professor of theology Benedict Turretini.¹⁹ A similar work, also partly based on the Index by Sandoval, was published in Oxford in 1627, and must have reached various readers in England.²⁰ In all likelihood, both the 'Genevan-Spanish' Index and the work printed in Oxford were intended to entice Protestant readers to read exactly those books forbidden by the mother church. Familiarity with the Indices further provided readers and booksellers across Europe with the right information for taking precautions if necessary.²¹ The De Brys, accordingly, had the best of both worlds. The inclusion on the expurgatory Index, instead of the much more injurious *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, meant that their books could still be sold to Catholics in the Iberian monarchies, albeit with a number of deletions, while it aroused even more interest for the volumes among Protestant readers.

For Sandoval's Index of 1612, the De Bry collection was read by someone with a great eye for detail.²² Although the members of the committee that composed the Index are known—the Carmelite friar Francisco de Jesus y Xodar, and three assistants including a Jesuit and a Dominican—it is unclear who exactly was responsible for the censorship of the De Bry volumes. The inquisitors were only interested in textual aberrations. Despite the primacy of the engravings, and their undoubted appeal, not one of the almost six-hundred plates was considered unacceptable. Although the purgation of illustrations was uncommon, it was not entirely unknown: prints were sometimes censored along with books, and even changes in the copperplates

¹⁹ *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum illmi. ac R. D. D. Bernardi de Sandoval & Rexas Card. [...] auctoritate et iussu editus...* (Geneva 1619) 52–56, 655–57; see: G. Bonnant, "Les Index prohibitifs et expurgatoires contrefaits par des Protestants au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle", *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 31 (1969) 634–38.

²⁰ Th. James, *Index generalis librorum prohibitorum à pontificiis, una cum Editionibus expurgatis vel expurgandis juxta seriem Literatum & triplicem classem. In usum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, & Curatoribus eiusdem designatus* (Oxford 1627) [A4r], [F3r].

²¹ Bonnant (1969) 620–22.

²² First noted, in passing almost, by Cate (1917) 136–40.

were occasionally enforced.²³ Portraits of enemies of the Church, like Erasmus, were regularly defaced by Catholic readers, but the De Bry plates of the overseas world were not designated as intolerable. Still more rewarding for the prudent policy of the De Brys, the captions to the illustrations emerged unscathed. On only one occasion did the inquisitors consider a purposely-made paraphrase improper.²⁴

Hence the defining sections of the De Bry volumes, the pages where the publishers made the most momentous alterations, remained intact. Much of the translated text of the collection was, in fact, also allowed. The entries on the list of expurgations—their length ranging from as little as a single word to as much as several pages—mostly affected one or two sentences only (ill. 77). For some of the volumes, the inappropriate passages comprised no more than two or three of these relatively brief entries. A few volumes moreover, most notably *India Orientalis* I, were not purged at all, and were explicitly identified as permissible.²⁵ As a whole, the collection was certainly not regarded as unusually aggravating.

9.4. THE OFFENSIVE SECTIONS

Both the Spanish and Portuguese inquisitors, then, focused on the texts of the Latin volumes, while the German translations, unlikely to find their way to Southern Europe, were spared. The entries revealed the scrupulous study the inquisitors had made, with the first and last words of the sentence or paragraph concerned transcribed for exactitude. Title-pages, introductions, and dedications were all subject to expurga-

²³ Hale (1994) 473–74. See for example: *Index* (Madrid 1612) 48, for the prohibition of certain religious prints from the Dutch Republic.

²⁴ Only the caption to *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxxvi, was deemed unacceptable in both the Spanish and the Portuguese *Index*: *Index* (Madrid 1612) 592; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 723. The caption highlighted the practice of the Portuguese in Goa to go to Mass at night: “Mos est Lusitanis in India, ut noctu templa frequentantes missam adeant. Tum quidem tam viri quam feminae stipati mancipiis suis pedites incedunt, persuasi hoc pedum officio se indulgentias largiter impetrare. Vide cap. 31”. Allusions to the practice of going to church at night were also purged elsewhere.

²⁵ *Index* (Madrid 1612) 592: “Permittitur”; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 723: “Nihil habet expurgandum”. The Portuguese inquisitors further approved of *Ind.Or.* IX and X, but only after censors had noted in the margins of the title-page that the translator, Gotthard Artus, was an ‘auctor damnatus’. Artus’ *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* was invariably forbidden in its totality.

tion. The very first eliminations in both Indices are symptomatic of the precision of the inquisitors. The De Brys, on one of the pages separating texts and images in *India Occidentalis* I, referred to Richard Hakluyt's assistance in the making of the volume as "Domini Richardi Hackluyt Oxoniensis verbi Dei ministri", but given the Anglican nature of Hakluyt's credentials, both Indices insisted on the excision of the word "Domini", and the words "verbi Dei ministri".²⁶ From the title-page of the same volume, the Latin words "fida tamen", avowing the "truthful" nature of the account on Virginia, were to be omitted. Comparable corrections were ordered for several of the De Bry volumes.²⁷

Along the same lines, the combination of pious terminology and Protestant rituals, often very brief and factual, was also considered intolerable. In Volume II of the *America*-series, the inquisitors crossed out several of these passages, like this phrase about the illness of Pierre Richer, the spiritual leader of the Huguenots in Florida, who continually prayed to God:

Our minister Petrus Richerius, who has recently deceased in La Rochelle, lay stretched out in his cell, so weak and unaware of others around him, that he could barely raise his head to pray to the Lord, but while being stretched out, he nevertheless prayed to Him uninterrupted.²⁸

Similar suggestions in *India Occidentalis* VIII resulted in similar corrections. The report of an English soldier calling on God after being shot in the chest, off the coast of Ecuador on board of one of Sir Thomas Cavendish's vessels, was deemed sufficiently offensive to justify expurgation.²⁹ Elsewhere in this volume an English minister conducted a service on board Sir Francis Drake's *Defiance*. Drake himself had just died, when

²⁶ *Ind. Occ.* I (Lat) [d6r]; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 49; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226.

²⁷ For instance the description of Jan Huygen van Linschoten as a 'very noble and very experienced hero', in the preliminaries to *Ind. Or.* III (Lat) [**2r]; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 592; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 723; or the attribution of firmness to the English navigator Richard Grenville in the margin text and in the full text, also in *Ind. Or.* III (Lat) 51; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 593; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 724.

²⁸ *Ind. Occ.* II (Lat) 278: "*Petrus autem Richerius Pastor, qui non ita pridem Rupellae ad Dominum migravit, in cellula sua prostratus iacebat, adeoque erat viribus omnibus expers, ut caput ad Deum oraturus minime posset attollere, attamen ita prostratus indesinenter precibus ad eum fundendis intentus erat*"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 49; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226. I have underlined the passages which were purged.

²⁹ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Lat) 60: "...globo per medium pectus transmissio, lethaliter vulneratus in vera Deo invocatione hontissima morte occumberet"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 52; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 228.

...Mr. Bryde, who was our minister, preached for this occasion, and received wide acclaim. When this service was finished,...³⁰

This excerpt including the first few words of the second phrase which referred to the service were crossed out. Even the most innocuous textual connections between the Christian faith and the Reformed confession, like the testimony in stone by Dutch sailors in Madagascar that they considered themselves “Christianos Reformatos”, in *India Orientalis* V, was reason enough for expurgation.³¹ And finally, while the observation that Drake had conquered Spanish territory in the Americas was allowed, the suggestion of the author that this had been achieved “with the help of God” was clearly not.³²

When non-Christians in the overseas world were exposed to the threat of Protestantism, these dangers became even more pressing in the eyes of the officials. The inquisitors’ frustration with the mixture of pious language and Protestantism then took a back seat temporarily when the spread of these Protestant ideas was asserted. The assumption of the inhabitants of West-African Guinea, for example, that the Dutch were “children of God” could well have been purged elsewhere, like the statements mentioned above. Yet in *India Orientalis* VI, it immediately preceded a statement which was seen as more disturbing:

Since [the inhabitants of Guinea] assume that the Dutch are children of God, many of them hold what they hear from the Dutch in various matters of faith for the truth, and slowly begin to gain an insight in the Faith.³³

Only the claim that the indigenous people were ready to embrace the Faith, in this case unmistakably a Protestant flavour of Christianity, was expurgated. The Catholic missionary zeal still formed one of the main

³⁰ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Lat) 41: “...navem regiam The Defiance, in qua Dn. Bryde, qui nobis a sacris concionibus erat, concionem pro tempore isto habuit, magno cum applausu populi. Finita verò concione iussit Thomas Baskerfielde omnes centuriones...”; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 52; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 228.

³¹ *Ind. Or.* V (Lat) 8: “Tabulae vero hae literae insculpebantur, *Christianos Reformatos*: quibus insignia addebantur Hollandicum, Zeelandicum, & Amstelredamense”; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 592; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 724.

³² *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Lat) 17: “...eo fine ut eam, *Dei beneficio & ope* expugnaret”; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 51; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 228.

³³ *Ind. Or.* VI (Lat) 44: “Cum igitur in ea passim sint sententia, Batavos Dei filios esse, multi iam reperiuntur, qui vera esse credunt, quaecunque de fidei Christianae articulis differentes eos audiunt, ad veritatis ita agnitionem paulatim pervenientes”; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 593; *Index* (1624) 724.

spurs for colonising large chunks of the overseas continents, and the suggestion that Protestants were equally successful, or even outperforming the Roman Church, was to be withheld from readers. Converting indigenous people may not have been as crucial to the Reformed as it was to many Catholics, but the Dutch nevertheless introduced several of the ‘uncivilised’ people they encountered to their form of Christianity. Admiral Jacob van Neck navigated to the Indonesian archipelago in the late 1590s, a commercial enterprise first and foremost, and actually succeeded in converting someone in Madagascar:

Having listened to this sermon, [the inhabitant of Madagascar] adopted the Christian faith, and was then initiated by means of baptism, taking on the name of *Laurens*.

This phrase was prohibited south of the Pyrenees, as was the accompanying marginal text, which read: “Having heard the sermon, an Indian was converted to Christendom, and baptised”.³⁴ The decision to proscribe these marginalia was not exceptional. Such textual anchors of the accounts in the collection were listed almost routinely when they referred to offensive paragraphs. If the inquisitors crossed out a marginal text, however, it did not necessarily influence the status of the paragraph next to it. The situation where both text and marginalia were to be omitted occurred, but it was just as common for only one of the two to be purged, making the interventions of the friars look rather erratic at times.

With regard to the subject of missionary achievements abroad, however, the inquisitors were quite fastidious. In addition to eliminating Protestant success in converting non-Christians, Madrid and Lisbon methodically excised the presumed lack of religious ardour among Catholics which some travellers had observed. Jan Huygen van Linschoten analysed the practices of the Jesuits in Asia much too harshly for the inquisitors’ liking: “These are the main causes why no Indians are converted to the Christian faith any more”.³⁵ This phrase, as a result, was expurgated in copies of *India Orientalis* II in Spain and Portugal. Van

³⁴ *Ind.Or.* V (Lat) 5: “*Hic attentius audita conicone, Christianam fidem amplexus fuerat, & ibidem quoque sacro baptismo initiabatur, Laurentß nomen sortitus*”, with the marginal text: “*Indus audita concione conversus, Christianus fit & baptissatur*”; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 593; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 724.

³⁵ *Ind.Or.* II (Lat) 110: “*Atque hae praecipuae sunt causae motivae cur porro nulli Indorum ad Christianos accedant*”; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 592; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 723.

Linschoten's fellow-countryman Joris van Spilbergen, some ten years later, also invoked the wrath of the Iberian inquisitors. He observed that the Portuguese in Ceylon failed to prevent the Singhalese from conducting services in their own temples, while initiatives towards their conversion were altogether absent. The Portuguese inhabitants of Ceylon, bereft of churches, chapels, monks, and priests, even went so far as to replicate the practices of the Singhalese, according to Van Spilbergen. Hence the inquisitors insisted on the proscription of the best part of a paragraph.³⁶

In the same paragraph, also in the expurgated section, Van Spilbergen then alluded to the reason for the passivity of the Portuguese. This reason, no doubt familiar to someone driven by commercial incentives like Van Spilbergen, was that the Portuguese in Ceylon were too pre-occupied with increasing their own personal wealth. That the inquisitors did not permit a passage emphasising the Portuguese favouring of commerce over religion should come as no surprise. Throughout the sixteenth century, Protestants vilified the Spanish conquistadors in the New World for their greed. The moral dangers of gold and silver in the Americas were so widely recognised, that avarice, alongside tyranny, had become one of the rhetorical bastions of the Black Legend.³⁷ The Iberian inquisitors, then, were predictably on alert for precisely these propagandistic phrasings when books from Northern Europe entered the peninsula, and references to greediness of Iberian explorers were systematically located and purged.

Extracts earmarked for expurgation had invariably been part of the original editions, but as the tribunals in Spain and Portugal focused on books in Latin—alongside the obvious attention paid to material printed in the Iberian vernaculars—many of the reports that had first been published in French, Italian, or Dutch were likely to attract the inquisitors' attention only when a translation in Latin appeared. Earlier editions of the narrative which most consistently combined the topics of avarice and religion, that of Girolamo Benzoni, contained all the

³⁶ *Ind.Or.* VII (Lat) 27: “*Reliquerunt autem [...] deprehendas*”; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 593; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 725.

³⁷ Schmidt (2001) 260–63 convincingly argues that it was one of the cornerstones in the Dutch imagination of the Spanish conquest. Girolamo Benzoni's account included in the De Bry collection demonstrates that it was more widely shared in early modern Europe.

passages regarded as controversial, but they did not draw the attention of the commission in Madrid until the De Brys published their Latin volumes.

The distinction between already existing text and textual additions by the De Brys, and the contradictory responses of the inquisitors, became obvious in the preliminaries to *India Occidentalis* IV, the first of the three volumes devoted to Benzoni. The De Brys copied the preface written by Urbain Chauveton in the late 1570s in Geneva, but Madrid and Lisbon deemed this text unacceptable in its entirety. Seven full pages discussing the Machiavellian behaviour of the conquistadors had to be expurgated.³⁸ The De Brys, however, had also written their own introduction to the text, and this second preface, more carefully phrased, was considered to be innocuous. Throughout the Benzoni volumes, a number of excerpts were purged, but not one of these had been inserted in Frankfurt, a testimony to the prudence of Theodore de Bry.³⁹ The allusions to Spanish hunger for gold and silver, however, still required significant interventions. Benzoni's assertion that the New World Indians, based on some of the Spanish transgressions, thought that Christ himself had been greedy and murderous, led to the prohibition of more than half a page.⁴⁰

Hardly any of the Iberian corrections dealt with strictly theological matters. The expurgation of sentences and paragraphs for reasons of terminology and rhetorical prejudice were instead being complemented by what can best be described as abusive language towards Catholic institutions and, most importantly, outright political statements. Any unfavourable mention of papal authority, for instance, was conscientiously excised. The inquisitors systematically rejected the use of the label 'pope' for heathen clerics in the overseas world, disallowed the identification of the Catholic faith as 'papist', and, rather predictably, also proscribed Chauveton's insinuation that one of the conquistadors had married two of his sisters with "the dispensation and approval of

³⁸ *Ind. Occ.* IV (Lat) 1–7; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 50; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226.

³⁹ For example: *Ind. Occ.* IV (Lat) 9: "*Ergo, Hispanae audax, lucrum fuit unica causa: / Tanta Religio non tibi causa viae*", the last two lines of a preliminary poem written by a certain St. Tr.; and *Ind. Occ.* IV (Lat) 47: "*Itaque mirum non est si Hispani illi, ipsi indignabantur, ut qui auri grumum pluris facerent, quam totius orbis confessiones & Hostias*"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 50; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226.

⁴⁰ *Ind. Occ.* IV (Lat) 122; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 50; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 227.

His Holiness".⁴¹ Interestingly enough, the Portuguese commission also applied this policy to Jose de Acosta's treatise, although his work had been left untouched by Sandoval's Index twelve years before. Hence the Jesuit's observations of Mexicans referring to their high priests as 'popes' were considered unwelcome, even if the author unequivocally attributed such qualifications to the indigenous people.⁴²

Travellers' disparaging remarks about the Society of Jesus resulted in the targeting of several parts of the collection. The account of Joris van Spilbergen's expedition to Ceylon included the comment that the local king did not trust the Portuguese, who had repeatedly behaved in a treacherous manner, but this passage was overlooked at the expense of the suggestion that the king's resentment resulted from his education by the Jesuits in Goa and Colombo.⁴³ *India Orientalis* III opened with a number of chapters from Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* discussing the role of the Society in Asia, and many passages were marked by the inquisitors. Van Linschoten's assessment of the Jesuits' eagerness to convert people in order to seize their possessions, and his conclusion that the Order was interested only in worldly gains caused the purgation of half a page.⁴⁴

Two pages further into the account, however, the reasoning of the two commissions diverged. Here the Spanish inquisitors objected to only

⁴¹ *Ind. Occ.* IX add. (Lat) 91: "In Iortan sacerdotum primarius habitat, qui caeterarum terrarum velut Papa ac Pontifex est" and the corresponding marginal: "Papa in Iortan, senex lacte foetur"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 52; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 229. The allusion to 'papism' was purged on several occasions, for example: *Ind. Occ.* IX add. (Lat) 63: "Indos enim ut Hispani ad religionem Papisticam commodius illicerent". The Spanish inquisitors wanted the word 'Papisticam' crossed out, the Portuguese tribunal suggested to have it replaced by 'Catholicam': *Index* (Madrid 1612) 52, *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 229. Chauveton's commentary was included in *Ind. Occ.* V (Lat) 69: "I. Petrus Alvaradus, ut Francisci de los Covos, qui a secretis & intimis consiliorum Caesari erat, gratiam & favorem quaereret, duarum simul sororum incesto matrimonio semet polluit, idque permissu & indulgentia Papae"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 50; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 227.

⁴² *Ind. Occ.* IX (Lat) 230: "Nam summum ex sacerdotibus Mexicani olim Papam vocitabant, quod vel hodie ex ipsorum gestis & annalibus videre est", and 228: "...supra quae, plura alia editiora posita, Sacerdotibus sive Papis (ita sacerdotes summos vocabant) Idolo servientibus addicta conspiciantur"; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 228.

⁴³ *Ind. Or.* VII (Lat) 40: "Rex ille Lusitanis plane nullam fidem habet, semperque insidias sibi strui existimat, si cum Lusitanis amice agatur, idque inde factum quod apud Iesuítas in Goa & Columbo educatus, multa perfidiae ipsorum exempla observavit"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 593; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 724.

⁴⁴ *Ind. Or.* III (Lat) 2-3: "Interim numquam non insussurabant [...] illicerentur etia[m] reliqu". The Spanish tribunal allowed the preservation of several lines in between two passages on these pages, while the Portuguese forbade the entire episode: *Index* (Madrid 1612) 592, *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 723.

a single phrase, reiterating the author's verdict that Jesuits confiscated the property of those who joined the Society.⁴⁵ This was an excision in line with corrections regarding the greed of some of the navigators described above. The Portuguese inquisitors, in contrast, objected to a number of Van Linschoten's claims in this chapter. His observations, for instance, that three Japanese princes, each fifteen or sixteen years old, had been sent to Portugal and then to Rome in an attempt to obtain official privileges and exemptions for the Society, were seen as intolerable. That the royal offspring on this mission were wearing Jesuit habits was considered equally awkward. Elsewhere, a marginal text alluding to the achievement of converting an English painter in Japan to the principles of the Society of Jesus was crossed out.⁴⁶ Clearly the Portuguese inquisitors did not appreciate the Order's endeavours to extend its powers in Asia at the expense of others, most importantly the government.

9.5. SPANISH VERSUS PORTUGUESE CORRECTIONS

The difference in policy between the two Iberian inquisitorial commissions is understandable. Although the crowns had been unified in 1580, each of the two colonial empires continued to be administered by its own officials. Whereas the Spaniards had chosen not to limit their missionary enterprise abroad to one order, the Lusitanians were more interested in trade than in territorial conquests, and had a close working relationship with the energetic Society of Jesus.⁴⁷ At the same time, the relationship between the Society and the Portuguese Inquisition was often strained, and although Inquisitor-General Mascarenhas was a benefactor of the Jesuits, and the Index's editor, Balthasar Alvarez, was himself a member of the Society,⁴⁸ these separate concerns lingered on

⁴⁵ *Ind.Or.* III (Lat) 5: "*Quae tamen omnis praeda post pro more Iesuitis cessera*"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 592. This sentence was also prohibited in Portugal: *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 724.

⁴⁶ *Ind.Or.* III (Lat) 5: "...*qui instinctu & persuasu Iesuitarum primo in Portugalliam navigare, post inde Romanum Pontificem ad amplissima beneficia & immunitates Iesuitis emendicandas invisere constituerant*". The Portuguese Index wanted to have this phrase on the Japanese princes replaced by 'legationem suam ei exponendam'. The phrase "...*vestitu Iesuitico*..." had to be substituted with "...*vestitu talari*...". *Ind.Or.* III (Lat) 3: "*Ex Anglis pictor Iesuita fit*"; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 723–24.

⁴⁷ Lach (1965–93) I–I 298.

⁴⁸ D. Alden, *The making of an enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford 1996) 670–73; Reusch (1967) II–I 47.

and resurfaced in the Index. Most importantly, however, the variations between the two strategies of expurgation reveal the politicised nature of the Iberian Indices. The sizeable number of 'political' corrections can serve as an indication of how elites across Europe may have interpreted the accounts in the De Bry collection.

The Iberian inquisitors, predictably perhaps, were primarily concerned with clearing the reputations of their own kingdoms: hence, in general, the Spanish commission was more critical of the *America*-series, while the Portuguese were more easily offended by the *India Orientalis*-volumes. A typical example of discrepancy on political grounds can be found in *India Occidentalis* II: in reaction to the Spanish massacre of nine hundred French colonists in Florida, carried out by Phillip II's envoy Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565, the surviving Huguenots sent a letter to Charles IX protesting the dishonourable treatment of the victims, who had their beards shaved off and their skulls chopped to pieces by the Spanish soldiers. This letter was excised in its entirety by the inquisitors in Madrid, while Lisbon accepted it without further mention.⁴⁹ The differences between the two Indices are generally of this nature.

References to the relations between the two Iberian powers, especially in texts conceived after the two crowns were united in 1580, were also closely studied. Bernardus Paludanus, in his introduction to *India Orientalis* VIII, commented that the Spaniards instructed the "poor Portuguese" to use all means to oppose the Dutch in their activities in the East Indies. The "dishonourable, wicked, and untrustworthy" Portuguese, according to the author, duly complied. The inquisitors in Lisbon thought the passage unacceptable, and eliminated most of the paragraph, yet the Spanish commission apparently did not mind their countrymen being portrayed as instigators of Portuguese misconduct; hence, in the Index of 1612, Paludanus' remarks were left untouched. Several other parts of the physician's preface were also crossed out by the Portuguese, but ignored by the inquisitors in Madrid.⁵⁰

On many other political issues, the two Indices formed a united front. Such was the case with the account of Sir Francis Drake's final

⁴⁹ *Ind. Occ.* II (Lat) [H2r-H4v]; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 49. See: C. E. Bennett, *Laudonnière & Fort Caroline. History and documents* (reprint, Tuscaloosa and London 2001 [1st ed. 1964]) 33-39.

⁵⁰ *Ind. Or.* VIII (Lat) 7: "*Non poterant... opus esse viderent*"; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 725. Other excerpts to be excised in Portugal are found on pages 8 and 10.

expedition, which reported the relief of one of the Indians in Guyana when faced with English compassion. The man praised the English, and their merciful Queen Elizabeth, for not punishing the inhabitants of Guyana, who had assisted the Spanish conquistadors in resisting their onslaught. Such an Amerindian elegy of English generosity amidst descriptions of Spanish tyranny was considered undesirable in both Spain and Portugal.⁵¹ A bit further into the same account, however, the two expurgations diverged once more. Here the Spanish inquisitors were the more severe: while the Portuguese Index only excised the few sentences which were outright anti-papal, the surrounding two pages contained enough anti-Spanish observations for the friars in Madrid to expurgate them in their entirety. Particularly intriguing was the decision of the Portuguese inquisitors not to purge a passage accusing Phillip II of conceit, perhaps a reminder of Lusitanian rancour towards the Habsburg monarch who had annexed Portugal.⁵²

Since the inquisitors in Lisbon consulted Sandoval's Index of 1612, insulting remarks directed at Spain were more often prohibited by the Portuguese than the other way around. Not one of the Spanish Indices appearing after the publication of the Portuguese Index of 1624 copied the specifically Portuguese expurgations. In order to proscribe unwanted reviews of Portuguese activities, moreover, the inquisitors had to read the volumes again. This resulted in the excision of several pages of Pieter de Marees' travel account in *India Orientalis* VI, particularly where De Marees alluded to Portuguese atrocities towards their Dutch enemies. The Spanish Index proscribed only the parts which directly affected Spanish interests, such as De Marees' potentially harmful statement that the fortifications at Elmina were not as strong as often thought.⁵³

The added precision of the Portuguese commission can also be determined by studying the form of some of the revisions in the Lusitanian Index. When Francis Pretty, writing on Sir Thomas Cavendish's circumnavigation, reported on the Catholicism of the local population of Puna Island off the Ecuador coast, he referred to their religion as the "Spanish religion". The Portuguese inquisitors ordered censors to

⁵¹ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Lat) 81: "*Ex altera autem parte...cohercere posset*"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 52; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 228.

⁵² *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Lat) 89–90: "*Si enim commercia Hispanorum... Dei iudicia*"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 52; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 228.

⁵³ *Ind. Or.* VI (Lat) 108–12, and selected parts of 114 and 115 were deleted in Portugal: *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 724. Spain *Index* (Madrid 1612) 593 purged only a number of paragraphs of *Ind. Or.* VI (Lat) 112.

replace the word “Spanish” with “Roman”.⁵⁴ A similar situation arose in Bernardus Paludanus’ introduction to *India Orientalis* VIII: this time the physician stated that the Spaniards slaughtered several indigenous people, regardless of their religious affiliation. Some of these victims were even Catholics, according to Paludanus. The Portuguese Index accepted this comment, bar the reference to Catholicism as “the Roman religion”. Instead the Index recommended substitution by the correct word, i.e. “Catholic”, but did not delete the statement.⁵⁵ In both these cases, the Spanish Index purged the word “Spanish” and the degrading sentence about indiscriminate cruelty without further ado.⁵⁶

9.6. THE IMPACT OF CENSORSHIP: THE CASE OF DE LÉRY

One of the volumes to be scrutinised most intensely by both the Spanish and the Portuguese inquisitors was *India Occidentalis* III, and particularly Jean de Léry’s Huguenot report of the goings-on in ‘Antarctic France’ in the late 1550s. The De Brys, as was noted before, had been very careful regarding this provocative interpretation of adventures in Atlantic waters, first printed in the midst of the religious wars in France. The publishers’ use of Chauveton’s Geneva edition of 1586 as their source heightened the need for vigilance. The Portuguese inquisitors even recollected, at the head of the expurgatory entry concerned, that the De Bry volume did not constitute the first Latin translation of De Léry’s account, and that the Geneva edition had been prohibited in its entirety.⁵⁷ In spite of using the proscribed edition for *India Occidentalis* III, the De Brys managed to avoid the same verdict.

The publishers, as highlighted in the previous chapter, made significant modifications to the German version, and even more extensive alterations, mostly deletions of confrontational passages, to the Latin version of De Léry’s *Histoire*. Clearly these adjustments mollified the Portuguese Inquisition. Instead of repeating their all-inclusive rejection

⁵⁴ *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Lat) 60: “Christianam simul fidem & religionem *Hispanicam* amplexus est”; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 228. This sentence was omitted from the German translation, *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger) 18 [third set of pages].

⁵⁵ *Ind. Or.* VIII (Lat) 6; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 725.

⁵⁶ *Index* (Madrid 1612) 52, 594: “...*tametsi a religione Romana non abhorrent partim*,...”.

⁵⁷ *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226: “Circunferetur etiam Historia navigationis in Brasiliam in 8 a Ioanno Lerio haeretico Gallice scripta, & nunc vero latinitati donata, &c excudebat Eustathius Vignon 1586, quae omnino prohibetur”.

of Chauveton's edition, they followed Sandoval's assessment of the text: a welcome reward for a conscientious editing process. Yet the De Brys' self-censorship before submitting the accounts to censors and inquisitors constituted only the first step in a procedure oozing caution. Two examples taken from De Léry's account offer a revealing glimpse into the practice inside the De Bry workshop.

Roughly halfway into his report, De Léry related that the Tupinamba in Brazil liked listening to certain birds singing, because they believed that these creatures had been sent by their deceased ancestors. After marvelling at this habit, the Huguenot set aside his amazement, and analysed the practice:

...and remembering those who believe and teach that the souls of the deceased return from purgatory to warn them of their duty, it occurred to me that what our poor blind Americans do in this respect is more tolerable: for as I shall describe when I speak of their religion, although they confess a belief in the immortality of the souls, they do not go so far as to believe that souls return after being separated from their bodies, but say only that these birds are their messengers.⁵⁸

Both the original French edition and the Latin translation published in Geneva included this reflection. The references to the deceased returning from purgatory and to the immortality of the soul alerted the De Brys that this was a potentially controversial passage. For their Latin translation of 1592, they decided to omit the words "from purgatory" in an effort to avoid the disapproval of censors and inquisitors. The measure proved inadequate, for in both the Spanish and the Portuguese Index the remaining sentences were earmarked for purgation.⁵⁹ The

⁵⁸ J. de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil...* (La Rochelle 1578) 178: "...me ressouvenant lors de ceux qui tiennent & enseignent que les ames des tres passez retournans de purgatoire les viennent aussi advertir de leur devoir, ie pensay que ce que font nos pources aveuglés Ameriquains en cest endroit, est encores plus supportable: car comme ie diray plus amplement parlant de leur Religion, combien qu'ils confessent l'immortalité des ames, tant y a neantmoins qu'ils n'en font pas la logez de croire qu'apres qu'elles sont separees des corps elles reviennent ains seulement disent que ces oiseaux sont leurs messagers"; De Léry (1586) 133: "In mentem tamen mihi tum veniebat eorum opinio, qui asserunt animas e purgatorio igne ad suos officii monendos devolare, Barbarorumque nostrorum figmentum ea tolerabilius esse iudicabam. Etenim, ut suo dicitur loco, quamvis animas credant immortales eò tamen dementiae non veniunt, ut e corporibus semel egressas ad patrios lares redire dicant, aves istas earum esse nuntias tantummodo fingunt". I took the English translation from: J. de Léry, *History of a voyage to the land of Brazil* ([transl. and ed., J. Whatley] Berkeley 1990) 91.

⁵⁹ *Ind. Occ.* III (Lat) 188: "In mentem tamen mihi tum veniebat eorum opinio, qui asserunt animas

German edition, however, published the next year, omitted the exact words that in the 1610s and 1620s were to antagonise the Iberian officials.⁶⁰

This was no coincidence. The same pattern can be observed elsewhere in *India Occidentalis* III. The Latin De Bry volume stuck to the phrasing in Chauveton's Latin translation, which in turn was a truthful translation of the original French account. The two inquisitorial commissions crossed out the better part of a long sentence concerning the observed analogy between the religion of the Tupinamba and Roman Catholicism. De Léry and his companions had eaten some of the offerings given to religious statues by the Tupi, and the traveller remarked that

our Americans [...] were no less offended than those superstitious ones, successors of the priests of Baal, at seeing someone take the offerings brought to their puppets—on which offerings, however, to the dishonour of God, they themselves feed gluttonously and idly with their whores and bastards.⁶¹

Here, then, the De Brys had not softened the Latin text, but in the German translation of the account, the exact words which were to cause offence to the Iberian inquisitors were once again omitted.⁶²

What could be the background behind excluding precisely these phrases as early as 1593? There is no testimony of any censorship earlier than the activities of the Iberian inquisitors in the 1610s and 1620s, but for these changes to be made between the publication of the Latin volume in September 1592 and the German version at Easter 1593, the disapproval of the remarks concerned must have been made known on a local level, in Frankfurt. The city's censors inspected books appearing in Frankfurt as a matter of routine, and may have objected to

ad suos officii monendos devolare, Barbarorumque nostrorum figmentum ea tolerabilius esse iudicabam. Etenim, ut suo dicetur loco, quamvis animas credant immortales eò tamen dementiae non veniunt, ut e corporibus semel egressas ad patrios lares redire dicant, aves istas earum esse nuntias tantummodo fingunt"; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 49–50; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226.

⁶⁰ *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 165.

⁶¹ De Léry (1578) 280: "...nos Amériquains [...] n'en estoient pas moins offencez que sont les superstitieux & successeurs des pretres de Baal de voir prendre les offrandes qu'on porte à leurs Marmosets, dequoy cependant eux & leurs putains se nourrissent"; De Léry (1586) 222 & *Ind. Occ.* III (Lat) 230: "...Barbari [...] non minus offendebantur, ac solent superstitiosi, ac Baalis sacerdotum successores, si libationes idolis suis oblatas abripi videant: quibus tamen in Dei contumeliam tum ipsi, tum meretrices cum spuris suis aluntur" (*Index* (Madrid 1612) 50; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 226). Again the English translation is taken from De Léry (1990) 145.

⁶² *Ind. Occ.* III (Ger) 223.

the passages which were later also to upset the Spanish and Portuguese inquisitions. If true, the omission of these excerpts in the German editions further supports the impression that the De Brys were prepared to meet the demands of the market, even if this entailed crossing out anti-Catholic statements included in previous editions of the account. The accession of Gotthard Artus to the role of censor of the De Bry volumes he himself had translated may have conveniently simplified this process of local censorship.⁶³

Throughout the early volumes of the De Bry collection, more of these changes to the second translation, in these years invariably the German version, can be identified. Most alterations, however, are limited to the marginal texts, most clearly in *India Occidentalis* VI, where the German marginalia are more neutral than the textual indicators in Latin. On the whole, the margins are comparable in the two translations, but the Latin marginalia in the early chapters of this volume were later prohibited in the Iberian Indices.⁶⁴ Since, overall, the De Brys tended to water down the controversial Protestant passages for the Latin translations, the corrections of remaining confrontational passages for the German versions which were published later make the pattern for the textual alterations to the accounts more varied and more complex.

The pattern changed when the younger generation of the De Bry family assumed control of the collection. The order of publication was turned around, as the German editions now preceded the Latin translations. More significantly, the two brothers did not continue to apply the extreme level of caution regarding religious rhetoric so typical of their father's editing. This was already apparent in one of the first works the brothers published independently, which ran into trouble with local censors.⁶⁵ The editing of volumes of voyages issued in and after 1597—in other words the entire *India Orientalis*-series and the *America*-series from Volume VII onwards—displayed the same type of editorial erosion. These parts exhibited none of the changes that can be ascribed to local censoring. Although Johan Theodore was less concerned with religious diversity than his father, he did not rigorously change the editing strategy or overlook the importance of dedicating some of the Latin volumes to the Archbishop of Mainz.

⁶³ Supra, Ch. 4, p. 137.

⁶⁴ *Ind. Occ.* VI (Lat) 11–13 / (Ger) f7r–8v; *Index* (Madrid 1612) 51; *Index* (Lisbon 1624) 227.

⁶⁵ App. 1, nr. 23.

9.7. ENFORCING THE EXPURGATIONS IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The rules of expurgation laid down by the Indices in the Iberian monarchies were not just a theoretical exercise; they were also put into effect. Several copies of De Bry volumes survive with sentences and paragraphs crossed out according to the directives of Sandoval's Index of 1612. One set of copies, now in the Huntington Library in Los Angeles, even has manuscript notes on the verso-side of the title-pages, testifying to the activities of the inquisitorial officials in Spain.⁶⁶ The *America*-volumes at the Huntington were all purged in January 1613, while the only *India Orientalis*-volume was corrected in December of the same year. The handwritten statements are merely intended to confirm that the proposed excisions were carried out. The script in the copy of *India Occidentalis* I states that

These first and second parts of the *Historia America*, which are bound together, are expurgated according to the new expurgatory rules of the Illustrious Cardinal D. Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, and can in this state be used. From the Convent del Carmen in Madrid, 9 January 1613.⁶⁷

The authorisation was signed by Francisco de Jesus y Xodar, the Carmelite friar who headed the commission responsible for the Spanish *Index Librorum Expurgatorum*. Two more volumes were purged by De Jesus y Xodar, and a third carried his signature as an affirmation.⁶⁸

The purgation of all these books—not just the volumes published by the De Brys—presented the commission with plenty of work, absorbing their time for the whole of 1613, and probably longer. Clerics who were not on the Inquisition's payroll, but who could still be entrusted to accurately insert the purgations according to the new guidelines, provided assistance. Hence the Huntington copy of *India Occidentalis* IV

⁶⁶ Huntington Library, #66981, *Ind. Occ.* I & II (Lat); #66984, *Ind. Occ.* III (Lat); #66986, *Ind. Occ.* IV (Lat, 2nd ed.); #66985, *Ind. Occ.* IX (Lat); and #66635, *Ind. Or.* VIII (Lat). These copies were also consulted by Cate (1917) 137–38, who professed that he had seen a copy of *Ind. Or.* I–X with corrections according to the Indices of 1612 and 1632. I am greatly indebted to Stephen Tabor, Curator of Early Printed Books at the Huntington Library for sending me photocopies of the relevant pages.

⁶⁷ Huntington Library, #66981, verso of the title-page: “Estas primera y segunda partes de la Historia America que van encuadernadas Juntas se an expurgado conforme al nuevo expurgatorio de el Ill.ma Sr. cardl. Inquisidor General D. Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas y assi se podra usar de ellas. En el Carmen de Md. à 9 de enero de 1613”.

⁶⁸ Huntington Library, #66983 and #66984 were corrected by De Jesus y Xodar, #66635 carries his signature. The confirmation is written in another hand.

was made available for readers in Spain by Friar Francisco de Aranda, the housekeeper of the convent of St. Martin in Madrid.⁶⁹ The four volumes of the *America*-series, incidentally, were checked again in 1707, according to additional notes inside the copies, indicating that these volumes remained in Spanish hands at least until the early years of the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ Several copies of De Bry volumes currently in Spanish libraries also exhibit these official approvals in manuscript, indicating their purgation by inquisitors or censors.⁷¹ Expurgated volumes without handwriting testifying to the activities of inquisitors or censors were corrected by either the Iberian bookseller responsible for importing the copies or by the customer. Those who came into the possession of books listed on the Index were required to purge their copies within sixty days of the Index' appearance, but such requirements were flouted. Copies that had been censored in bookstores are sometimes found with very light, transparent corrections, which officially comply with the stipulations of the Index, but do not prevent one from reading the inappropriate passages.⁷²

Readers and booksellers in Spain and Portugal found in possession of uncensored copies of the De Bry collection were in for a hard time. While the Index essentially enabled Iberians to read the volumes, with

⁶⁹ Huntington Library, #66986, verso of the title-page: "Yo fray Francisco de Aranda mayordomo de San Martín de Madrid corregí este libro por comision del supremo consejo de la ynquisicion y por verdad lo firme en 26 de henero de 1613".

⁷⁰ The 1707 manuscript notes are even more concise. The copies were "corrected according to the expurgations of 1707" ("esta corregido segun el expurgat. del año de 1707", #66981), followed by the names of three or four friars responsible for the new purgations. The *Index expurgatorius Hispanus* (Madrid 1707) is only marginally different than the early seventeenth-century Spanish Indices. For *Ind. Occ.*: 70–73; for *Ind. Or.*: 764–66.

⁷¹ For example the copy of *Ind. Or.* III and IV (Lat) in the Biblioteca Pública del Estado in Soria, which used to be in the library of the monastery in Huerta. These volumes (call number A-150) contain the phrase: "Yo el Maestro fray Manuel Angles predicador de San Martín de Madrid corregí este libro conforme al nuevo expurgatorio del año de 1612".

⁷² For example: BL G6629. *Index* (Madrid 1612) 1st section, 8–9; I am grateful to Laura Beck Varela for explaining me some of the practicalities of the Spanish process of expurgating books. Still there are always copies revealing anomalies: The *America*-volumes in the Dutch National Maritime Museum (A IV–1 4a) carry the stamp of the 'Bibliotheca S. Petri ad Vincula', either San Pietro in Vinculis in Rome or, perhaps more likely, one of the institutions of the same name in Spain. Their expurgations are a combination of the expurgations ordered in Spanish and Portuguese Indices. When the expurgations diverged, the friar responsible for purging the books always opted for the most critical version.

a few clearly defined limitations, some readers interested in overseas expansion, or book lovers who thought their private libraries incomplete without an uncorrected version of such a prestigious collection evaded the rules by refusing to abide to the Inquisition's demands. An interesting example is provided by the Galician-born nobleman Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Count of Gondomar, and Spanish ambassador to England in the 1610s and early 1620s. One of Gondomar's preoccupations in London was putting an end to English piracy, both in Europe and elsewhere, which damaged Spanish shipping and breached the Anglo-Spanish alliance. Overseas voyages must have constituted some of the core reading matter related to this diplomatic mission.⁷³

Gondomar's librarian at the so-called Casa del Sol in Valladolid, Esteban Eussem, persuaded his master to purchase the *India Orientalis*-volumes in January 1619. Referring to his library as that of a *grand seigneur*, Eussem notified him that

there is a book in Latin titled *Historia Indiae Orientalis*, written by various authors [...] printed in Frankfurt by De Bry [...]. If such a work would have been available in Madrid, I know very well that You would have purchased it, especially because You already possess in Your cabinet the whole America, that is *Historia Indiae Occidentalis*.⁷⁴

The inventory of Gondomar's library drawn up in 1623 included around 6,500 works and featured the first ten volumes and the appendix to Volume XI of the *America*-series, as well as the entire *India Orientalis*-series.⁷⁵ According to contemporaries, the Casa del Sol housed one of the most illustrious libraries in Castile, containing many rare printed titles.

Gondomar's homecoming after his final diplomatic mission to England in 1623 drew the attention of the Inquisition. While at the court of James I, the *conde* had acquired a reputation for heterodoxy, defending the position of Rome and the Jesuits with more fervour than expected

⁷³ C. Manso Porto, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar (1567–1626). Erudito, mecenas y bibliófilo* (Santiago de Compostela 1996) 23–24.

⁷⁴ Real Biblioteca, Madrid, nr. II/2134, doc. 94: “Il y a un livre (illegible) latin intitulé; *Historia Indiae Orientalis*, scripta à diversis autoribus [...] impressa Francofurti apud de Bry [...] si un tel livre se trouvoit à Madrid, je sçay bien que Vra Sria l'ayant (illegible) l'achèteroit, puis que Vra Sria (illegible) tient chez luy en son cabinet toute L'Amerique, c'est à dire, *Historia Indiae Occidentalis*”. I am indebted to the staff of the Real Biblioteca, and to Liesbeth Geevers for helping me obtain photocopies of this document.

⁷⁵ Manso Porto (1996) 468.

from a Spanish ambassador, whose prime responsibility was to preserve good Anglo-Spanish relations. The inquisitors, no doubt aware of his appetite for foreign books and anticipating the introduction of heretical literature to Spain, had all his possessions inspected on his return to Valladolid. In the same spirit, they checked his library in the Casa del Sol and confiscated the books that were proscribed by the Index of 1612. Works like the De Bry collection which were permitted after expurgation were later given back to Gondomar, but if the Inquisition abided by its own set of rules, his De Bry volumes, purchased in 1619, were corrected in 1623.⁷⁶

Despite Gondomar's elevated social position, which enabled him to purchase the expensive De Bry collection in the first place, he was as exposed as anyone in Spain to the rules of the Index. Gondomar nevertheless bought the De Bry volumes, and others did as well. Don Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, another prominent seventeenth-century bibliophile who was a confidant of both Phillip III and Phillip IV, was certainly more aware of the Inquisition's muscle than most of his contemporaries. The belongings of his father, Don Alonso, had been seized and moved to the Escorial.⁷⁷ Don Lorenzo nevertheless assembled a collection of books which he estimated at 10,000 titles, containing many foreign works acquired through a network of agents across Europe. After his death in 1658, the Inquisition found it included numerous titles which were forbidden or should have been purged. In 1660 Don Esteban de Aguilar y Zuñiga was assigned the task of overseeing the purgation of Don Lorenzo's estate,⁷⁸ and this must have also resulted in the correction of the near complete set of De Bry volumes in his possession.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ M. Bataillon, "Livres prohibés dans la bibliothèque du comte de Gondomar" In: W. Bahner, ed., *Beiträge zur Französischen Aufklärung und zur Spanischen Literatur. Festgabe für Werner Krauss zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin 1971) 497 ff.; Manso Porto (1996) 628–31. Whether Gondomar's volumes were actually purged is unknown.

⁷⁷ G. de Andres, "Los libros confiscados a don Alonso Ramírez de Prado (1611)" In: Idem, ed., *Documentos para la Historia del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial VII* (Madrid 1964) 372.

⁷⁸ J. de Entrambasaguas, *La biblioteca de Ramírez de Prado* (2 vols.; Madrid 1943) I xxv–xxx.

⁷⁹ De Entrambasaguas (1943) II 164–68: *Ind. Occ.* I–XII (Lat) and *Ind. Or.* I–XI (Lat).

CHAPTER TEN

SELLING, PURCHASING, AND BORROWING: TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF READERSHIP

Analysing the interests of readers in early modern Europe can be tricky. Gondomar and Ramírez were only two of what must have been thousands of people who read one or more volumes of the collection and marvelled at the copper engravings. Yet most of the questions one would like to see answered, such as how and why people read these travel accounts, or even more straightforward concerns, such as how many copies of the volumes were printed, are extremely difficult to answer. The necessary sources—copies with handwritten commentary, letters discussing the collection's contents, or a business archive of the De Bry publishing house—are simply not available. The owners mentioned here are therefore no more than faces in the crowd.¹ This chapter will nevertheless make an effort to indicate how the De Bry volumes fared between coming off the presses in Frankfurt and adorning the bookshelves across late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe.

10.1. FROM THE PRESSES TO THE BOOKSTORES:

PRICING THE VOLUMES

The first issue the De Brys had to address in order to reach a wide audience was selling copies at the fairs in Frankfurt to their colleagues in other parts of Europe.² Although they also sold the collection to individual customers in their own bookshop, as the existence of a placard listing their publications indicates, the Latin volumes were mostly aimed at readers abroad. Hence the Antwerp bookseller Jan I

¹ For an approach similar to this chapter, with similar difficulties: P. Burke, *The fortunes of the Courtier: the European reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (Cambridge 1995b) 139–57 and his appendix 2. Burke also includes dedicatees, translators, and censors in his inventory of readers of *Il Cortegiano*.

² Selling books by subscription, as Greve (2004, 68) suggests, was not common practice in Germany until the 1620s, and I haven't found any indications to the contrary in the case of the De Bry collection.

Moretus († 1610) and his son Balthasar were among the De Brys' most important contacts.³ The reputation of their Plantin-Moretus firm, one of the largest in Europe, ensured the interest not only of many learned men native to the city and to the Southern Netherlands. Knowledgeable customers from as far away as Spain and Italy ordered some of their reading matter at the *Officina Plantiniana* as well.

The Moretuses twice annually visited the Frankfurt fairs, went to see what the De Bry family had published since their last rendezvous, and almost always bought copies of several of their works. New publications enjoyed their particular attention, but the collection of voyages, including its older volumes, had an enduring appeal. After initial wariness on the part of Jan Moretus, perhaps a result of the combination of a high price and initial uncertainty over the collection's appeal, he bought six copies of each of the first three *America*-volumes in September 1592, and then another eight copies of each at the Easter fair the following year.⁴ From then on, a steady trickle of De Bry volumes made its way from Frankfurt to the *Golden Compasses* in Antwerp. The Moretuses increasingly bought complete *America*- and *India Orientalis*-series, from Volume I to what was the most recent volume at that point.

The large format and the sheer number of volumes accounted for the collection's hefty price, which added prestige, but also implied that the voyages remained out of reach for many people curious about overseas expansion. Volume prices are listed in the account books of the *Officina Plantiniana*: the Moretuses purchased *India Orientalis* I, with fourteen illustrations, from the De Brys for one Brabantine guilder and four *stuivers*.⁵ Volume II, with twice as many pages, and almost three times as many engravings, cost two guilders and six and a half *stuivers*, while Volume III, with more pages still, and no fewer than fifty-eight engravings, was sold for three guilders and six and a half *stuivers*. *India Orientalis* IV, with a size similar to Volume II, but only twenty-one engravings compared to Volume II's thirty-eight, was a full guilder cheaper at one guilder and six and a half *stuivers*. More than anything else, the number of engravings determined the price of the books.

³ On the Moretuses and their officina: Voet (1969–72) I 191–215.

⁴ Arch. MPM 973 (S92), f28r; 974 (Q93), f12r.

⁵ Since the Moretuses wrote down the prices, these are referred to in the Antwerp currency. One guilder equals twenty *stuivers*. The prices are based on the 'Cahiers de Francfort' and the 'Journals' for the period between 1590 and 1620, resp. Arch. MPM 969–1029 & 67–75, 171–80, 216–27.

The price of the *America*-volumes, despite their slightly bigger size, was similar and reveals the same correlation with the number of engravings. The De Brys established the prices of multiple volumes of the collection by simply adding up separate prices. The first six volumes of the *America*-series cost Moretus ten Brabantine guilders and sixteen *stuivers*, matching the combined prices of the separate volumes.⁶ Since the Moretuses were almost exclusively interested in Latin volumes, the prices of the German counterparts cannot always be established, but when they bought Volume VIII of the *India Occidentalis*-series at the Easter fair in 1600,⁷ probably at the request of one of their customers who preferred to read German, its price of eighteen *stuivers* was identical to the outlay required for the Latin version.

The De Brys charged their colleagues a relatively low price, which enabled the Moretuses to make a nice profit. Volume IV of the *America*-series cost Jan Moretus one guilder and fourteen and a half *stuivers* in Frankfurt, but he could sell it in Antwerp for no less than four guilders.⁸ In similar vein, the first nine volumes of *India Occidentalis* cost Moretus sixteen guilders and six *stuivers* at the fairs in Frankfurt, a price established in 1602 when Volume IX appeared and maintained until late 1618, shortly before Volume X was to be published.⁹ In the early 1600s, the “complete *America*” cost customers at the *Golden Compasses* around forty-two guilders, and in the mid-1610s, the same volumes were still available at this retail price.¹⁰ The profit of the Moretuses was not as vast as suggested by the differences between the Frankfurt and Antwerp prices. They had to finance the shipment of the volumes, and sometimes also their binding, depending on the customer’s wishes, but, as discussed in Chapter 3, the De Brys also gave them rebates on their semi-annual purchases, which increased after they started paying on the spot.¹¹

⁶ The respective prices were *Ind. Occ.* I: 1 Fl. 6,5 st., *Ind. Occ.* II: 2 Fl., *Ind. Occ.* III: 2 Fl. 13 st., *Ind. Occ.* IV: 1 Fl. 14,5 st., *Ind. Occ.* V: 1 Fl. 6,5 st., and *Ind. Occ.* VI: 1 Fl. 14,5 st.

⁷ Arch. MPM 989 (Q00), f33r.

⁸ Arch. MPM 977 (Q94), f52r: Moretus purchased six copies of *Ind. Occ.* IV (Lat) for 10 guilders and 8 *stuivers*. Arch. MPM 74, f55v saw him selling one copy, in April 1597, for four guilders.

⁹ Arch. MPM 998 (Q04), f39v, and 1025 (S18), f5r.

¹⁰ Arch. MPM 175, f137v, and, for example, 219, f90v.

¹¹ Cf. *supra*, Ch. 3, pp. 85–86. The Journals disclose the sale of multiple volumes in two or three tomes, indicating that the volumes were bound in the *Officina Plantiniana* as they were no doubt imported into Antwerp *in albis*. The Moretuses probably only provided this service when customers asked them to do so.

In absolute terms, the prices of the volumes were high. But the price alone cannot have dissuaded the genuinely interested from buying the books. When in February 1599 Jan Moretus sold the first six volumes of the *America*-series for thirty-two guilders, Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* was selling for forty-eight guilders.¹² The *Theatrum* nevertheless could be found in just about every substantial private library in Europe in the early seventeenth century. Also in early 1599, Gerrit de Veer's quarto-account of his Arctic adventures, published in Amsterdam, was sold in Antwerp for one guilder and five *stuivers*, while customers were charged eight guilders for the original *Itinerario* by Van Linschoten. Willem Lodewijcksz' account of the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies must have cost around three guilders.¹³ Together, then, these three reports could be obtained in Dutch in the Moretus bookshop for well over twelve guilders. When someone chose to purchase the Latin De Bry equivalents of these accounts, *India Orientalis* II, III, and IV—including plenty of new engravings, and published in the luxurious folio-format—the retail price was higher, but certainly not extortionate at around eighteen guilders.¹⁴

In the 1590s Moretus sold copies of the volumes to colleagues who did not attend the Frankfurt fairs. The Brussels bookseller Rutger Velpius, Adrian de Lannoy from Rouen, and the widow of Gerard de Jode in Antwerp were among those who purchased De Bry volumes at the *Golden Compasses*.¹⁵ They were charged the basic booksellers' price, so Moretus made no profit on these copies other than a share of the rebate percentage the De Brys had given him. This may have been part of the motive for abandoning the routine. Some of the entrepreneurs ended up travelling to Frankfurt themselves as the fairs continued to grow in the late 1590s and early 1600s. By this time, the voyages were widely available. Cornelis Claesz, who had published many of the collection's sources in Amsterdam, also sold all the De

¹² Arch. MPM 171, f28v.

¹³ Moretus bought nine copies of the quarto-account from Cornelis Claesz for the wholesale price of eighteen guilders: Arch. MPM 171, f19r.

¹⁴ It is impossible to establish the exact prices of the separate volumes, as the *Ind. Or.*-series was almost exclusively sold as a collective set of volumes. *Ind. Or.* I–VI (Lat) were purchased by Moretus for 11 guilders and six *stuivers*, and sold for 27 guilders. Around two-thirds of the wholesale prices of the first six volumes covered the three volumes concerned.

¹⁵ Arch. MPM 70, f154v; 71, f86r; and 74, f144r; in 1593, 1594, and 1597 respectively.

Bry volumes in the first decade of the seventeenth century.¹⁶ So did the Florentine publisher Filippo Giunti, until his death in 1604.¹⁷ Gotthard Vögelin, in Heidelberg, still had a copy of the Latin *America*-series on the shelf in 1615,¹⁸ and Johannes Janssonius had copies of both the *India Occidentalis*- and the *India Orientalis*-series, in Latin, available for sale in his shop in Copenhagen in the mid-1630s.¹⁹ Adrian Vlacq, another Dutch bookseller who operated abroad, in London and Paris, before settling in The Hague, sold Latin copies of the *India Occidentalis*-volumes in 1644, and possibly as late as 1649.²⁰

In the mid-seventeenth century, the collection became difficult to obtain across Europe. Matthaeus Merian, in Frankfurt, still had copies of the *America*-series in stock in 1643, but William Fitzer's copperplates for *India Orientalis* had been destroyed by fire in 1638, which made publishing new editions or abridgements of his volumes virtually impossible.²¹ In Spain several surviving copies are expurgated according to the Index of 1640, but none are extant with corrections based on later editions.²² In the Dutch Republic, increasingly at the forefront of the distribution of knowledge, the collection gradually disappeared from the shops of the most important booksellers: Hendrick Laurensz, in Amsterdam,

¹⁶ Much of the information on the distribution of the voyages in the Dutch Republic is taken from the microform collection of auction catalogues, *Book sales catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800* (H. W. de Kooker and B. van Selm, eds.). See also: www.bibliopolis.nl. The catalogues will be referred to by the abbreviation MF and the relevant number as well as by their shortened titles. Cornelis Claesz' catalogues are: MF 3290 [Incipit:] *Der Reformierten und Protestirenden theologen Teutschen geschriften...* (1608) [B1r–v], and MF 3291 [Incipit:] *Librorum, in officina Cornelii Nicolai extantium catalogus* (1608) [f1r–2v], including both De Bry series in both German and Latin. Both catalogues were reprinted as part of MF 3294, *Catalogus vant gheene tot Amsterdam by groote menichten vercocht sal worden* (1610).

¹⁷ *Catalogus librorum qui in unctarum bibliotheca philippi haeredum florentiae prostant* (Florence 1604) 20, 36.

¹⁸ Dyroff (1962) 1368, nr. 285.

¹⁹ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 5332, *Catalogus librorum* (1636) [B5r].

²⁰ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 3076, *Catalogue des livres en blanc et reliez, apportez [...] par Adrien Vlac marchand libraire de Londres* (1633) [A2v], and MF 3094, *Catalogus variorum et insignium librorum* (1644–49) [A2v]. The latter was printed in Paris.

²¹ Wüthrich (1966–96) III, ill. 224–35: *Catalogus omnium librorum qui in officina Matthaei Meriani...* (Frankfurt 1643). For Fitzer's misfortune: Supra, Ch. 3, p. 101.

²² For instance the copy of *Ind.Or.* IV (Lat) at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (R/35872 (1)) which was purged according to Sotomayor's Index of 1640. The same goes for the volumes currently in the Biblioteca General de Navarra, Pamplona, where the text was corrected by the friar Jacinto de Arellano according to the Index of 1640 (call number 109–5–6/5, 6, 7). I did not examine these Spanish copies personally, and the information is based on the interactive 'Catálogo colectivo del patrimonio bibliográfico español'.

had at least one copy of both series on the shelves in 1631, but in his catalogues of 1638 and 1643, he was able to present his clientele only the *India Orientalis*-series in Latin. He resolved this by offering single volumes which he had almost certainly acquired second hand, as the irregular mixture of narratives was already bound.²³ The Elsevier firm in Leiden had all the volumes at their disposal in 1634, but could only supply the *India Occidentalis*-series in the 1640s and 1650s. In 1659 they still offered most of the *America*-volumes, but in 1661 the collection had finally disappeared from their stock catalogue.²⁴ This pattern of dwindling availability in the years around 1650 is also apparent in Johannes Janssonius' stock catalogues. In 1665 he categorised the second-hand copies of the volumes he had obtained as "rare books".²⁵ By then the voyages had been transformed from authoritative reading matter into collector's items.

10.2. FROM BOOKSTORE TO CUSTOMER: THE OFFICINA PLANTINIANA

Jan Moretus and his relatives in Antwerp not only recorded the prices of books, but they also noted down the acquisitions made by their individual customers.²⁶ Hence it is possible to follow the majority of

²³ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 5466–67, *Bibliotheca Laurentiana* (1631) [I2r], [M4r]; MF 1233–35, *Bibliotheca Laurentiana* (1638) [R4r]; MF 1219–20, *Catalogus variorum [...] librorum* (1643) [G1r], including single volumes: [L1r]: *Ind. Occ.* VI (Lat), and MF 1834–38, *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum* (1649) 208: *Ind. Or.* III (Ger). On the significance of the Dutch Republic for book production and distribution in the early seventeenth century, see the various essays in: C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, et al., eds., *Le magasin de l'univers: the Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* (Leiden 1992); L. Hellinga, et al., eds., *The bookshop of the world: the role of the Low Countries in the book-trade, 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten 2001); M. T. G. E. van Delft, et al., eds., *Bibliopolis. History of the printed book in the Netherlands* (Zwolle and The Hague 2003).

²⁴ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 1505–06, *Catalogus librorum* (1634) 61 and 25 (2nd pagination); MF 5386, *Catalogus omnium librorum* (1642) [B1r]; MF 3090–91, *Catalogus variorum [...] librorum* (1653) 58; MF 3088–89, *Catalogus variorum & rariorum [...] librorum* (1659) 62; and MF 3583, *Catalogus librorum compactorum & incompactorum* (1661), when the copies were no longer available.

²⁵ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 3944–45, *Catalogus librorum* (1634) [L1v], [O2r], and [O3v]; MF 1517 *Catalogus Librorum* (1640) [O4r], [X4r]; MF 2900, *Catalogus rariorum [...] librorum compactorum* (1665) [C4v]. Janssonius did continue to sell copies of Gottfried's abridgement of the *America*-series.

²⁶ This paragraph and much of the following is based on the Journals of the Officina Plantiniana from the period 1590–1620: Arch. MPM 67–75, 171–80, 216–27. For a slightly different way of using the same archival records: D. Imhof, "Aankopen van

the copies obtained from the De Brys to the private libraries in and around Antwerp. It is apparent when looking at this diverse group of purchasers, that the volumes were not seen as distinct publications which happened to be issued by the same publisher. After the early 1590s, when the collection had simply not yet expanded beyond a small number of volumes, the books were seldom purchased separately. Moretus' customers bought entire series, either the set of accounts on the New World or the *India Orientalis*-volumes. In the 1610s, moreover, when both series had swollen to a considerable size, the *America*- and *India Orientalis*-series were more and more regarded as parts of one and the same collection. By this time almost all customers bought the two series simultaneously, in one single purchase.²⁷ In these years, Balthasar Moretus generally purchased the two series as a whole in Frankfurt, and only occasionally continued to stock separate volumes, mostly for people who had bought the first few volumes of one of the series earlier.

The Spanish merchant Balthasar Andreas, who resided in Antwerp, was one of those customers procuring the volumes in various stages. In July 1598, he bought the first six parts of the Latin *India Occidentalis*-series. Two and a half years later, in December 1600, he came to the *Golden Compasses* to obtain Volumes VII and VIII, issued since his first purchase. Although Andreas was not as fanatical in extending his collection as Johannes Bochius, the Antwerp city secretary who kept augmenting his library volume by volume, he brought his collection up to date: in June 1604 he acquired Volume IX, which concluded the series until the De Brys renewed their efforts in 1619. Andreas obviously fancied the engraved De Bry publications, for in 1604 he also bought two volumes of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae*.²⁸ Another regular customer, the Tournai canon Dionysius Villerius, also enjoyed the books. Only three months after purchasing all nine *America*-volumes in September 1603, he returned to buy the six *India Orientalis*-volumes

Rockox bij de Officina Plantiniana volgens de Journalen" In: *Rockox' huis volgeboekt. De bibliotheek van de Antwerpse burgemeester en kunstverzamelaar Nicolaas Rockox* (Antwerp 2005) 39–55.

²⁷ Arch. MPM 218–20 (1611–13) report the sale of only the whole collection, i.e. the complete *Ind. Occ.* and *Ind. Or.*: 218, f187v (to the Antwerp city secretary Egidius Fabri); 219, f90v (to the Antwerp merchant Guillelmo de Haze); 220, f105r (to the knight Leonardo Bontempo), and 220, f183r (to Peter Paul Rubens).

²⁸ Arch. MPM 75, f97r and f128r; 172, f180r; 176, f178v. For Bochius' purchases: Arch. MPM 68, f59v; 69, f53r; 70, f101r; 71, f56v. After 1594 he stopped buying new volumes.

which had appeared at that time. In June 1607, when *India Orientalis* VII and VIII arrived in Antwerp, Villerius was the first customer to add these volumes to his set.²⁹

The sales figures of the collection must have pleased the Moretuses. They made sure to keep a number of copies of the volumes on the shelves at all times. Although Jan Moretus did not buy any new De Bry publications at either of the Frankfurt fairs of 1595, he could still, in August of that year, sell the first four volumes of the *America*-series to Antonius de Hennin, a priest from Ypres who was to become bishop of this diocese in 1613.³⁰ Keeping the volumes in stock was also useful in case of unexpected large orders, such as in August 1599, when Vincenzo Gonzaga, fourth Duke of Mantua, and his entourage visited Moretus' bookstore. Gonzaga, a prominent *mecenas* of the arts and sciences, and a benefactor of Rubens, bought numerous books for his library while in Antwerp, including the first six volumes of the *India Occidentalis*-series. Moretus could have satisfied the Duke's party only by having many books available instantly.³¹

The Duke of Mantua was by no means a typical customer of the *Officina Plantiniana*, but the Moretuses were certainly not unfamiliar with taking orders from across Europe, from Spain in particular. Spaniards residing in Antwerp, like the army's *veedor-general* Francisco de Vaca y Benavides who obtained the first eight *India Orientalis*-volumes in July 1608, could buy books at will.³² On the peninsula, however, the Inquisition's vigilance prevented booksellers from stocking books from abroad.³³ Gondomar's librarian, after all, implied that publications like the De Bry volumes were not readily available at home, and booksellers in Madrid generally offered few titles which had been printed north of the Pyrenees.³⁴ In a city like Valladolid, where people had been keep-

²⁹ Arch. MPM 175, f137v and f192r; 179, f105r.

³⁰ Arch. MPM 979 and 980 for the accounts of the two fairs, and Arch. MPM 72, f111v for the sale of the volumes to Hennin's representative, Hieronymus Berchemius.

³¹ Arch. MPM 171, f115v–f116r. Gonzaga's physician and his personal secretary also used the opportunity to add to their respective libraries, but they did not buy any of the De Bry volumes.

³² Arch. MPM 180, f109r.

³³ M. Agulló y Cobo, "La inquisición y los libreros Españoles en el siglo XVII", *Cuadernos bibliográficos* 28 (1972) 143–46.

³⁴ *Supra*, Ch. 9, pp. 306–07. T. J. Dadson, *Libros, lectores y lecturas. Estudios sobre bibliotecas particulares españolas del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid 1998) 283–321, 467–510, discusses

ing in touch with intellectual developments elsewhere in Europe in the sixteenth century, the pattern of book ownership changed drastically in the early years of the seventeenth century, when printed material was increasingly concentrated in a small number of libraries, and books published abroad were ever more difficult to acquire.³⁵ Those who dared to defy the restrictions imposed by the Inquisition were forced to buy their books outside the peninsula.

The circle of humanists in Seville, which included Benito Arias Montano, was one such group of readers using the services provided by the *Officina Plantiniana*. Montano had played an instrumental role in the publication of the Antwerp polyglot Bible and had co-operated with Plantin in the drawing up of a Catholic Index in 1570. He ordered the first three volumes of the *America*-series in July 1593, at a time when he was responsible for the library at the Escorial. Clearly any suggestion of the heretical nature of some of the De Bry volumes, including *India Occidentalis* III, which contained De Léry's polemical account of French Brazil, had not impaired Montano's curiosity. The physician and botanist Simon de Tovar, a friend of Carolus Clusius, purchased the same three volumes of the De Bry collection on the same day. Perhaps the two men were inspired by seeing the engravings of the natural riches of Virginia in the first volume, which one year earlier, in July 1592, had arrived in Seville as part of Moretus' shipment to their friend Francisco Pacheco.³⁶ Clusius' involvement in the making of the early volumes must have given the sales of the collection in these parts a welcome impetus.

Merchants of Mediterranean origin living in Antwerp also enjoyed the collection. Antonio Gallo, descendant of a Salamanca trading family, bought the first six *America*-volumes in January 1601. The Italian merchant Paolo Franceschi, who had been a regular customer of the bookshop since the days of Plantin, purchased the first two volumes

the inventories of two Madrid booksellers of 1606 and 1629; C. Peligry, "El inventario de Sebastian de Robles, librero Madrileño del siglo XVII", *Cuadernos bibliográficos* 32 (1975) 181–88, describes an inventory of 1612. Only few of the books listed in these documents were printed abroad, almost exclusively in Catholic cities like Lyon, Venice, Paris, Antwerp, and Rome.

³⁵ A. Rojo Vega, "Libros y bibliotecas en Valladolid (1530–1660)", *Bulletin Hispanique* 99 (1997) 193–210.

³⁶ Arch. MPM 69, f79r, for the order placed by Pacheco. The shipment of books to Montano and to De Tovar: Arch. MPM 70, f97v and f98r respectively. On Montano's activities as a librarian in the 1580s and 1590s: B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano 1527–1598* (Groningen 1961) 193–97.

of the *India Orientalis*-series, as well as Volumes VI, VII, and VIII of the *America*-series in 1599. Apparently he already possessed the first five parts. Pietro Paolo Derio, probably of Milanese ancestry, also bought both series of the De Bry collection at the same time. Ottavio Tibanti, from Pisa, purchased the ‘complete’ set of nine *America*-volumes in January 1604, while the wealthy knight Emmanuel Ximinez, a member of the Portuguese nation of traders in Antwerp who possessed a sizeable private library, acquired the first eight volumes of voyages to the New World in December 1599.³⁷

After the De Brys had left Antwerp for London in 1584 or 1585, the city had returned to the Catholic fold, and this was reflected in the large number of clerics who visited Moretus’ bookshop. In spite of the Protestant narratives in the collection, several Catholic institutions and some individual ecclesiastics displayed an avid interest in the voyages. Moretus delivered two volumes, including one containing Sir Francis Drake’s raids on Spanish America, in May 1600 to the abbot of the St. Bertin convent in St. Omer, a centre of education for Jesuits. Four years later, the bishop of St. Omer, Jacobus Blaseus, ordered the first six *India Orientalis*-volumes for his own library.³⁸ Some of the local clergy in Antwerp purchased volumes of the collection as well. Two final groups represented among the clientele interested in the voyages were urban magistrates like Adrian Baltin, pensionary of Bruges, and humanists and scholars of various disciplines, like the neo-Latin poet Nicolaes Oudaert.³⁹ All in all, many relatively affluent people throughout the Southern Netherlands purchased the collection of voyages in Antwerp, indicating that the De Brys succeeded in reaching a Catholic readership.

³⁷ Arch. MPM 173, f8r; 171, f163v; 176, f161r; 176, f1v; and 171, f176v. In the inventory of his widow Isabella de Vega’s estate, made up after her death in 1617, the *America*-series was still listed among her personal possessions: E. Duverger, ed., *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (12 vols.; Brussels 1984–2004) I 440. For Antwerp private libraries around 1600 in general: R. Fabri, “Diversche boeken van verscheyden taele, soo groot als cleyn. Aspecten van het Antwerpse privé-boekenbezit in Rockox’ tijd” In: *Rockox’ huis volgeboekt. De bibliotheek van de Antwerpse burgemeester en kunstverzamelaar Nicolaas Rockox* (Antwerp 2005) 9–27.

³⁸ Arch. MPM 172, f71r; 176, f76r.

³⁹ Arch. MPM 171, f28v and 176, f175r.

10.3. THE DE BRY COLLECTION IN PERSPECTIVE

The same blend of humanists, merchants, noblemen, magistrates, and clerics as the most likely buyers of the De Bry collection is perceptible in other corners of early seventeenth-century Europe. Private libraries in this period were generally divided thematically, in analogy with Frankfurt fair catalogues and stock catalogues of booksellers. These thematic groupings were subdivided according to the format of the books, with folios listed first, then quartos, octavos, and so on. All catalogues invariably included sections with books on theology, law, medicine, and usually mathematics and history. Classics or philology, astronomy, and philosophy were also commonly used as categories, depending on the nature of the owner's interest and the size of these sections. Travel accounts, including collections like the De Bry collection, could generally be found under history, unless the library was substantial enough to warrant a specific category devoted to geography.

Books on theology still constituted the largest segment in almost any early modern library, but books on historical subjects, including travel accounts, increasingly demanded space on the shelves.⁴⁰ Ancient history had dominated this area of interest until 1550 and continued to play a major role throughout the seventeenth century, especially in academic circles. After 1550, however, modern history titles—i.e. written by non-ancient and non-medieval authors—could increasingly be found in private collections, even in more conservative surroundings. Since libraries were predominantly utilitarian, their composition largely depended on the owner's occupation. While the clergy continued to read religious and theological tracts, the libraries of lawyers and physicians were mostly filled with legal texts and medical books respectively. Historical works other than the antiquarian literature principally aimed at humanists and philologists attracted readers of various backgrounds. The subject matter of geographical studies, atlases, and travel narratives did not exclude or in any other way define social groups of readers at the outset, as suggested by the eclectic list of Antwerp customers purchasing travel accounts.

Those interested in the overseas world did not confine themselves to the De Bry volumes. In most private libraries, the collection was

⁴⁰ D. R. Woolf, *Reading history in early modern England* (Cambridge 2000) 132–67.

surrounded by plenty of other geographical and cosmographical books. Two firm favourites in this category in the first half of the seventeenth century were Münster's *Cosmographia*, first printed in 1550, but re-issued frequently until 1650, and Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, also published in numerous editions. Both titles reached private libraries in all parts of Europe. Another work which featured regularly was Giovanni Pietro Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, first printed in Florence in 1588. Other collections of voyages were on a par with the De Bry collection in terms of popularity, but only Ramusio's *Navigazioni* could be found throughout Europe. The collections by Hakluyt and Purchas were published in English, and their scope was therefore limited, while the distribution of the older collection issued by Grynaeus and Hüttich in Basel was largely confined to Protestant libraries. Compendia with a more traditional outlook, like Thevet's *Cosmographie Universelle*, were not quite as popular, but ancient treatises by Pliny and Ptolemy were still commonplace.⁴¹

Since most modern travel accounts were published separately, these were obviously well represented too, either in their original language or in translation. When translated into Latin, these narratives were a bit of an anomaly in the early modern book market. The authors of travel accounts were in many ways diametrically opposed to the humanists responsible for treatises published in Latin. While scholars wrote their books for like-minded readers, in the language of the Republic of Letters, travellers always wrote their accounts in the vernacular.⁴² These accounts were subsequently published quickly, in an attempt to serve a wider audience eager for juicy details of unfamiliar worlds abroad. When the De Brys incorporated the reports into their monumental collection, translating the texts into Latin for an educated international readership, the physical appearance of the works changed, but the contents more or less remained the same. This partly explains the frequent use of adjectives such as 'marvellous', 'strange', and 'awesome', and the allusions to heathendom on the collection's title-pages. Like the insistence on the authenticity of the events, this idiom was usually associated with more popular reading matter.⁴³

⁴¹ The comparative analysis is based on general indications in the sources used for this chapter.

⁴² For the differences between Latin and the vernaculars in this period: Burke (2004) 49–52.

⁴³ Chartier (2003) 280–81.

The De Brys, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, emphasised the spectacular elements of the narratives. Although lacking some of the sensational phrasings of the German editions, the Latin versions were not entirely bereft of this type of rhetoric. The insistent claims that the book's contents were credible and authoritative may well have hampered the collection's reputation among scholars, while the unusual emphasis placed on illustrations in the De Bry versions of the accounts only added to erudite disenchantment. Using illustrations was seen as an instrument to reach a broader readership and had long been confined to pamphlets and chapbooks. It was not until the later seventeenth century that images found a place in the text-oriented world of scholarship.⁴⁴ The De Bry collection, then, was prestigious in every aspect but its contents. John Evelyn, as late as 1662, remarked that Theodore de Bry was famous for contracting "works of that large Volume", but did not comment on their subject matter.⁴⁵ While the family's publishing formula resulted in monumental books, it also accentuated the more popular elements of the travel accounts. This may explain the lukewarm reception of the volumes in the higher scholarly strata of the Republic of Letters.

10.4. IN PRIVATE LIBRARIES ACROSS EUROPE I: MEN OF LETTERS

In contrast, the contributions by erudite men like Raphelengius and Clusius may have bolstered the collection's reputation in these circles, counteracting its sensationalist elements. Like the humanists in Seville, Alexander Fugger clearly appreciated reading *India Occidentalis* I in Clusius' translation, as he told him in a letter of May 1593.⁴⁶ He also enquired whether Clusius could tell him more about experiments with seeds of some of the plants described in Harriot's account. Clusius,

⁴⁴ P. Burke, "Images as evidence in seventeenth-century Europe", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64–2 (2003) 273–96. Cf. supra, Ch. 2, p. 74 for Boissard's criticism at the De Brys' emphasis on engravings.

⁴⁵ J. Evelyn, *Sculptura: or the history and art of chalcography and engraving in copper* (London 1662) 73.

⁴⁶ UBL, ms. Vulc. 101, Fugger to Clusius, 26/5/1593, f1r–v: "...la descrizione de l'Isola Virginia qual ha tradotto un huomo (il che dimostra lo stile) molto dotto". Alexander was almost certainly a member of the famous Fugger family, but it is unknown how he was related to other family members.

moreover, sent the volumes he had translated to Joachim Camerarius the Younger in Nuremberg in the early 1590s,⁴⁷ and to James Garet and Richard Garth in London, who had been closely connected to the conception of the collection's first volume.⁴⁸ Clusius himself, meanwhile, possessed several copies of the collection, both in Latin and in German.⁴⁹

Physicians and students of medicine were interested in the voyages as a way to assemble information on the medicinal value of overseas herbs and plants. The Spanish court physician in Brussels, Francisco Paz, purchased the *America*-series in Antwerp in February 1603.⁵⁰ In the Dutch Republic, Samuel Coster received a doctorate in medicine at Leiden University in 1610, and this academic background may explain his ownership of *America* I. Many other books in his relatively small library were devoted to the study of medicine.⁵¹ Jean Garinet, a physician from Besançon, owned most of the collection in Latin, currently still available for consultation in the municipal library.⁵² And Christian Rompf, the physician of first the Elector Palatine, and later of the Dutch stadtholders, possessed the first twelve parts of both the *America*- and the *India Orientalis*-series. At the auction of his library in 1648, the volumes were acquired by Johannes Thysius, whose Bibliotheca Thysiana survives intact in Leiden, and still contains the books first owned by Rompf.⁵³

Geographers and cartographers were also eager to buy and read the De Bry volumes. Abraham Ortelius purchased a single volume, *India*

⁴⁷ Hunger (1927–43) II 173, 431–33.

⁴⁸ Supra, Ch. 4, pp. 113–16.

⁴⁹ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 3976, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae* (1609) [B1v]. Clusius possessed *Ind. Occ.* I–IX (Lat), partly bound, and partly unbound; *Ind. Or.* I–VIII app. (Lat), and *Ind. Or.* I–V and VIII app. (Ger). He also still owned the translated Latin manuscript of Thomas Harriot's account.

⁵⁰ Arch. MPM 175, f17r. Paz acquired *Ind. Occ.* I–IX (Lat).

⁵¹ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 3250, *Catalogus instructissimae bibliothecae* (1665) [A3v]. Coster is best known as a playwright; M. M. Kleerkooper, "Een vergeten catalogus (Catalogus...bibliothecae...D. Samuelis Costeri)", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde* 17 (1898) 184.

⁵² Bibliothèque d'étude et de conservation, Besançon, nrs. 8698–8703. The surviving copies with Garinet's personal crest are *Ind. Occ.* I–IX (Lat) and *Ind. Or.* I–X (Lat).

⁵³ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 2705, *Catalogus rarorum admodum & insignium librorum* (1648) 15 and 86. Thysius later added *Ind. Occ.* XIII (Lat) to Rompf's collection, according to his private account books. I am greatly indebted for this information to Esther Mourits, who is preparing a PhD-dissertation at Leiden University on the library of Johannes Thysius.

Occidentalis III, at the *Golden Compasses* in May 1592.⁵⁴ It is unknown, however, whether he sustained his interest in the collection. Gerard Mercator, the other leading cartographer of the late sixteenth century, probably acquired the first four volumes.⁵⁵ Navigational experts in the Dutch Republic, despite being at the cradle of many of the new developments overseas, also consulted the De Bry translations. Petrus Plancius certainly possessed Volume III of the *America*-series, and presumably had the rest of the collection as well.⁵⁶ Caspar Barlaeus, in all likelihood, could no longer purchase the volumes he needed in 1644 in preparation for his history of the Dutch colony in Brazil, and borrowed the copy of his friend Gerardus Vossius instead.⁵⁷

In England Sir Walter Raleigh, whose expedition to Guyana the De Brys had included in the collection, owned most of the volumes, despite his disappointment at the family's decision not to dedicate all translations of Thomas Harriot's account to him.⁵⁸ His library encompassed all the available geographical literature of the time: the atlases by Ortelius and Mercator, the classical treatises by Ptolemy and Strabo, individual travel accounts in various languages, and a plethora of sixteenth-century cosmographies and collections of voyages. Raleigh, like some of his contemporaries, also possessed editions of reports and treatises included in the De Bry collection.⁵⁹ William Strachey, the author

⁵⁴ Arch. MPM 69, f52r.

⁵⁵ *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae clarissimi doctissimique viri piae memoriae Gerardi Mercatoris*... (Leiden 1604; facsimile printed as part of the exhibition catalogue: *Mercator en zijn boeken* (St Niklaas 1994)) 14. This supposed inventory of Mercator's library, however, also lists titles published after his death in 1594.

⁵⁶ Schilder (2003) 18. *Book sales catalogues*, MF 3296, *Catalogus librorum Nobilissimi Viri: D. Wilhelmi à Mathenesse [...] Nec non reverendi Doctissimique viri D. Petri Plancii*... (1623) [B4v] includes the entire collection, but the auction catalogue concerns the sale of the combined libraries of Plancius and the nobleman Wilhelm van Mathenesse.

⁵⁷ C. S. M. Rademaker and P. Tuynman, eds., *Het uitleenboekje van Vossius* (Amsterdam 1962) f9r. Barlaeus' description of the reign of governor-general Johan Maurice of Nassau-Siegen was titled *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* (Amsterdam 1647). See: A. J. E. Harmsen, "Barlaeus' description of the Dutch colony in Brazil" In: Z. von Martels, ed., *Travel fact and travel fiction: studies on fiction, literary tradition, scholarly discovery and observation in travel writing* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne 1994) 158–69.

⁵⁸ W. Oakeshott, "Sir Walter Raleigh's library", *The Library* 5th series, XXIII (1968) 296–97. This inventory of 1614 includes at least *Ind. Occ.* I–VI (Lat) and *Ind. Or.* I–II (Lat), but as the volumes were often bound together, and only the first part of the convolute was mentioned, Raleigh may well have possessed more volumes. Cf. *supra*, Ch. 4, p. 116.

⁵⁹ Oakeshott (1968). Raleigh for example owned De Veer's narrative in French translation, Acosta's treatise in Spanish, and the original edition of Harriot's *Briefe and true report*.

of *The historie of travell into Virginia Britania* (1610–12) used Volume I of the *America*-series in a highly unusual manner, by scribbling the title of his own text on the empty title-page of the De Bry copy, and adding a manuscript version of his work to the volume's engravings.⁶⁰

That humanists with a proven interest in overseas expansion would purchase the collection seems hardly surprising, but this was not always the case. Scholars fascinated by geography like Johannes Praetorius, the Altdorf professor of astronomy, and Johan Laurentius Bausch, a physician from Schweinfurt in Bavaria, did not possess any of the De Bry volumes, or any of the sixteenth-century collections of voyages for that matter. Instead their libraries were dominated by more traditional treatises such as Johannes de Sacrobosco's thirteenth-century *Sphaera mundi*, and Peter Apianus' *Cosmographicus liber*, first issued in 1529. The persistent attraction of classical and medieval works on geography and cosmography, and Renaissance works founded on the pillars of ancient scholarship seems to have reduced their urge to buy eye-witness reports written by contemporary navigators.⁶¹ The De Bry collection was also absent from the library of the Dutch geographer Johannes de Laet. Yet unlike Praetorius and Bausch, De Laet, a director of the Dutch West India Company, did own many travel accounts. He closely followed Dutch and foreign expeditions overseas, writing respected treatises on the West Indies and on the inhabitants of the New World. Living in Leiden and buying books from a young age, De Laet could have walked to the Elsevier firm to purchase the works, but according to his auction catalogue of 1650, he refrained from doing so.⁶²

10.5. TO POSSESS OR NOT TO POSSESS THE VOYAGES

Whether the absence of the De Bry volumes from the shelves of several prominent libraries was a manifestation of the questionable reputation of the collection in scholarly circles is uncertain. Yet the assessment

⁶⁰ BL, ms. Sloane 1622.

⁶¹ U. Lindgren, "Geographische Gelehrtenbibliotheken um 1600: Vergleich der Bausch-Bibliothek mit den Bibliotheken von Mercator und Praetorius", *Acta Historica Leopoldina* 31 [*Die Bausch-Bibliothek in Schweinfurt: Wissenschaft und Buch in der frühen Neuzeit*] (2000) 77–88.

⁶² *Book sales catalogues*, MF 2847, *Catalogus bibliothecae* (1650); See: P. G. Hofijzer, "The library of Johannes de Laet (1581–1649)", *LLAS. Sources and documents relating to the early modern history of ideas* 25–2 (1998) 201–16.

of the publishers as being insufficiently educated to publish humanist tracts, voiced by Boissard and to some extent by Clusius in the 1590s, was echoed by an illustrious reader of the collection of voyages. John Locke, despite owning the first six De Bry volumes, stated that in the field of travel literature, Ramusio's collection was "much more full and complete than the Latin De Bry".⁶³ How this comparative assessment of the late seventeenth century related to the perceptions of scholars who owned multiple collections of voyages in earlier decades, like the Leiden professor Josephus Justus Scaliger, is unfortunately unknown.⁶⁴

The veiled criticism uttered by Locke could only be made after reading the various collections. When a decision needed to be taken on whether or not to buy the De Bry volumes, other considerations prevailed. The Frenchman Gabriel Naudé, in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* of 1627, wrote the following in a chapter addressing the selection of suitable books:

It should also be a rule that all the sets and collections of different authors writing upon the same subject [...] should of necessity be put into libraries, the more since they save us, in the first place, the trouble of searching for a host of books extremely rare and uncommon; and secondly, because they make room for many others and relieve the pressure on a library; thirdly, because they gather together for us in one convenient volume that for which we should otherwise have to search laboriously in many places; and finally, because they are less expensive—as it is certain that it does not require as many pence to purchase them as it does pounds to possess separately all those authors whom they contain.⁶⁵

Despite questions over the scholarly value of travel accounts, many of Naudé's contemporaries took his recommendation to heart. Bonaventura Vulcanius, who as professor of Greek in Leiden was a close colleague of Scaliger, owned both the *India Occidentalis*- and *India Orientalis*-series in a

⁶³ Quoted in: Lach (1965–93) I–I 208. See: J. Harrison and P. Laslett, eds., *The library of John Locke* (2nd ed., London 1971) nrs. 507–10. Locke apparently also owned a copy of 'Virginia English' (eg. *Ind. Occ.* I (Eng)) which together with *Ind. Occ.* III (Lat), he loaned to Jean le Clerc: M. Grazia and M. Sina, eds., *Jean Le Clerc. Epistolario* (4 vols.; Florence 1987–97) II 244 (25/8/1697).

⁶⁴ H. J. de Jonge, ed., *The auction catalogue of the library of J. J. Scaliger* (Utrecht 1977) [C1v]; see also: *Book sales catalogues*, MF 3978, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae* (1609). Scaliger's library, auctioned in Leiden, contained *Ind. Occ.* I–III (Lat) only. It further contained Grynaeus and Hüttich's *Novus orbis regionum* (1532).

⁶⁵ As translated from the French in: A. Taylor, ed., *Advice on establishing a library by Gabriel Naudé* (Westport, Ct. 1976) 28–29.

substantial library consisting of around 2,350 titles.⁶⁶ Isaac Vossius, who also owned a copy of the voyages, expanded his library to at least twice that size. His assortment of books, including many precious manuscripts and printed works from Queen Christina of Sweden's library was sold to Leiden University in 1690, where all of Vossius' twelve volumes of the *India Orientalis*-series still remain to this day.⁶⁷

Those who could afford libraries of these dimensions almost always owned a copy of the De Bry volumes. In Genoa, both series of the collection were apparently part of Anton Giulio Brignole Sale's library. Brignole was a diplomat, but also a poet and a man of letters, who at a later age joined the Society of Jesus. His sizeable Biblioteca Brignole ended up in the possession of Count Leopoldo Cicognara in the eighteenth century, and later still, in 1824, in the Vatican Library.⁶⁸ In Paris, the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou amassed around 6,600 books before his death in 1617, but the first printed catalogue of the Bibliotheca Thuanæ appeared only in 1679, and although it listed all the available De Bry volumes, the library had by then expanded to around 14,000 titles, many acquired by his sons.⁶⁹ Given the library's size and the owner's personal interests, it is likely that De Thou owned the De Bry collection during his lifetime, but this fact cannot be established beyond doubt.

The case of De Thou's library is only one of many showing the limitations of library and auction catalogues as sources for understanding the precise contents of these collections, let alone for the actual reception of the books.⁷⁰ The catalogues, moreover, do not always reflect the careful process of constructing a collection of books. Auction catalogues could be exploited by the auctioneer, often a local bookseller, to make copies of works which he had difficulty selling suddenly look more attractive by making them seem part of an established library. Books which had once belonged to an eminent scholar often commanded

⁶⁶ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 2922, *Catalogus librorum* (1615) 23.

⁶⁷ F. F. Blok, *Contributions to the history of Isaac Vossius's library* (London 1974); R. Breugelmans, ed., *Bibliotheca Vossiana: books from Isaac Vossius's library now in Leiden University Library* (Leiden 1994). Vossius' copy has the call number 1368 C 6–9.

⁶⁸ *Catalogo ragionato dei libri d'arte e d'antichità posseduti dal Conte Cicognara* (2 vols.; Pisa 1821) II 233, listing *Ind. Occ.* I–VIII (Lat) and *Ind. Or.* I–VIII (Lat). The Vatican Library still houses 'Cicognara-copies' of the volumes, at least *Ind. Occ.* I–VII and IX (Lat) and *Ind. Or.* V–VII (Lat).

⁶⁹ *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanæ* (2 vols.; Paris 1679) 451, 458, 466–67; A. Coron, "Ut prosint aliis". Jacques-Auguste de Thou et sa bibliothèque" In: *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Tome II: Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789* (Paris 1988) 100–25.

⁷⁰ Burke (1995b) 139–57.

higher prices than new copies. These types of problems demand caution and imply that the catalogues should only be used as an indication of where books circulated in the early seventeenth century.

In relation to the De Bry collection, further problems arise because the catalogues often only mention the first work in a *Sammelband*. Since the De Bry books were generally bound together, in various arrangements, *India Occidentalis* I and *India Orientalis* I are often included in the lists, but the other volumes are not, at least not explicitly. Did everyone who possessed the first volume of one of the series also purchase the remaining parts? Probably not. Yet the account books of the Moretuses in Antwerp do reveal that those who could afford it usually continued buying volumes after acquiring the first part of one of the series. When a catalogue listed four tomes, as was the case for the estate of the Venetian nobleman Girolamo Cornaro, an inventory of which was drawn up in 1629, this referred to the number of separately bound units, not to the number of volumes as produced by the De Brys.⁷¹ So how many volumes of the *Historia dell' America* did he possess? Four? Or nine, as did so many of his contemporaries? Or all twelve volumes which had been issued before Cornaro's death in 1625? Such matters are simply impossible to solve.

Every now and then, the first volumes are identifiable through their original authors—Harriot, and Lopez and Pigafetta respectively—or through the regions of Virginia and Congo they describe. Sometimes the auction catalogues list only the author of the account, especially when this narrative was not part of a collection in the library concerned, because the owner had not purchased any complementing volumes. As a botanist with special interest in overseas naturalia, Guy de la Brosse, the founder of the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris qualified as a potential admirer of the De Bry volumes. But did the entry of *Les Voyages de Linscot prizez quatre volumes*, in the inventory drawn up after his death in 1641, point to the ownership of the relevant *India Orientalis*-volumes?⁷² Again, probably not, but then the French editions of Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* never amounted to four volumes, and neither did the original Dutch edition or the Latin translation published in The Hague in 1599.

⁷¹ ASV, Notarile Atti, Giovanni Piccini, busta 10780, Carte non numerate, 20/11/1629. My thanks to Maartje van Gelder for informing me about this document. The collection is here referred to as "Quattro Tomi dell' *Historia dell' America*".

⁷² R. Howard, *La bibliothèque et le laboratoire de Guy de la Brosse au jardin des plantes à Paris* (Geneva 1983) 26, 79–80.

10.6. IN PRIVATE LIBRARIES ACROSS EUROPE II: THE NOBILITY

Fortunately some of these concerns are less applicable to the collections of princes, territorial rulers, and other noblemen, who had fewer financial restraints, and whose assemblage of books was often administered by practised librarians. These professional bibliographers of the seventeenth century not only registered the De Bry volumes more accurately, but also had the time to systematically acquire all the newly published volumes, as long as the ruling house endured. The price, and the ensuing prestige of the accounts and the copper engravings, already recognised by those to whom the volumes were dedicated, made the De Bry collection an obligatory item in the libraries of the seventeenth-century nobility, particularly in the Empire.⁷³ Arguably the most famous library of all in the early seventeenth-century German lands was the Bibliotheca Palatina in Heidelberg, managed first by Paulus Melissus and then by Janus Gruterus. Yet its fate was typical of so many tremendous collections of books in this epoch. The Palatina was decimated in the Thirty Years' War when the majority of its books were taken to Rome, where the Vatican Library still holds copies of the De Bry collection originally belonging to the Elector Palatine.⁷⁴

Many monumental German libraries suffered the same fate. The collection of another ruler in the Palatinate, Duke Johan I of Zweibrücken, increased significantly after 1590. His interests were broad, and judging from the amounts he spent at the Frankfurt fairs, his collection may well have contained De Bry volumes. The count certainly favoured the firm's publications, having accepted the dedication of the first volume of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae*.⁷⁵ The presence of the voyages is nevertheless impossible to establish, as the entire library was lost in the town's destruction by Imperial troops in 1635.⁷⁶ The situation in

⁷³ For the dedications of De Bry volumes to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel, cf. *supra*, Ch. 4, p. 135. For libraries of the nobility in the Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: E. Pleticha, *Adel und Buch. Studien zur Geisteswelt des fränkischen Adels am Beispiel seiner Bibliotheken vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Neustadt an der Aisch 1983) 31–55.

⁷⁴ E. Mittler, ed., *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog und Register zur Microfiche-Ausgabe* (4 vols.; Munich 1999) nr. 00255: *Ind. Occ.* I–IX (Lat). This copy may have first come into the possession of Pope Urban VIII's Barberini relatives. The Vatican Library today still holds more copies of the collection, like *Ind. Or.* VI (Ger) which carries the call number Palatina IV 841.

⁷⁵ App. 1, nr. 34.

⁷⁶ L. G. Svensson, *Die Geschichte der Bibliotheca Bipontina: mit einem Katalog der Handschriften* (Kaiserslautern 2002) 63–67.

Würzburg, where Prince Bishop Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn had assembled many thousands of books in the years between 1590 and 1617, with a particularly well-developed section of historical works, was no different. When Gustav Adolf sacked the town in 1631, the books were moved to Uppsala, where the library was dispersed.⁷⁷

The same misfortune befell Eberhard III, Duke of Württemberg, but in this case, his ownership of the De Bry collection had been documented before the destruction of his library. The inventory of the library at his court in Stuttgart, recorded in 1624 under his father Johan Frederick, cites the presence of the first eleven volumes of the *America*-series, as well as most, if not all, *India Orientalis*-volumes. Eberhard's grandfather, Frederick I, had been a patron of both Bernardus Paludanus and the De Brys, who dedicated the German version of *India Orientalis* IV to him. The presence of the collection of voyages in his library is therefore not surprising. Equally predictable perhaps was its fate after the Protestants lost the Battle of Nördlingen (1634). Eberhard immediately fled to Strasbourg, and when he returned to Stuttgart in 1638, his treasured library had been shipped to Vienna. Some of the De Bry volumes included in the 1652 catalogue of Emperor Ferdinand III's library may have been seized in Stuttgart.⁷⁸

The library of the Dukes of Württemberg is typical for another reason. The De Bry volumes in their possession were printed in German. Whereas humanists almost without exception acquired the Latin editions of the works, the picture at the centres of secular authority is more diffuse. When Johan Casimir, Duke of Saxony-Coburg, desired to acquire the voyages in 1616, he ordered the German translations.⁷⁹ The castle of Tübingen, also in the Duchy of Württemberg, contained at least Volume I of the *America*-series in German, before its library's contents were confiscated by Duke Maximilian of Bavaria in 1634 and taken to

⁷⁷ J. U. Fechner, "Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Hofbibliothek von Fürstbischof Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn", *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch* 25 (1973) 16–32; O. Handwerker, "Die Hofbibliothek des Würzburger Fürstbischofs Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn", *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* XII (1925) 1–42.

⁷⁸ K. Schreiner, "Württembergische Bibliotheksverluste im Dreißigjährigen Krieg", *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* XIV (1974) 673–85, 705–07, 712, 716–17, 724. The volumes could also have been from the estate of Matthias, the previous emperor: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* XX (1899) II nr. 17408.

⁷⁹ His volumes are currently in the Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha, call number Geogr 4° 03338/04.

Munich.⁸⁰ Duke August the Younger of Brunswick-Lüneburg purchased the volumes in German for his extraordinary library in Wolfenbüttel. Most of the collection was in his possession before 1630, and only in 1650 did he extend his bibliomania to the Latin editions, when he bought Volume I of the *America*-series. When the volumes of the late 1620s appeared, like *India Orientalis* XII and XIII, and *India Occidentalis* XIII, the Duke still purchased the editions in the vernacular.⁸¹

Establishing the ratio of German to Latin volumes among the nobility in the Empire is difficult, because even for these high echelons information is limited. Attempting to understand why people in general decided to buy one or the other translation is equally hard, as no clear pattern emerges. Sources on early modern German libraries are scarce, and beyond the German-speaking territories, the volumes aimed at a domestic audience attracted little attention. Booksellers and their clienteles in the Dutch Republic, Scandinavia, and Danzig occasionally obtained German editions, but the Moretuses in Antwerp did so only once.⁸² In all examples, both inside and outside the Empire, the owners of the German volumes were Protestants, which would correspond to the editorial changes the De Brys made in the hope of reaching various readerships. But there were just as many Protestants who bought the Latin volumes, and the scarcity of documentary material does not permit drawing definite conclusions.

Finding Latin volumes in the libraries of the upper classes in the Empire, moreover, is not at all unusual. Peter Vok of Rožmberk, whose court in Třeboň, southern Bohemia, was second in excellence only to

⁸⁰ Schreiner (1974) 753 ff., 841.

⁸¹ The date of purchase of the volumes in Wolfenbüttel can be traced in the Herzog August Bibliothek, in the so-called *Bücherradkatalog*, 524–27, 581, 1770–72, 3721. The catalogue was first put into writing in 1625, so the dates of purchase of the volumes after 1625 can be established more precisely. M. von Katte, “Herzog August und die Kataloge seiner Bibliothek”, *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge* 1 (1972) 174–93.

⁸² The Dutch booksellers Cornelis Claesz, Hendrick Laurensz, Abraham and Bonaventura Elsevier, and Johannes Janssonius, all stocking the German collection, have already been mentioned above. In Scandinavia, the German volumes were in the possession of Henrik Matsson, advisor to the Swedish king Johan III and his son Sigismund: T. Kiiskinen, *The library of the Finnish nobleman, royal secretary and trustee Henrik Matsson (ca. 1540–1617): a reading out of a manuscript from 1601, found in the city archive of Tallinn, Estonia* (Helsinki 2004) 90. The *Ind.Or.*-volumes in the Dutch National Maritime Museum (A IV–1 4b) were first purchased in the early 1640s by the Danzig nobleman and burgomaster Nicolaus von Bodeck, according to the handwritten testimony on two title-pages. Jan Moretus sold the German *Ind.Occ.* I–IX in January 1604: Arch. MPM 176, f15r.

Rudolf's in Prague, probably possessed around 11,000 volumes, among them the Latin *India Orientalis*, part of which later surfaced in the collection of Isaac Vossius in Leiden.⁸³ Elsewhere, at the court of Stadtholder Maurice of Nassau in The Hague, the Latin collection could also be found.⁸⁴ One of Maurice's military adversaries in the Low Countries, Alexander of Aremborg, possessed at least the first Latin volume of the *America*-series.⁸⁵ And further east, Johannes Carolus Chodkiewicz, the Palatine of Vilnius in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, also owned at least one volume of the collection in Latin, as did the Hungarian Count of Hommona, György Drugeth, his noble compatriot Zsigmond Rákóczi, and Istvan Kovacsóczy, the Chancellor of Transylvania in the 1620s.⁸⁶

10.7. AN EARLY MODERN COFFEE-TABLE BOOK?

While it is possible to trace yet more copies of the De Bry collection in the libraries of the nobility, it is far more important to establish that the volumes crossed almost all geographical and religious boundaries. Catholics as well as Protestants acquired the volumes from Frankfurt. The Jesuit College in Paris, for example, possessed part or all of the *America*-series, while the library of the monastery in Huerta in northern

⁸³ R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his world. A study in intellectual history 1576–1612* (Oxford 1973) 140–43; see also: B. Nuska, “Kniharské účty pana Petra Voka z Rozmberka” [“Die Buchhändler- und Buchbinderrechnungen des Herrn Petr Vok von Rozmberk”], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze* Series C, IX (1964) 53–80. Isaac Vossius' volumes *Ind. Or.* VII (Lat) & VIII app. (Ger) in Leiden still carry Peter Vok's ex-libris. The binding of this tome is dated 1607 (UBL 1368 C 8). The presence of all *Ind. Or.*-volumes issued before 1611 in Peter Vok's library is confirmed in the manuscript catalogue made by his librarian Václav Březan in the first decade of the seventeenth century. I am grateful to Václav Rameš and Aleš Stejskal of the regional archives in Třeboň for providing this information.

⁸⁴ A. D. Renting and J. T. C. Renting-Kuijpers, eds., *The seventeenth-century Orange-Nassau library: the catalogue compiled by Anthonie Smets in 1686, the 1749 auction catalogue, and other contemporary sources* (Utrecht 1993) nr. 1430.

⁸⁵ A. Pinchart, “Inventaire des tableaux, bijoux, livres, tapisseries, etc. d'Alexandre d'Aremberg, prince de Chimay, etc. mort en 1629”, *Le bibliophile belge* IV (1847) 385.

⁸⁶ The ownership of Chodkiewicz is based on his ex-libris in the copy of *Ind. Occ.* IX (Lat) currently in Vilnius University Library, call number 42.1.21/1–4, as observed by the Head of the Rare Books Department, A. Braziūnienė, in his article “Jono Karolio Chocevičiaus bibliotekos pėdsakais” [“The private library of Joannes Carolus Chodkiewicz”] available online: <http://www.leidykla.vu.lt/inetleid/inf-mok/20/str15.html> (Oct. 2006); M. István, *A Rákóczi-család könyvtárai 1588–1660* (Szeged 1996) 30, 35–37, lists the three remaining owners.

Castile held expurgated volumes of both series.⁸⁷ Italian cardinals with a profound interest in scholarship, such as Francesco Barberini, the influential nephew of pope Urban VIII, and Leopoldo de' Medici, one of the founders of the *Accademia del Cimento* in Florence, owned the De Bry collection. Cardinal Mazarin in France secured the entire collection as part of his purchase of Jean de Cordes' massive *Bibliotheca Cordesiana* in 1643. But their counterparts in Protestant Europe, like Edward Stillingfleet, the late seventeenth-century Anglican bishop of Worcester, or Johan Michael Dilherr, a prominent Lutheran preacher in Nuremberg, also possessed the voyages, the latter probably in German.⁸⁸

The size of the library rather than the owner's political and religious background conditioned the likely presence of the De Bry volumes, and this was increasingly obvious when the voyages became more difficult to acquire. Hence the expensive volumes rarely entered the private libraries of solicitors or the small communal collections of parish churches and towns.⁸⁹ In the early years of their production, volumes could be found in the inventories of artisans like Anton Weidenteich, a goldsmith from Brunswick.⁹⁰ Some of Jan Moretus' less prosperous customers in Antwerp purchased a few of the early *America*-volumes in the 1590s, but did not return to expand their set. The perpetual enlargement of the collection by the frequent production of new volumes, which made the voyages so attractive for many affluent Europeans, priced many other potential clients out of the market. After 1600, it became ever rarer to find the collection as a whole in the possession of people who owned fewer than five hundred books in total.

As a result, the volumes are commonly found in the Dutch Republic,

⁸⁷ The Latin copy BL G6633 carries the ex-libris "Collegii Paris. Societ. Jesu"; the Huerta copies are currently in the Biblioteca Pública del Estado in Soria, call number A-150.

⁸⁸ *Index bibliothecae qua Franciscus Barberinus [...] reddidit* (Rome 1681) [E2v], [K4r], and [Bbbb4r]; A. Mirto, *La biblioteca del cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici. Catalogo* (Florence 1990) 162; G. Naudé, ed., *Bibliothecae Cordesianae catalogus, cum indice titulorum* (Paris 1643) 332, 335; for Dilherr: R. Jürgensen, *Bibliotheca Norica* (2 vols.; Wiesbaden 2002) I 436–37. Stillingfleet's ownership of the volumes was confirmed by Ann Simmons, Deputy Keeper of Marsh's Library in Dublin, where Stillingfleet's copy is located today.

⁸⁹ R. A. Müller, "Kleinstadt und Bibliothek in der Frühmoderne. Zu Genese und Struktur der Ratsbibliothek der fränkischen Reichsstadt Weißenburg", *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 15 (1992) 99–117.

⁹⁰ M. Hackenberg, "Books in artisan homes of sixteenth-century Germany", *Journal of Library History* 21–1 (1986) 86–88. Weidenteich probably possessed only a single volume.

where the typical gentleman's library of the seventeenth century comprised around 2,000 titles, and the circulation of books was high. Only the *grandes collections* in Paris could match these numbers, but those of the upper-middle classes seldom exceeded one thousand books.⁹¹ The libraries of the lower nobility in the Empire were not nearly as substantial.⁹² The situation in other parts of Europe was similar: in Bohemia few collections consisted of more than eight hundred books, but in western Hungary and in Spain libraries were much more modest.⁹³ In a region which was quite closely aligned to the United Provinces in cultural terms, the Southern Netherlands, large private libraries were few and far between. Until the mid-eighteenth century, only a handful of book auctions surpassed 2,000 works. Louvain colleagues of Leiden scholars like Scaliger and Vulcanius, such as Libertus Fromondus and Nicolaus Vernulaeus, did not possess libraries of a comparable size, and did not own copies of the De Bry collection.⁹⁴ In a commercial centre like Antwerp, very few people could boast a library of more than one thousand books.⁹⁵

In regions like western Hungary, where hardly any geographical literature can be found in libraries,⁹⁶ or even in the Southern Netherlands,

⁹¹ H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle (1598–1701)* (2 vols.; Geneva 1969) I 474–89, 492; P. Aquilon, “Petites et moyennes bibliothèques 1530–1660” In: *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Tome II: Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789* (Paris 1988) 180–203.

⁹² Pleticha (1983) 31–55.

⁹³ For Bohemia: Z. Šimčůček, *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Tschechien und in der Slowakei* (Wiesbaden 2002) 23; for western Hungary: *Lesestoffe in Westungarn. Materialien zur Geschichte der Geistesströmungen des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn* (2 vols.; Szeged 1994–96), including many hundreds of private libraries large and small, and J. Berlász, “Die Entstehung der ungarischen Bibliothekskultur im 16–17. Jahrhundert”, *Magyar Könyvszemle* 90 (1974) 14–28; for Spain: Dadson (1998) 339–467, including 12 inventories, and references to many more; see also: Rojo Vega (1997) 205–06.

⁹⁴ P. Delsaerd, *Swam quisque bibliothecam: boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16de–18de eeuw* (Louvain 2001) 147–85, 655–770; Idem, “Libri Liberti. De bibliotheek van Libertus Fromondus (1587–1653)”, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 5 (1998) 27–45; Idem, ed., *De bibliotheek van Nicolaus Vernulaeus: een facsimile van de boekveilingcatalogus uit 1649* (n.p. 2005).

⁹⁵ Fabri (2005) 18–19.

⁹⁶ *Lesestoffe in Westungarn* (1994–96) I 288–90 and II 140 provides only two owners of De Bry volumes: the German physician Johan Heinrich Friedrich († 1667) possessed a total of 86 books, including *Ind. Occ.* I (Ger) and *Ind. Occ.* II (Lat). He was not a resident of Sporon, where his handwritten inventory ended up. The other was Pál Esterházy, the Prince Palatine of Hungary, who owned the *Historia Americana in fol.*, which may refer to one of the abridgements published by Merian. The Hungarian libraries further

Europe's overseas expansion was not as relevant to political and cultural developments as in the Dutch Republic or, for example, in England, where the De Bry collection can indeed be traced more often. In general, English private libraries were smaller than those in the United Provinces, but the number of significant collections increased as the seventeenth century progressed. By that time, however, the collection of voyages had become a 'rare book'. English access to books produced in Frankfurt was nonetheless reasonably good. The bookseller John Norton was a close associate of the German publisher Levinus Hulsius, who in turn had intimate relations with the De Brys, as will be discussed in Chapter 11. Norton's was a familiar face at the Frankfurt fairs, and twice a year, he imported books from Frankfurt into England. John Bill, the King's Printer, could also be found buying books for the likes of Sir Thomas Bodley in the early decades of the seventeenth century.⁹⁷

These publishers purchased reading matter for erudite academics in Oxford and Cambridge, yet in these quarters the enthusiasm for buying tales of exploration was comparatively limited. In a set of around thirty inventories of private libraries of Cambridge scholars in the period between 1591 and 1667, works on geography and cosmography do not figure as prominently as they did on the Continent: the comprehensive publications composed by Münster and Ortelius, omnipresent elsewhere, were often absent. College libraries were generally somewhat better equipped.⁹⁸ Oxford was more geographically inclined, although John Rainolds, the president of Corpus Christi College, who owned the first nine volumes of the *America*-series, was still something of an exception. According to one contemporary, Rainolds had a "well-furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning; the memory, the reading of that man were near to a miracle".⁹⁹ To the disappointment of

contained hardly any copies of Münster's *Cosmographia* and Ortelius' *Theatrum*, the two most omnipresent geographical treatises elsewhere in Europe.

⁹⁷ J. Roberts, "Importing books for Oxford 1500–1640" In: J. P. Carley and C. G. C. Tite, eds., *Books and collectors 1200–1700. Essays presented to Andrew Watson* (London 1997) 327–28; J. L. Lievsay and R. B. Davis, "A cavalier library—1643", *Studies of bibliography* 6 (1954) 141–60.

⁹⁸ E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge inventories: book-lists from vice-chancellor's court probate inventories in the Tudor and Stuart periods* (2 vols.; Cambridge 1986) I 492–584; L. B. Cormack, *Charting an empire. Geography at the English universities 1580–1620* (Chicago and London 1997) 110–13.

⁹⁹ Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter and Norwich, as quoted in T. Fowler, *University of Oxford: College Histories: Corpus Christi* (photomechanic reprint, London 1998; 1st ed. London 1898) 100.

the university library, Rainolds, at his death in 1607, bequeathed the majority of his books to the college. In the next decade, the De Bry volumes gradually entered other Oxford collections.¹⁰⁰

In contrast, the nobility in England was not very different from the nobility in continental Europe; those who took pride in possessing a private library bought books in considerable numbers. Sir Thomas Knyvett, whose library comprised around 1,500 manuscripts and printed works in 1618, was among those who acquired the De Bry volumes, but on the face of it, only those volumes of accounts that he did not already possess in an earlier edition. He did not buy *India Occidentalis* III, for instance, because he had previously bought De Léry's *Histoire* in French. Since Knyvett did not read Dutch, however, he did purchase the whole *India Orientalis*-series. He acquired Volume VI of the set of accounts on Asia and Africa in June 1608, and, according to his own handwritten testimony, had finished reading this volume in October. In spite of this admission, it is still unknown what he thought of De Marees' account of West Africa.¹⁰¹

In other cases, in England and on the Continent, scepticism is in order as to whether the De Bry volumes were actually read at all. Henry Peacham, in his handbook *The compleat gentleman* (1622), warned young men of good birth:

Affect not as some doe, that bookish Ambition, to be stored with bookes and have well furnished Libraries, yet keepe their heads emptie of knowledge: to desire to have many bookes, and never to use them, is like a childe that will have a candle burning by him, all the while he is sleeping.¹⁰²

Advice of this kind was usually only put into writing when the dangers were real. So did an antiquary and member of parliament like Sir Edward Dering of Kent have the opportunity to read all twenty-two Latin volumes of the collection in his possession? Surely Richard Holdsworth, the Master of Emmanuel College in Cambridge could not have read all the 10,000 volumes in his private library. The estimated size of the collection of Richard Smith, a Secondary of the Poultry Compter—a type of London under-sheriff—and an inspired collector

¹⁰⁰ Cormack (1997) 153–54, and appendix B.

¹⁰¹ D. J. McKitterick, *The library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe c. 1539–1618* (Cambridge 1978) nrs. 540, 804–06, 811, and 1214.

¹⁰² H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman. Fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie that may be required in a Noble Gentleman* (London 1622) 54.

of books in the mid-seventeenth century, ranged from 8,000 to 20,000 titles. Whatever its exact size, it is unlikely that he read them all. The latter two, like Dering and many others in the British Isles, also owned the Latin De Bry volumes.¹⁰³ But in a period when collecting books became an obsession, the collection of voyages may well have gradually turned into a coffee-table book, a must-have publication for those who aspired to boast a splendid library that could be the envy of others, regardless of its precise contents. With the economic pendulum gradually swinging in the direction of the prosperity and consumption that was to characterise Restoration England, it was here that the De Bry collection first became an object of bibliophilia.

10.8. IN THE COLLECTIONS OF PUBLIC LIBRARIES

If there were book-owners who possessed the De Bry collection and did not read it, there were certainly also those who wanted to read the volumes, but could not buy them because they were too expensive or out of stock. Some of those interested may have turned to the seventeenth-century equivalent of the public library. The curators of these libraries, much like their colleagues at the courts of the nobility, were in an ideal position to purchase comprehensive multi-volume publications like the De Bry collection. The acquisition of the Latin De Bry volumes for the academic library in Groningen is a good example. When the university was founded in 1614, the local regents provided funds to establish the nucleus of a solid library. Burgomaster Joachim Alting, who was assigned to the task of buying suitable books, had assembled a collection of 403 titles by 1619, when the first inventory was compiled. This document gives a good indication of the publications that were considered authoritative in the various academic disciplines.¹⁰⁴

The Groningen library included core literature in the fields of travel and geography, as one would expect from a public collection in the Dutch Republic. Due to financial limitations and to the more press-

¹⁰³ R. J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green, eds., *Private libraries in Renaissance England. A collection and catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists* (5 vols.; Binghamton NY 1992–98) I 190–93; J. C. T. Oates, *Cambridge University library. A history* I (Cambridge 1986) 304–48; E. Gordon Duff, “The library of Richard Smith”, *The Library*, 2nd series VIII (1907) 122.

¹⁰⁴ For this paragraph and the following: A. G. Roos, *De geschiedenis van de bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen* (Groningen 1914) 6–7, 95–102.

ing need for theological works and classical texts, this core consisted of only six titles: the presence of Ptolemy's *Geographia* and Strabo's *Opera* signal the lasting authority of ancient scholarship. By this time, Ortelius' *Theatrum* enjoyed a similar status, and the Groningen burgomaster obtained one of its most recent Latin editions, issued in 1612. He also bought Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, printed in Cologne in 1593. The two De Bry series, *India Occidentalis* and *India Orientalis*, completed the list of geographical publications. Alting thus anticipated Naudé's advice to buy collected works, and avoided "searching for a host of books extremely rare and uncommon".¹⁰⁵ The fact that the De Bry volumes were translated into Latin, still the language of preference for a university in the early seventeenth century, may have helped to persuade Alting that these were the volumes for him. Yet the acquisition of the De Bry volumes also affirms their status as respected publications.

For readers, there was one drawback. Until 1815, the volumes in Groningen could only be consulted on Wednesdays and Saturdays from 1 to 3, and in the winter months from 12 to 2. Students of the university could use the library after paying a fee at their first visit, but only professors were allowed to take books out.¹⁰⁶ These regulations were customary in the seventeenth century; one could not enter the majority of public collections at will. The Count of Gondomar, whose library in Valladolid was open to the public in principle, was certainly not fond of guests. In 1620, he advised his staff to tell visitors that he had taken the library key with him to London. Only close friends and family were allowed access.¹⁰⁷ According to Naudé, in 1627, there were only three libraries in Europe one could visit without difficulty, "those of the knight Bodley at Oxford, of Cardinal Borromeo at Milan, and of the Augustinian Friars at Rome". He considered this wholly insufficient, and argued that in any library:

those who may be complete strangers, and all others who are interested only in certain passages, may see, examine, and make extracts from any kind of printed book they may require, [and] well-known persons of distinction be permitted to carry some few ordinary books to their own lodgings.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ See p. 325.

¹⁰⁶ Roos (1914) 12–13.

¹⁰⁷ Manso Porto (1996) 142.

¹⁰⁸ All these quotes were taken from the translation of Naudé by Taylor (1976) 75, 78–79.

Naudé was, in this sense, ahead of his time, but he was correct in his appraisal of the libraries he mentioned. After Sir Thomas Bodley died in 1613, the Bodleian restricted the privilege of reading to Doctors and Masters, Bachelors of Arts, and students of Civil Law of some seniority. Undergraduates could be admitted only on special terms and were instructed to abstain from reading books ill-adapted to their studies. Once inside, however, readers could consult the first nine *America*-volumes and the first four parts of the *India Orientalis*-series included in the first catalogue of 1605.¹⁰⁹ Foreigners admitted to read in the library were exempted from many of its restrictions and were, in the words of the ordinance of 1613, “not to be prejudiced in the enjoyment of the books”. Hence a steady stream of readers arrived.¹¹⁰

Another private initiative which transformed into a hospitable public institution was the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, founded in 1609 by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan. It may have contained the De Bry collection, if the volumes owned by the book collector Gian Vincenzo Pinelli from Padua had survived an attack by Turkish pirates in the Mediterranean; Pinelli’s books were auctioned in 1608.¹¹¹ Cardinal Mazarin’s library in Paris, as mentioned above, did include the voyages. Its doors were unlocked for the public in 1647 thanks to the personal determination of Naudé, the librarian, but only for one afternoon a week and only until early 1651, when the Fronde forced its owner to go into exile. Adriaan Pauw, the grand pensionary of Holland who owned all twenty-five De Bry volumes in Latin, may have had a similar public future in mind for his personal collection of more than 16,000 books, but this plan failed to materialise. The Bibliotheca Heemstediana, named after Pauw’s manor of Heemstede, was auctioned in The Hague in 1654, one year after his death.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ *The first printed catalogue of the Bodleian library 1605, a facsimile* (Oxford 1986) 281, 344, 368.

¹¹⁰ I. Philip, *The Bodleian Library in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Oxford 1983) 34.

¹¹¹ P. M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: art patronage and reform in seventeenth-century Milan* (Cambridge 1993). I have not been able to consult the early seventeenth-century catalogues which the library still holds: *Il Seicento, prima serie* Z 37–39, 63–64, 40 inf. (Latin books), and Z 56 inf. (vernacular books). On Pinelli: M. Grendler, “Book collecting in Counter-Reformation Italy: the library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)”, *Journal of Library History* 16–1 (1981) 143–51. Millicent Sowerby (1952–59) IV 168 and V 188 confirms that when the Pinelli collection was auctioned again, in London in 1789, *Ind. Occ.* I–XI were part of it, but it is not clear whether these volumes had earlier been in the possession of the Ambrosiana.

¹¹² *Book sales catalogues*, MF 1599–1602, *Catalogus omnium librorum & manuscriptorum* (1654) 265, 300; H. de la Fontaine Verwey, “Adriaan Pauw en zijn bibliotheek” In:

Alongside these private collections turned public, there were seventeenth-century libraries which were consciously founded for a communal or semi-communal purpose. The Augustinian friars in Rome, praised by Naudé for providing access to a wide range of readers, opened their Biblioteca Angelica to scholars in 1614. The Angelica combined the books accumulated in the Augustine convent in Rome with the vast private library of one of its friars, Angelo Rocca. A first catalogue was composed as early as 1608 and contained the nine-volume *America*-series, as well as, in all likelihood, a substantial number of *India Orientalis*-volumes.¹¹³ The municipal library of Augsburg also held the De Bry collection, although here it was not recognised as such until the 1630s, resulting in the binding of some of the volumes with different works entirely. *India Occidentalis* IX, for example, was bound together with an astronomical treatise by Kepler, and *India Orientalis* IX could be found in the same binding as Lodovico Guicciardini's description of the Low Countries. *India Orientalis* II was even paired with the other Latin translation of the same account, Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*. The set of De Bry volumes, moreover, was a hotch-potch of Latin and German translations.¹¹⁴

Even in prestigious public libraries, the De Bry collection was considered to be a valued piece of property. The librarian of Corpus Christi College in Oxford made sure to chain the copy of the *America*-series inherited from John Rainolds to the shelves in order to prevent its theft. Whereas some of the books were loaned to members of the college, the De Bry volumes were certainly part of that other category of books, those which remained in the library at all times.¹¹⁵ The surviving De Bry volumes from the city library in Amsterdam, acquired in a single

W. R. H. Koops, et al., eds., *Boek, bibliotheek en geesteswetenschappen: opstellen door vrienden en collega's van dr. C. Reedijk geschreven ter gelegenheid van zijn aftreden als bibliothecaris van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te 's-Gravenhage* (Hilversum 1986) 103–15. The remarks about the Bibliothèque Mazarine were also taken from this article, 106–07.

¹¹³ *Bibliotheca Angelica litteratorum litterarumq. amatorum commoditati dicata* (Rome 1608) 68. The reference to the *Ind.Or.*-volumes is uncertain, but is probably alluded to by one or both of the two following entries (53–54): “Diaria Nautica in Indiam Orientalem admiranda, figuris, & imaginibus referta, & Itineraria maritima diversarum Nationum pluribus Tomis comprehensa” or “Navigationes & itinerarium in Indiam Orientalem & in Lusitaniam, Imaginibus, & figuris aere incisis, & miniatis”.

¹¹⁴ *Catalogus bibliothecae amplissimae reipublicae Augustanae* (Augsburg 1633) 427, 456–57, 670, 686–87, and 773.

¹¹⁵ As stated by Prof. J. B. Bengtson, Head Librarian of the John M. Kelly Library in Toronto, and former Head Librarian at Queen's College, Oxford, in his article “Images of the New World by Theodore de Bry” available online: <http://www.floridahistory.com/de-bry-plates/de-bry-biography-mirror.htm> (Dec. 2006).

transaction around 1619, and recognisable by their bindings, also show traces of chains.¹¹⁶ The practice of securing books by chaining them to the shelves, very common in the first half of the seventeenth century, allowed librarians to open the doors to the public: the Amsterdam library, housed in the New Church until the foundation of the *Athenaeum Illustre* in 1632, received many people, including some who “had very different thoughts than our Church”. The liberal admission policy, formulated by the local magistrates and accepted by the local church consistory, attracted readers “of a very young age” in particular.¹¹⁷

Borrowing volumes of the De Bry collection from any of the aforementioned libraries was out of the question in the first half of the seventeenth century, except for a few privileged readers like the professors in Groningen. Only in the later seventeenth century did the right to borrow books become more widespread. By this time, the De Bry collection had become the object of bibliophile attention, forcing even relatively affluent enthusiasts to fall back on public collections in order to read the accounts and marvel at the engravings. One of the libraries to open its doors to readers regardless of their social background was the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg’s Bibliotheca Augusta. From 1664 onwards, the library staff in Wolfenbüttel kept account of those who borrowed books from the collection, and the De Bry volumes were among its favourite titles. In these records, books are often listed by referring to the author of the travel accounts, and not to the edition, but the call numbers, still in use today, enable the identification of the precise versions of the accounts borrowed.¹¹⁸

The reader most preoccupied by the De Bry volumes in the Wolfenbüttel library was its assistant-librarian, Johan Georg Sieverds. As a student, in May 1676, he had borrowed the German versions of the accounts, so his initial enthusiasm may have been that of an amateur.

¹¹⁶ *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae civitatis Amstelodamensis* (Amsterdam 1622) [F3v]. I am greatly indebted to Kees Gnrrep for determining as precisely as possible the date of purchase of the library’s *Ind.Occ.*- and *Ind.Or.*-volumes, based on the nature of their bindings.

¹¹⁷ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *De Stedelijke Bibliotheek van Amsterdam in de Nieuwe Kerk* (Meppel 1980) 8, including the quotes “verre vant verstandt van onze kercken verschelende” and “zeer jonck van jaren”.

¹¹⁸ M. Raabe, *Leser und Lektüre vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert: die Ausleihbücher der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 1664–1806* (3 vols.; Munich 1998); Idem, *Die fürstliche Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel und ihre Leser: zur Geschichte des institutionellen Lesens in einer nord-deutschen Residenz 1664–1806* (Wolfenbüttel 1997) 116, 202.

In the 1690s his interest in the De Bry volumes intensified, however, when he had become the assistant to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. The two men corresponded about Sieverds' work on the alphabetic catalogue of the library, and it is conceivable that the De Bry collection, which created headaches for so many bibliophiles who attempted to make a correct bibliographic description, fascinated the librarian for that very reason. Between March and August 1703, Sieverds took home the book containing *India Orientalis* VI to XI on no fewer than four occasions. In March 1701, he also displayed an interest in the *America*-series, borrowing the tomes containing Volumes I to X only two weeks before taking home Girolamo Benzoni's *Historiae Indiae Occidentalis*, printed in Lyon in 1586. As one of very few readers in the early modern period, Sieverds may have actually detected the modifications the De Brys had made to Benzoni's narrative.¹¹⁹

The library records more or less confirm the characteristics of the De Bry collection as identified on the basis of information about the owners of the books. Those who enjoyed reading (part of) the collection once, returned time and again to the library to borrow the volumes, just as the customers in Antwerp had returned to the bookstore to complete their set of volumes. The readers interested in the travel accounts in Wolfenbüttel included a musician named Justus Peter Jasper, who borrowed various *India Orientalis*-volumes in the early 1700s, a certain Johan Jakob Sartor, only referred to as 'monsieur', who borrowed the *India Occidentalis*-series several times in the spring and summer of 1683, and the 'mechanikus' Tobias Böhling, who in the winter of 1703–04 read the volumes of the *America*-series. A merchant, a student, and several courtiers also enjoyed the narratives. These men studied the collection that their grandfathers had been unable to purchase. But the only reader to rival Sieverds for the number of times he borrowed the volumes was Ludwig Rudolf, Duke Anton Ulrich's son. Between September 1687 and May 1703, he may well have studied all the reports collected by the De Brys. Prince Ludwig Rudolf's curiosity neatly mirrors the late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century status of the De Bry collection as a publication for the rich and fortunate.

¹¹⁹ Raabe (1998) A2, 36, 55, for this and the following paragraph.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE IMPACT OF THE DE BRY COLLECTION: TRAVEL LITERATURE AND TRAVEL COMPENDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the absence of marginal notes or other annotations made by readers of the De Bry collection, it is virtually impossible to establish the influence its representations exerted on individuals. An analysis of those who purchased the collection in the first half of the seventeenth century can only partly make up for that deficit. The family made several efforts to reach beyond the customary elites who could be counted on to buy the folio volumes, in an attempt to further disseminate their representations, and to sell yet more books. The De Bry representations also influenced other travel literature, and tracking these infiltrations can help to build a more complete picture of the collection's impact. This chapter will discuss the publications, mostly but not exclusively geographical and cartographical works, which drew on the De Bry collection for some of the representations they distributed.

11.1. THE COLLECTION ABRIDGED

After the death of Johan Theodore de Bry in August 1623, his two sons-in-law, Matthaeus Merian and the English bookseller William Fitzler, not only took over the publishing firm, but also inherited the collection of voyages. After two more volumes had appeared under the imprint of the heirs of Johan Theodore de Bry—the former in Latin, the latter in both languages—Merian and Fitzler parted ways in 1626; from then on, Merian coordinated the *America*-series, while Fitzler took responsibility for the *India Orientalis*-volumes.¹ After 1627, Merian produced another two volumes on the New World, *India Occidentalis* XIII and XIV, while Fitzler published two more volumes on the Orient, *India Orientalis* XII

¹ The volumes published between 1623 and 1626 are App. 1, nrs. A, B & C.

and XIII.² The final volumes of both series were published exclusively in German, but the accounts they included were nonetheless added to the Latin translations, only not as separate volumes. Both Fitzer and Merian, moreover, published one German abridgement of the series they had inherited, in 1629 and 1631 respectively.³

The numerical parity between the two sons-in-law should not disguise the vast differences in their approaches to the collection. For reasons discussed in Chapter 3, Merian was in a much more favourable position than Fitzer.⁴ Whereas the Englishman's volumes, and his abridgement of the *India Orientalis*-series, became the most carelessly published volumes of the entire collection, Merian succeeded in continuing the prestigious enterprise on a high level. The abridgement of the *America*-series he issued in 1631, in close co-operation with the Strasbourg chronicler Johan Ludwig Gottfried, could withstand comparison with earlier volumes. Merian, who had worked for Johan Theodore in the 1610s, basically continued the editing strategy of his father-in-law. On the one hand, he copied plates of the *India Occidentalis*-volumes for the abridgement. Judging from the state of the engravings, the plates for the first six volumes had been used most intensively.⁵ On the other hand, Merian designed around forty engravings for the volumes he issued. These new illustrations also decorated the abridgement published both as *Historia Antipodum oder Neue Welt* and *Neue Welt und Americanische Historien*.⁶

Some of Merian's plates were merely new copies of already existing compositions, like the engravings of Spanish-French hostilities in Florida, and the ritual the Brazilian cannibals performed before their visitor Hans Staden.⁷ Elsewhere Merian deliberately continued the representational modifications of his father-in-law. Hence the natural world in America was portrayed as even more uncultivated; feathered clothing gained yet further ground, widely dispersed peoples were indiscriminately brought together in a single engraving, and heathen-

² For Merian, see App. 1, nrs. D, J & L; for Fitzer: App. 1, nrs. E, F & G.

³ App. 1, nrs. H & K respectively.

⁴ Supra, Ch. 3, pp. 101–02.

⁵ Engravings of all *America*-volumes were included in unrevised form in the abridgement. Yet the engravings of the peoples of Virginia from *Ind. Occ.* I were probably too worn to be re-used. One new plate was designed to make up for this deficit, *Historia Antipodum* (1631) 168. Several plates were included twice.

⁶ App. 1, nr. K.

⁷ *Historia Antipodum* (1631) 342, 118.



Ill. 78. *Historia Antipodum* (1631) 541

dom was depicted in more gruesome fashion than in the original series.⁸ One new plate depicting a “marvellous ceremony” united an Algonquian from Virginia, two men with headgear made of stuffed parrots or falcons—presumably Timucucans from Florida, and a number of feathered accomplices whose origin was by now decisively blurred. A civilised European who observed the ritual fire they made, according to the engraving’s narrative structure, was their captive (ill. 78).⁹ The abridgement, which re-appeared as late as 1655, thus confirmed the representations so carefully constructed by Theodore de Bry and his

⁸ See for instance the new engravings in *Historia Antipodum* (1631) 65, 134, and 382.

⁹ The engraving depicts Pocahontas ‘saving’ John Smith’s life in Virginia.

sons which were now available, as the title-page of *Historia Antipodum* stated, for an acceptable price.¹⁰

The condensed editions, including Fitzer's *India Orientalis*-abridgement of 1629, were not the first gesture towards readers with a smaller purse. Equally significant are the adjustments Johan Theodore made to the second editions of several volumes. The Latin *America*-series is a case in point. Whereas in the first edition of Volume VI, thirteen sections of paper were devoted to the translation of Benzoni's final chapters, the same information was crammed into ten sections for the second edition of 1617, by making use of smaller fonts. The same method was applied to Volume V, which contains additional differences between the first and second editions. The former displays large-scale ornaments and initials and was printed in a slightly larger folio-size than the latter. The second edition of Volume VII, also of 1617, was the first to have the text arranged in two columns, to further reduce the amount of paper needed. Many of the subsequent second or third editions arrange the text in columns, sometimes more than halving the number of sections required. Prefaces to the accounts were abbreviated or left out entirely. The paper used for the collection was of noticeably poorer quality, although this deterioration in quality may also have been caused by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Only the illustrations remained of consistently high quality, with old engravings being replaced by new ones when necessary, also in the later editions.

11.2. THE DE BRYs AND HULSIUS: FROM FOLIO TO QUARTO

Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry acknowledged the need for more accessible versions of their books shortly after 1600. This resulted in the publication of five German quarto-versions of travel accounts, four of which were re-issues of the same translations used for the folios. The appendix to *India Occidentalis* IX, *India Orientalis* VI, and parts of *India Orientalis* VII and VIII thus appeared in two versions: one regular folio edition which formed an intrinsic part of their collection of voyages, and one cheaper, smaller alternative in the mould of their editions of Las Casas' *Brevissima relación* of the late 1590s. The De Bry brothers usually published these quartos six months after the folios had

¹⁰ *Historia Antipodum* (1631) second title-page: "in diese käuffliche Form bebracht".

appeared, in order not to detract from the sales of their masterpieces. They initiated this shrewd publishing formula in 1602 and abandoned it in 1606.¹¹

The appearance of the first quarto-volume coincided with the arrival in Frankfurt of the publisher Levinus Hulsius, who issued his own collection of voyages. Hulsius, a Calvinist born in Ghent around 1546, resided in Middelburg, Bremen, and Frankenthal before moving to Nuremberg around 1590. From the mid-1580s onwards, he specialised in teaching foreign languages, notably French, Italian, and probably Latin. His reputation largely rested on his *Dictionnaire François-Alemand et Alemand-François* (1596), the first ever French-German dictionary, issued by his own publishing firm which he had founded in 1594. The educated Hulsius was considered by many to be better suited than the De Brys to publishing learned treatises. In 1602, he brought Tycho Brahe's *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* onto the market, as one of many scholarly titles.¹²

The De Brys and Levinus Hulsius knew each other well. At the Lent fair of 1594, Theodore de Bry bought books from the Officina Plantiniana "for Levinus Hulsius", whose son Esaias later fulfilled his apprenticeship as a goldsmith and copper engraver in the workshop of Johan Theodore.¹³ The two families further co-operated on the publication of *Historia chronologica Pannoniae*, published by the De Brys in both Latin and German at the Lent fair of 1596. Levinus Hulsius' name was not mentioned on the title-page, but in the De Bry request to the Frankfurt authorities for permission to publish the book, Levinus Hulsius from Ghent was named as the compiler.¹⁴ An analogous work by Hulsius, announced as *Chronologia Pannonie* in the catalogue of the next Frankfurt fair, was published in September.¹⁵

¹¹ App. 1, nrs. *75, *79, 86, *89. Hendrick Ottsen's account (App. 1, nr. 83) was not included in the collection of voyages.

¹² StAfr., Rpr. 1601, f70v (16/2/02). On Hulsius: E. Merkel, "Der Buchhändler Levinus Hulsius, gest. 1606 zu Frankfurt am Main", *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst* 57 (1980) 7–18; Benzing (1969) esp. 596–606; Idem, "Neue Beiträge zum Nürnberger Buchgewerbe des 16. Jahrhunderts", *Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg* VII-2 (1958) 1–8.

¹³ Arch. MPM 977 (Q94) f52v; Merkel (1980) 14, Zülch (1935) 479, 526.

¹⁴ StAfr., ZBBP 24, f14v (26/1/1596): "... aus vilen glaubwürdigen Authoribus colligiert, durch Levinum Hulsium Gandavensem". App. 1, nrs. 26 & 27.

¹⁵ Frankfurt fair catalogue Q96 (printer N. Basseus) [B3r, D2v] and S96 (printer N. Basseus) [D4r]: Fabian (1972–2001) V 295, 310, 347.

Two years later, while still in Nuremberg, Hulsius published the first parts of what was to amount to a twenty-six-volume collection of voyages. His aspirations were much more modest than those of the De Brys. The relatively cheap quartos offered often greatly abbreviated accounts, which were translated into German only. The so-called *Sechs und zwanzig Schifffahrten* were a commercial success from the start. The first eight volumes were all reprinted at least twice, and new voyages were published with great regularity up to 1630. Levinus Hulsius lived to see the publication of only the first seven volumes. After his death in 1606, his widow Maria Ruting and his sons Friedrich, Esaia, and Bartholomaeus carried on the venture.¹⁶ After Levinus' death, the publication of travel accounts in quarto at the De Bry firm came to a halt.

The Hulsius collection did include engravings, but these lacked the artistic quality of the larger De Bry illustrations. Crucially, Levinus Hulsius was not capable of making copper engravings himself, and therefore depended on associates. Both before and after 1606, his illustrators leaned heavily on the textual and iconographic material presented by the De Brys, but after 1606 the intimate correlation between the two collections becomes especially obvious. Both compilations, most importantly, contained the same set of travel accounts until 1632, when the De Bry collection was no longer being extended. Hulsius' Volume XXII of that year was also the first volume to be published without illustrations. In only a few cases did Hulsius issue an account before the corresponding De Bry volume came out, and it was just as exceptional for a Hulsius volume to include more illustrations than the corresponding De Bry volume.¹⁷ After the De Brys had published a new addition

¹⁶ Steffen-Schrade (2004) 157–95; Merkel (1980) 14–16; Böhme (1904) 120–36; A. Asher, *Bibliographical essay on the collection of voyages and travels edited and published by Levinus Hulsius and his successors* (Amsterdam 1962 [photomechanic reprint; 1st ed., London 1839]); A. van der Linde, “Sur les collections des voyages des frères De Bry et de L. Hulsius de Gand”, *Le bibliophile belge* 1 (1867) 237–45.

¹⁷ Hulsius' *Schifffahrten* XIII, XIV and XV, according to the imprints, all appeared in 1617. The same accounts, of the Englishmen Hamor, Smith, and Coverte, were not published by Johan Theodore until 1618, in *Ind. Occ.* X and *Ind. Or.* XI. Hulsius' translation of De Veer's report, *Schifffahrten* III, also appeared a year before the corresponding *Ind. Or.* III of the De Bry brothers. Also: StAfr., ZBBP 24, f71r. The De Brys (1/12/1598) requested permission to print “...der dritte theil Indiae Orientalis. In 3. theilen alsvar das erst in fol. das ander in 4. beschriben und das 3. in Nürnberg getruckht”. The treatise printed in Nuremberg can only refer to Volume III of the Hulsius' *Schifffahrten*. See: Steffen-Schrade (2004) 177 ff. for a comparison of the two versions of Ulrich Schmidel's account.

to their series, the Hulsius firm generally followed suit with the German quarto-version of the same account at the next Frankfurt fair.¹⁸

This pattern has generally been interpreted as one of extremely fierce competition between the De Brys and the Hulsius firm for the patronage of the German readership interested in overseas adventures.¹⁹ Yet given the commercial and psychological importance of the voyages for the De Bry firm, it is remarkable that the Hulsius quartos were allowed to appear, let alone continue for a prolonged period of time. The De Brys generally employed aggressive publishing tactics, as was shown in Chapter 2, and were meticulous in their efforts to prevent reprints and plagiarism. When such editions did appear, Johan Israel instantly took the matter to the authorities.²⁰ Surely the De Brys would have taken measures to stop Hulsius' reprints from appearing, as the threat of these cheap quartos to the sales of their own collection was all too real.

Hulsius' permanent move to Frankfurt in 1602 would have been very ill-advised had he intentions of illegally reprinting the De Bry collection, as the De Brys now would only have had to put potential violations of copyright before the local authorities. The choice to entrust his collection to the same printers as the De Brys adds even more doubts to the theory of rivalry. Wolfgang Richter, in 1603, printed both *India Orientalis* VI and Volume VII of the Hulsius collection, which contained exactly the same material, on his presses.²¹ The association between the two bookselling families should therefore be seen in a different light. Co-operation rather than competition characterised their relationship. Rather than a hostile enterprise, the Hulsius collection must be considered the cheap, commercially attractive extension to the De Bry collection, a complementary venture the De Brys themselves had abandoned so suddenly in 1606. In the preface to Volume VIII

¹⁸ For a detailed comparison of the reports included in both collections: Steffen-Schrade (2004) 177 ff.; Böhme (1904) 124–25, 127–28.

¹⁹ Merkel (1980) 7 and Berger (1977–78) II 23–24 both hold this opinion. Steffen-Schrade (2004) 163 evades the issue by referring to Berger's claim of rivalry. In a handwritten note in the copy of App. 1, nr. *75 in the British Library (G6924), the bibliographer Asher stated: "I am inclined to think that it [e.g. the publication of quartos by the De Brys between 1602 and 1605, MvG] was undertaken as a sort of rival publication to that of my friend Levinus Hulsius, whose book, to judge by the numerous editions of some of the parts, must have met with an immense sale about 1599 to 1605, to the no small injury of De Bry's more expensive publication." (3/6/1849).

²⁰ *Supra*, Ch. 2, p. 72.

²¹ *Ind.Or.* VI (Ger) & App. 1, nr. *79.

of the Hulsius collection, Levinus' heirs referred their readers to the De Bry collection:

What happenend to one of his ships, named the 'Dutch Garden', [...] has been described in detail by Johan Herman von Bree [...] and was published by the De Brys, and can be found in their collection.²²

In Volume XII of 1614, Johan Theodore's involvement in the making of the Hulsius collection became even more obvious, as the included illustrations were "engraved in copper and published by Johan Theodore de Bry".²³ Those who read the preface were further referred to the treatise of Helisaeus Rösslin on travels to the North, published by the De Brys in 1610,²⁴ in the same casual manner that the De Brys used to refer to their own publications. In addition, many parts of the Hulsius collection contain engravings by Georg Keller, an employee of the De Bry firm.²⁵

The De Bry quartos in German that came out in the first decade of the seventeenth century may have served one of two purposes. They may have been intended to outmuscle the Hulsius firm in this commercially attractive niche, but they could also testify to an attempt of the De Brys to take the credits—on the title-pages—for an already existing form of co-operation. It is uncertain whether the De Bry quartos were a commercial success. In contrast to the Hulsius volumes not one of these works has been reprinted. Its serial aspect may have ensured that regular buyers of the Hulsius collection continued to acquire their books, while the De Bry customers were more interested in the folios to add to their already assembled sets of reports. By producing quarto-editions of their folios under Hulsius' name, the De Brys could placate the considerable group of consumers expecting new volumes of the smaller collection.

²² *Achte Schiffart oder kurtze Beschreibung etlicher Reysen...* (2nd ed., Frankfurt 1608) [a2v–a3r]: "Was einem von seinen Schiffen den Holländischen Zaun genennet, begetet, [...] hat Johan Herman von Bree [...] fleissig beschrieben, unnd ist von den Herrn de Bry in Truck gegeben und bey ihnen zu finden".

²³ *Zwölffte Schiffahrt oder kurtze Beschreibung der newen Schiffahrt...* (Oppenheim 1614) [unsigned page titled "Folgen etliche Mappen..."]: "In Kupffer gestochen und an Tag gegeben Durch Johann-Theodor de Bry". Inside this volume (13–14), the text points readers towards *Ind. Occ.* IX: "Man lieset auch bey Josepho Acosta cap. 12. lib. 3. natural Indiae Occident. Histor...".

²⁴ App. 1, nr. 115.

²⁵ *Schiffahrten* XI (1612), the appendix to XI (1613), XII (1614), XIII (1617), and XX (1629).

The heirs of Levinus Hulsius may well have been forced into co-operating with the De Brys, as Levinus' death had drastically changed the financial circumstances of his officina. Having been taxed for the healthy sum of 4,500 guilders in 1605,²⁶ he left his third wife Maria Ruting a debt of more than 650 guilders the next year. Matters were made worse by a verdict by the Frankfurt authorities that the children of Hulsius' first two marriages could not be held liable for these debts.²⁷ This left the widow in a state of immediate financial deprivation, which had not significantly improved in 1610. By then she was forced to leave Frankfurt for Oppenheim, in all likelihood indebted to Johan Theodore de Bry.²⁸

There could have been various reasons for this dependency. After 1602, when both firms were established in Frankfurt, Hulsius used the same employees as the De Brys. Apart from Richter and Keller, the printer Matthias Becker and his son also worked for Hulsius, and Gotthard Artus assisted with some of the translations.²⁹ An identical situation arose in Oppenheim, where both firms used Galler's presses,³⁰ as well as the know-how of the Calvinist minister Isaac Genius, who, having fallen on hard times in 1609, was advised by an anonymous member of the Reformed community to co-operate with Hulsius' widow and Johan Theodore de Bry.³¹ If anything, the connections between the two firms became even more intense in the Palatinate. They sometimes used the same title-pages for publications, and Merian and Esaias Hulsius co-operated on a publication issued in 1618.³² In 1619, the Hulsius family followed Johan Theodore back to Frankfurt.

²⁶ Dietz (1921) II 38.

²⁷ StAfr., ZBBP 121, nr. 2/18, flv (4/10/1606): "Hingegen aber sollenn sie die Vormunder erster und zweitter Ehe mitt allen den Schulden und debitis, so auss Levini Hulsij saligen, und der wittibe Nahrung zu zahlenn, nichts zu thun haben, sondern sie die wittib allein zu zahlen verpflichtet und schuldig sein".

²⁸ StAfr., Bmb 1609, f236r (24/4/1610). Ruting, "mit zimbliche schulden belästiget", wanted to leave Frankfurt, "demnach sie gemüssiget werde, irer notturfft und gelegenheit halben von hieren zu ziehen". In 1610, she settled in Oppenheim. She was still indebted to the city of Frankfurt as well, and was only allowed to leave after having paid half of this debt: StAfr., Bmb 1610, f3r (3/5/1610).

²⁹ For example for Hulsius' translation of Simon Stevin's treatise on fortifications (*Festung-bauung*, 1608).

³⁰ Benzing (1969) passim.

³¹ HStAM, H149, 330: "... denn er ein typography beneben Hulsij witwe und Theod. Bry kan ein weil an die handt nehmen".

³² The title-pages of Hulsius' *La perspective* (1612) by Salomon de Caus, and App. 1, nrs. 217 & 218 were identical. The co-operative effort of Merian and Hulsius is titled *Eigentliche wahrhafftige Delineatio und Abbildung aller fürstlichen Auffzüge und Ritterspielen*.

Esaias Hulsius submitted his request for Frankfurt citizenship on 1 July, the very day that Johan Theodore finally had his plea for a return to Frankfurt accepted.³³

11.3. REPRESENTATIONS IN REVERSE: THE DE BRY MODIFICATIONS IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

In anachronistic terms, then, the Hulsius collection should be considered a ‘paperback’ extension of the ‘hardcover’ folio-volumes issued by the De Brys. When attempting to trace the impact of the De Bry collection in later decades, it is therefore not always possible to ascertain whether users relied on the De Bry volumes or on derivations such as the accounts issued by the Hulsius family. Nevertheless, there are many publications which were verifiably based on the De Bry collection. Engravers and publishers in the Dutch Republic in particular used the Frankfurt iconography in order to decorate their geographic and cartographic material, furthering the dissemination of the De Bry modifications in the process.³⁴ As noted in the previous chapters, the De Bry collection was widely available in the most significant bookstores in Amsterdam and Leiden, and the relationship between the De Brys and the publisher Cornelis Claesz cannot be doubted.

Two of Cornelis Claesz’ employees remained involved with the Frankfurt publishers after the bookseller’s death. Dirck Pietersz Pers and Hendrick Laurensz, who established his bookstore in the same house as Claesz, decided to continue the publishing strategy of their predecessor to provide readers with accounts of overseas voyages.³⁵ In the final years of his life, Claesz had started issuing French translations of the Dutch narratives he had published in the previous decade. The two young booksellers replicated the venture, and combined forces and investments to produce the first French translation of Van Linschoten’s *Itinerario* in 1610, which appeared in two identical versions with different

³³ Zülch (1935) 441, 480. Cf. *supra*, Ch. 3, p. 98.

³⁴ On cartography in the Dutch Golden Age: G. Schilder, *Monumenta cartographica Neerlandica* (multiple vols.; Alphen aan den Rijn 1986 ff.), including Volume VII on Cornelis Claesz, and K. Zandvliet, *Mapping for money: maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam 1998). See also: M. van Groesen, “Interchanging representations. Dutch publishers and the De Bry collection of voyages (1596–1610)”, *Dutch Crossing* 30–2 (2006) 229–42.

³⁵ Van Selm (1987) 252, 336–37.

imprints.³⁶ Van Linschoten, after falling out with Claesz in the 1590s shortly after the appearance of his work, had purchased the original copperplates to his *Itinerario* in 1610, when Claesz' stock was auctioned.³⁷ Hendrick Laurensz and Dirck Pers therefore decided to use De Bry's engravings for their French translation.

Copies of the actual De Bry plates may have been in Claesz' possession. In his catalogue of prints and maps of 1609 he mentioned his ownership of plates to some of the engravings for sale in his shop, without mentioning precisely which plates he possessed.³⁸ Laurensz and Pers may have used these plates, or may have simply teamed up with the De Brys. Either way, their Amsterdam editions included many of the engravings designed for *India Orientalis* II, III, and IV in Frankfurt. Hence the 'Mendoza engravings' of China and the picture of the bowel-consuming Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, to name the most persistent De Bry designs, entered not only these books in Amsterdam, but also the wider realm of Dutch overseas iconography which occupied such a dominant position in seventeenth-century Europe. Prints and illustrations were of course copied time and again, but it is worth considering how the De Bry illustrations managed to exert influence on booksellers and artists who intimately knew the original compositions the Frankfurt publishers had adapted.

The De Bry engraving of the insatiable Hottentots, for example, made the original illustration in Willem Lodewijcksz' account entirely redundant. The reasons for the replacement may have been artistic, if publishers considered the De Bry plate more dynamic than Lodewijcksz' rather sterile illustration, or commercial if they regarded it as more appealing to their circle of readers, or both. Similar reasons may have ensured the image's lasting appeal. In 1611, one year after the French *Itinerario* had been issued, Johannes Pontanus included the engraving in his history of the city of Amsterdam, in a chapter devoted to Dutch maritime expansion.³⁹

³⁶ J. Huygen van Linschoten, *Histoire de la navigation de Jean Hugues de Linscot Hollandois et de son voyage es Indes Orientales* (Henry Laurent / Theodore Pierre, ed., Amsterdam 1610). Claesz issued French translations of the accounts by Van Noort (1602), De Veer (1604, 1609), De Marees (1605), and Lodewijcksz (1609), and the voyage made by Van Neck and Van Warwijck (1609).

³⁷ Roeper (1998) 26.

³⁸ *Book sales catalogues*, MF 3293, *Const ende caert-register* (1609); see: Van Selm (1987) 217–19.

³⁹ J.J. Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia* (Amsterdam 1611), translated

The influence of the Frankfurt engravings on Dutch cartography is extensive, making it impossible to document all the states, copies, editions, and versions of ethnographic illustrations. Tracking the De Bry plate of the Hottentot can serve as an indication of the collection's impact. Jodocus Hondius introduced it to Dutch cartography in 1606, and Willem Jansz Blaeu, the most accomplished cartographer and publisher of Golden Age Amsterdam, thence used the composition to typify the inhabitants of the Cape, in the decorated borders of his maps of the African continent (ill. 79).⁴⁰ Ethnographical cartouches became a distinctive element of Dutch cartography in the seventeenth century. Cartographers who encouraged the development of this genre, like Blaeu, Claesz, and Hondius, embellished their early seventeenth-century maps with De Bry compositions, particularly their maps of the New World, as authoritative images of the indigenous Americans were still hard to find.⁴¹ The custom of decorating maps slowly expanded to other countries, such as France, where Samuel de Champlain depicted Algonquians as part of his map of New France. Maps of America made after Dutch prototypes by Nicolas Picart, also in France, and Robert Walton in England also included De Bry engravings as part of the borders.⁴²

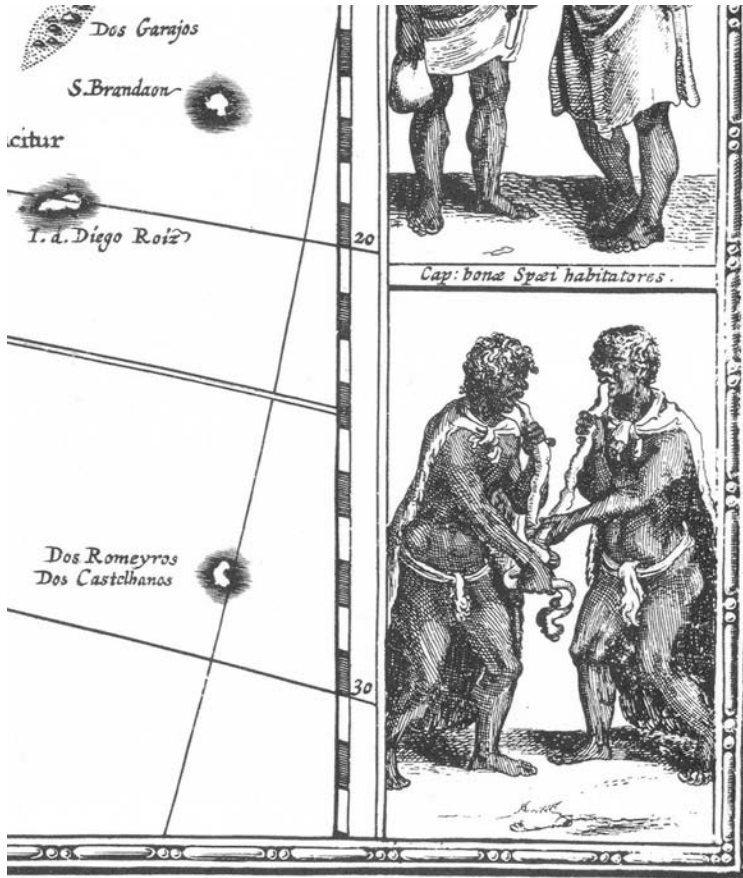
But the finest decorated maps continued to appear in the United Provinces. Cornelis Claesz, as early as 1602, copied De Bry engravings for his set of large wall maps of the four continents. Eight small decorative scenes of Asian and Muscovian customs were inserted at

into Dutch as: *Historische Beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde Coop-stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1614) 183. For Pontanus' dependency on De Bry designs: Tiele (1867) 132–33; J. F. L. de Balbian Verster, "Een Amsterdammer als pionier op Bali (Emanuel Rodenburg, 1597–1601)", *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* IX (1911) 100.

⁴⁰ W. Blaeu, *Africae nova descriptio* (41 × 55,5 cm.; Amsterdam 1608, 1617, 1630, 1647), see: G. Schilder, *Monumenta cartographica neerlandica VI: Dutch folio-sized single sheet maps with decorated borders 1604–60* (Alphen aan den Rijn 2000) 117. On Blaeu: G. Schilder, *Monumenta cartographica neerlandica IV: Single-sheet maps and topographical prints published by Willem Jansz Blaeu* (Alphen aan den Rijn 1993).

⁴¹ C. Claesz, *Americae tabula nova multis...* (106 × 146 cm.; Amsterdam 1602); J. Hondius, *America* (37,5 × 50 cm.; Amsterdam 1606); W. Blaeu, *Americae nova Tabula* (41 × 55,5 cm.; Amsterdam [ca. 1630]); see: Schilder (2000). A survey of all the maps in the De Bry collection is provided in: J. G. Garratt, "The maps in De Bry", *The map collector* 9 (1979) 3–11.

⁴² S. de Champlain, *Carte Geographique de la Nouvelle Franse* (43 × 76 cm.; Paris 1613); see: S. I. Schwartz and R. E. Ehrenberg, *The mapping of America* (New York 1980) 91. N. Picart, *America noviter delineata* (42 × 54 cm.; Paris 1644); R. Walton, *A new, plaine, and exact map of America* (42 × 53 cm.; London 1658); Schilder (2000) appendix, maps 9 and 10; Burden (1996) 336–37, 428–29.



Ill. 79. Willem Jansz. Blaeu, *Africae nova descriptio* (Amsterdam 1617) detail

the top of the map of Asia, four of which were originally fabricated in Frankfurt (ill. 80). Regardless of the reservoir of *Itinerario*-pictures Claesz still had in stock, he opted to use the De Bry representations of a banquet and of pagan practices based on Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's description of China. Johannes Janssonius copied the latter for his revised edition of the map, issued in 1617,⁴³ and as late as 1665, the printmaker Clement de Jonghe, one of the associates of the Blaeu family, was still using some of the designs. In the top-right corner

⁴³ C. Claesz., *Asiae tabula nova multis...* (106 × 148 cm.; Amsterdam 1602). See: Schilder (2003) 346–56; *Ind.Or.* II, ill. xxviii and xxxi.

scholars, and many will have looked at the De Bry maps for new information. The first two volumes provided important cartographic novelties in the maps of Virginia and Florida, designed by White and Le Moyne. The former remained a milestone in the cartography of Virginia until the early 1670s, while the map the De Brys engraved after Le Moyne was not surpassed until the late 1630s. Yet both maps lacked the conventional latitudinal markings, leaving room for error. In the 1590s, when the volumes were widely available, Cornelis de Jode in Antwerp and Cornelis van Wytfliet in Louvain incorrectly placed the province of Virginia north of Cape Cod, with Chesapeake Bay at the latitude of Boston.⁴⁵ After 1591 the De Brys could no longer rely on accurate cartographical sources presented to them as part of the travel accounts, and had to find other maps to copy. Their lack of cartographical know-how was instantly exposed: the map of the American continent they engraved as part of *India Occidentalis* III did not include the most recent data on the projection of the continent's south-western coastline as disseminated by Ortelius in 1587, while the map of the Indonesian archipelago in *India Orientalis* III later sported similar inaccuracies.⁴⁶

Better informed mapmakers therefore concentrated on the ethnographical De Bry engravings. One of the two plates Cornelis Claesz used for his African wall map arguably provides the best example of the complex and bibliographically confusing exchange of representations between Amsterdam engravers and the De Brys in the early seventeenth century.⁴⁷ In 1602, four years after *India Orientalis* II had appeared in Frankfurt, Cornelis Claesz issued Pieter de Marees' narrative on the Gold Coast. The penultimate plate in this work depicted two Dutchmen being granted an audience with the local ruler at Cape Lopez in Gabon. The illustration was derived from the engraving which

⁴⁵ C. de Jode, *America Pars Borealis, Florida, Baccalaos, Canada, Corterealis* (38 × 52 cm.; Antwerp 1593), depicting Algonquians after De Bry; C. van Wytfliet, *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae augmentum sive Occidentalis notitia brevis commentario* (Louvain 1597); see: W. P. Cumming and L. de Vorsey jr., *The Southeast in early maps* (3rd rev. ed.; Chapel Hill 1998) 123–27; Burden (1996) 97, 101; Schwartz and Ehrenberg (1980) 78–83; W. J. Faupel, “Le Moyne’s map of Florida: fantasy and fact”, *Map collector* 52 (1990) 33–36.

⁴⁶ Burden (1996) 102–03; Th. Suárez, *Early mapping of Southeast Asia* (Singapore 1999) 181. The De Brys copied their maps from various sources, without making too many alterations to often outdated maps.

⁴⁷ Van Groesen (2006c) 229–42.



Ill. 81. *Ind.Or.* II, ill. i



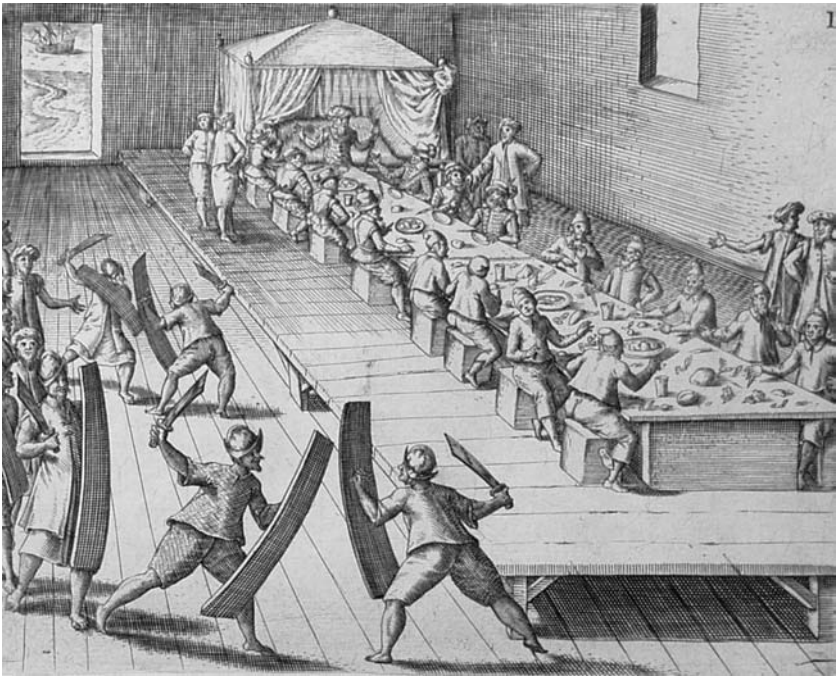
Ill. 82. *Ind.Or.* VI, ill. xix

the De Brys had added to Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* four years earlier. For *India Orientalis* VI, the De Brys routinely copied De Marees' twenty illustrations designed in Amsterdam. Hence the illustration they had invented themselves in the late 1590s for their editions of the *Itinerario* was once again, in slightly altered form, included in their collection as an illustration of West African customs as recorded by De Marees (ills. 81 & 82). De Bry designs travelled back and forth between engravers' workshops in Northern Europe, and their appeal diminished ever so slowly. European maps of the American continent in particular continued to include De Bry-invented compositions.

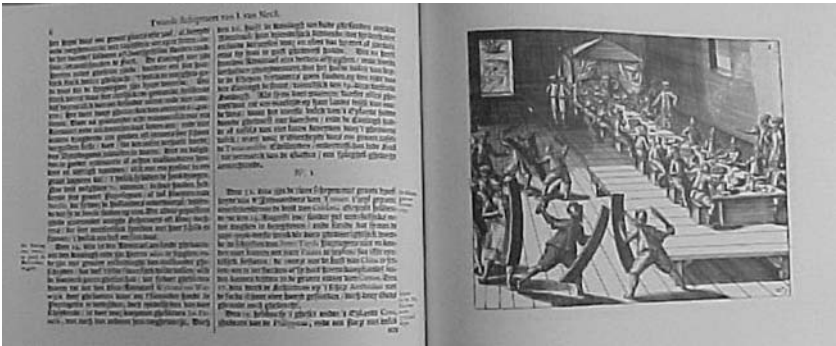
Sporadically the De Brys were faced with Dutch travel accounts without illustrations for them to copy. The author of the first report in *India Orientalis* VIII, the chaplain Roelof Roelofs, reported on the second Dutch voyage to the East Indies, and one of the episodes he described concerned a banquet at the court of the Sultan of Ternate. The De Brys constructed a fitting engraving, which illustrated the lavish reception Admiral Jacob van Neck and his crew enjoyed. Local servants jumping and jousting beside the long dinner table provided entertainment for the distinguished visitors (ill. 83). In the caption, the De Brys explained that this event had been 'described in detail in the History', implying that the illustration had indeed been constructed in the Frankfurt workshop. Roelof Roelofs' narrative was not published in the United Provinces until 1646, when it was included in *Begin ende Voortgangh*, the principal Dutch collection of voyages. All illustrations added to this first Dutch edition of Roelofs' report were initially conceived in Frankfurt (ill. 84). Hence the De Brys, generally considered imitators of illustrations made in Amsterdam, Rotterdam or Middelburg, frequently provided new pictorial sources to Dutch accounts, which in turn were copied in the United Provinces.

11.4. THE SCOPE OF THE DE BRY ENGRAVINGS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Like their colleagues in the Dutch Republic, mapmakers and publishers elsewhere used the De Bry engravings as soon as the volumes came into their grasp. After the English had lost the Roanoke colony, which had inspired Thomas Harriot's account, new English expeditions to Virginia were undertaken. Arguably the most memorable was made by John



Ill. 83. *Ind.Or.* VIII, ill. i



Ill. 84. *Begin ende Voortgagh* (Amsterdam 1646) I, between [A4] and [B1]

Smith, who described his famous encounter with Pocahontas. When he released his *The Generall Historie of Virginia* in 1624, the engraver copied pictures the De Brys, for their map of the east coast, had derived from John White's watercolours some thirty-five years before. The derogatory plate of the idol Kiwasa constructed in Frankfurt in 1590 received a prominent position in the map of the province included in the report. Johan Theodore and Matthaeus Merian subsequently copied this map for *India Occidentalis* X, and Samuel Purchas reprinted the map as part of his collection of voyages in 1625.⁴⁸

The degrading illustrations of Black Africa attracted sustained attention in various countries and make an interesting case-study of the course the De Bry constructions followed in Europe. The Englishman Thomas Herbert wrote a stinging critique of sub-Saharan Africa and the indigenous populace, published in 1638 as *Some yeares travels into Africa and Asia the Great*. Alongside Herbert's descriptions of "wretched black skin'd wretches", there were two illustrations derived from the De Bry collection, which, not surprisingly, were two of the more deprecating engravings. The first, a portrait of an inhabitant of Angola was clearly indebted to the De Bry-invented king of the Mozambicans, whose subjects were depicted cutting off the penises of their enemies. The second showed the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope eating the intestines of an ox (ills. 85 & 86), albeit copied from the reworked image included in the cartouche of Blaeu's map of Africa.⁴⁹ For Herbert's damning representations this engraving was irresistible.

The English cartographer John Speed, in 1626, also used the De Bry-invented design, probably imitating an Amsterdam cartouche made by Jodocus Hondius in 1606. Just like Herbert, Speed deliberately drew the attention of viewers to the act of eating, as he paid only scant attention to the Hottentot's other features.⁵⁰ In England, the diet of the people at the Cape of Good Hope became an often repeated indicator

⁴⁸ J. Smith, *Virginia* (32 × 41 cm. [6th state 1625; 1st state 1612]); see: Schwartz and Ehrenberg (1980) 95, and H. Honour, *The European vision of America* (Cleveland 1975) cat. nr. 69.

⁴⁹ Th. Herbert, *Some yeares travels into Africa and Asia the Great. Especially describing the famous empires of Persia and Industant. As also divers other Kingdoms in the Orientall Indies, and Ples adjacent* (London 1638) 9, 10, 18.

⁵⁰ L. E. Merians, *Envisioning the worst. Representations of 'Hottentots' in early-modern England* (Newark and London 2001) 37–38; J. Speed, *Africae described, the manners of their habits...* (38 × 50 cm.; London 1626).



Ill. 85. Thomas Herbert, *Some yeares travels...* (4th ed.; London 1677) 10

of their beastliness. Various travellers, no doubt conditioned by their expectations based on what they had read and heard, dismissively reported of the eating of guts and filth of the meat which civilised Europeans cast away.⁵¹

The intestine-eating Hottentot also survived several generations of German iconographers. Johan Albrecht von Mandelslo of Mecklenburg, after travelling extensively in Asia, wrote his *Morgenländische Reisebeschreibung* in 1658, edited by Adam Olearius. They once again reproduced the same De Bry composition. Offal-consuming Hottentots

⁵¹ Merians (2001) 49–50.



Ill. 86. Thomas Herbert, *Some yeares travels...* (4th ed.; London 1677) 18

also featured in Conrad Meyer's illustrations to Albrecht Herport's *Eine kurtze ost-indianische Reiss-Beschreibung* (1669).⁵² The perseverance of artistic compositions in early modern Europe is well-known, and the influence of the De Bry engravings can be pointed out in many German, English, and Dutch travel accounts and ethnological works. Until well into the seventeenth century, these territories formed the heartland of the enduring De Bry iconography.

The collection's scope was not limited to Northern Europe, however, and not exclusively reserved for geographical literature. As early as the 1590s, publishers in Venice were adjusting the contents of their printed

⁵² Merians (1998) 128–29; Bassani and Tedeschi (1990) 182–83; Facs (1981) 117.

material to include pictures of the Algonquians in their costume books. The second edition of Pietro Bertelli's *Diversarum nationum habitum* carried a 1594 imprint, but the preface was dated 1591. Only a year after the appearance of the first *America*-volume, he considered the engravings of the Virginian Indians sufficiently important to incorporate them into his compendium of global clothing habits. The second edition of Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi e moderni di tutto il mondo*, issued in Venice in 1598, included around twenty portraits of Americans retrieved from the early De Bry volumes.⁵³ Humanists associated with the De Bry firm re-used the illustrations in their own works. Carolus Clusius copied the penguin first engraved for *India Occidentalis* IX in 1601 for his *Exoticorum libri decem* which was printed in Antwerp four years later.⁵⁴ The discourse on hermaphrodites written by the Swiss physician Kaspar Bauhin in 1614 included the plate made for *America* II illustrating androgynous inhabitants of Florida—made all the more easy because it was Johan Theodore de Bry who published the treatise.⁵⁵

The illustrations further attracted artists not necessarily interested in geographical applications of the designs. Several painters purchased the De Bry volumes, most significantly Rubens, who bought the complete collection at the Officina Plantiniana in October 1613.⁵⁶ The title-pages of Volumes IV, V, and VI of the *America*-series, using the mountain landscape of the Potosí silver mines as cartouches, inspired him to design a title-page for a book published by Balthasar Moretus in 1628, and an archway for the joyous entry of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand in Antwerp in 1635.⁵⁷ The title-pages appealed to Rubens because one of the art-

⁵³ Horodowich (2005) 1055–56.

⁵⁴ P. Mason, “Americana in the Exoticorum Libri Decem of Charles de l’Écluse” In: F. Egmond, P. G. Hoftijzer, and R. Vissers, eds., *Carolus Clusius in a new context: cultural histories of Renaissance natural science* (forthcoming, The Hague 2006); De Asúa and French (2005) 113–14.

⁵⁵ App. 1, nr. 152, ill. 4.

⁵⁶ Arch. MPM 220, f183r: *Ind. Occ.* I–IX (Lat) and *Ind. Or.* I–IXapp. (Lat). On the same day, he also purchased Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae*. His second-edition copy of *Ind. Or.* (Lat) survives as BL G6609 (1–5). On Rubens' private library: P. Arents, et al., “De bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens: een reconstructie”, *De Gulden Passer* 78/79 (2000–01) 93–336. Other artists included the Frankfurt floral painter Jacob Marell, who married Matthaeus Merian's widow: A. Bredius, ed., *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts* (8 vols.; The Hague 1915–22) I 115.

⁵⁷ H. Honour, *The new golden land. European images of America from the discoveries to the present time* (London 1976) 92; J. R. Judson and C. van de Velde, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard part XXI. Book illustrations and title-pages* (2 vols.; Philadelphia and London 1978) 71. The title-page Rubens designed was made for Heribertus Rosweyde's *Vitae*

ists he most admired, Adam Elsheimer, may have conceived the hilly landscape in 1594 (see ill. 58). The monogram AE on the title-page of *India Occidentalis* IV cannot positively be related to the young Elsheimer, but his involvement would explain Rubens' decision to use precisely these illustrations. Elsheimer, a sixteen-year-old apprentice when the volume came off the presses, was learning the trade of engraving in Frankfurt at the time, and made drawings in the 1590s for a number of illustrations to Dutch expeditions to the East Indies.⁵⁸

Once the concentric circles around the collection are further widened, the persistence of the *America*-series outdoes the lasting appeal of the *India Orientalis*-engravings. In his 1620 bibliographical encyclopaedia, the Pomeranian pastor Paulus Bolduanus advised readers on the authority of histories and descriptions published in the years before. In his section on the New World, he reserves an important place for the De Bry collection, and for texts included in the collection. The section on the Orient is more extensive and more diffuse, listing the *India Orientalis*-volumes among many other relevant publications.⁵⁹ Those who wanted to use credible material on Africa and Asia could look to more recent works from the Dutch Republic or, depending on their background, to Jesuit letters.

The persistence of the De Bry engravings is predictable. Good illustrations were simply copied time and again. No distinction was made between 'original' illustrations and engravings the De Brys constructed in Frankfurt, and hence it is no surprise to see the attractive and presumably shocking engraving of the Hottentot recur in various printed reports of southern Africa. But did these editors, artists, and authors also read the translations the De Brys composed? Did they absorb the modified texts? John Locke surely must have assessed the translations to be able to dismiss them in favour of Ramusio's collection. Caspar

Patrum (Antwerp 1628). Rubens also made an etching of the same illustration, dated ca. 1641–42; Honour (1975) cat. nr. 107.

⁵⁸ K. Andrews, "Elsheimer's illustrations for Houtman's 'Journey to the East Indies'", *Master drawings* XIII–1 (1975) 3–7; Idem, *Adam Elsheimer. Paintings—drawings—prints* (Oxford 1977) elaborates on the co-operation between Elsheimer, Phillip Uffenbach, and Georg Keller. Elsheimer, born in 1578, is generally considered Uffenbach's apprentice, but there is no archival evidence to substantiate this claim. If the title-page to *Ind. Occ.* IV is indeed Elsheimer's, it is the earliest known drawing of his hand.

⁵⁹ P. Bolduanus, *Bibliotheca Historica sive: Elenchus scriptorum historicorum et geographicorum selectissimorum, qui Historias vel Universales totius Orbis...* (Leipzig 1620) 127–28, 130–31, 258–63. On Bolduanus: Burke (1995a) 36.

Barlaeus must have read the reports by Staden and De Léry when he borrowed Gerardus Vossius' copy in 1644 before deciding not to use them for his account of the Dutch colony in Brazil, published in 1648. Yet there are scattered indications that the De Bry translations did influence geographers and cosmographers of later generations.

Jean de Léry was presumably among the first to use the collection, as he substantiated later editions of his account of Brazil with information taken from the first two volumes of the *America*-series.⁶⁰ Claude-Barthélemy Morisot, in his *Orbis maritimi sive rerum in mari et littoribus gestarum generalis historia* (1643), not only copied illustrations from various *India Orientalis*-volumes,⁶¹ but he also referred his readers to the De Bry translations by way of the margins of his text, where he cited the textual sources he had used. Morisot not only cited precisely those reports included in the De Bry collection but also paid tribute to translators like Artus, Lonicer, and Strobaeus.⁶² Slightly more exciting, and inevitably more speculative, is Alexander Ross' reliance on the modified De Bry version of Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* for his work on the religions of the world first published in 1653. When Ross discussed the superstitious ceremonies of the Chinese, he referred to a number of authors including Ortelius, Maffei, and Van Linschoten. Yet the traveler from Enkhuizen did not describe any Chinese religious ceremonies in depth, at least not until the De Brys issued their translations, which highlighted Chinese heathendom by copying relevant excerpts from Juan de Mendoza's treatise. Ross, when giving credit to Van Linschoten, may in fact have used the slightly altered text in *India Orientalis* II.⁶³

Some authors not only referred to other texts, but borrowed complete passages, making the attribution of the source to another work more straightforward. Several German accounts in the De Bry collection helped Hans Jakob Christoph von Grimmelshausen in writing his

⁶⁰ F. Lestringant, *Jean de Léry ou l'invention du sauvage. Essai sur "l'Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil"* (Paris 1999) 47–50.

⁶¹ These were all illustrations of ships, like *Ind.Or.* II, ills. xiv, xvii, xxvi; III. ills. xxvii and xxviii; VI, ills. viii and x, and *Ind.Occ.* XI, ill. iii. C. B. Morisot, *Orbis maritimi sive rerum in mari et littoribus gestarum generalis historia* ([Paris] 1643) 719–24.

⁶² Morisot (1643) 578, 584, 592 ff.

⁶³ The first edition was published as *Pansebeia* in English, and quickly translated into Dutch. I used the first French edition: A. Ross, *Les religions du monde, ou Demonstration de toutes les religions & heresies de L'Asie, Afrique, Amerique, & de l'Europe Depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à present* (Amsterdam 1666) 60: "Quant à la multitude de leurs superstitieuses ceremonies, & des vaines opinions de la divinité, voyez le Discours de la Chine, Boterus, Ortelius, Maffeus, Linschoten, & l'Epistre des Iesuites".

famous *Abentheurliche Simplicissimus* in the mid-1660s.⁶⁴ Grimmelshausen, for a passage in the sixth book recounting the protagonist's arrival on a desolate island, took his inspiration from the description of Mauritius in *India Orientalis* V. The natural settings on Mauritius and on Simplicissimus' island seamlessly overlapped.⁶⁵ Other De Bry volumes may have influenced Grimmelshausen as well: Jean de Léry's comprehensive observation of a Brazilian dye-stuff in *America* III returned in *Simplicissimus*. Books other than the actual De Bry volumes could have gone through Grimmelshausen's hands when composing Simplicissimus' adventures, as various publishers copied the German De Bry translations for editions they issued. The translation Johan Homberger made of Jose de Acosta's treatise on the New World in 1601 was re-issued in 1605 in a separate edition printed in Ursel, in the archdiocese of Mainz, while Pieter de Marees' description of the Gold Coast formed the prototype for the *West-Indianische Reißbeschreibung* of 1663, written by Michael Hemmersam, a sailor in the service of the Dutch West India Company.⁶⁶

11.5. COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

While the works of Ramusio and Hakluyt exerted influence on the De Bry collection, the De Brys in turn paved the way for other seventeenth-century compilers of travel accounts. Seventeenth-century collections of voyages were markedly different than their counterparts issued before 1600, and many of the alterations to the genre should be ascribed to the success of the De Bry collection at the turn of the century. None of the later collections was indebted to the De Bry volumes to the extent that the Hulsius collection was, but most editors of compendia, in one way or another, rated the Frankfurt collection, and incorporated its successful aspects into their own works. Only Melchisédech Thévenot borrowed little or nothing from the De Bry collection for his *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (1663–72). He did not even possess the volumes in his nonetheless sizeable private library, and only the emphasis he placed

⁶⁴ J. B. Dallett, "Grimmelshausen und die Neue Welt", *Argenis* 1 (1977) 141–227; M. Günther, "Zur Quellengeschichte des Simplicissimus", *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* X (1922) 360–67.

⁶⁵ *Ind.Or.* V (Ger) 8–9; see: Günther (1922) 361–65, and Dallett (1977) 151, n. 24.

⁶⁶ Dallett (1977) 145–65.

on recently published accounts is reminiscent of the De Bry collection. Otherwise his collection, which included cuneiform writing, Chinese characters, texts in ancient Greek, and highly accurate representations of pre-Columbian iconography, was too erudite to invite comparison with *India Occidentalis* and *India Orientalis*.⁶⁷

One of the first to adapt to editorial novelties in the De Bry collection was, again, Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam. He borrowed the collection's idiosyncratic format, and developed a publication where brief paraphrases of the travel account accentuated the primacy of the engravings. In this mould he published *Icones, habitus gestusque Indorum ac Lusitanorum per Indiam viventium* in 1604, the assembled engravings to Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*. The *Icones* may have echoed the sections with plates of the De Bry collection, but Claesz, unlike the De Brys, issued the illustrations without the author's full text.⁶⁸ Instead the engravings were accompanied by passages from the Latin translation. Despite the work's good-looking, accessible structure, the publication of visual material without adding the corresponding report did not strike a chord. Claesz abandoned the project, and began looking for other ways to maximise his revenues, like producing French translations of the Dutch narratives.⁶⁹

The first truly significant collection of voyages to appear in the seventeenth century was made in England by Samuel Purchas, an Anglican minister and self-educated geographer. Purchas acquired his material on the overseas world from Richard Hakluyt and continued to collect complementary accounts throughout the 1610s and 1620s.⁷⁰ Although vastly inferior to Hakluyt as a geographer, he was more attuned to the demands of the early modern readership. Not unlike the De Brys, he added narrative elements to the rather bare texts of the *Principall Navigations* and omitted unattractive ingredients like lists, contracts, and legal documents, resulting in a collection which was respectfully titled

⁶⁷ *Bibliotheca Thevenotiana sive catalogus impressorum et manuscriptorum librorum bibliothecae viri clarissimi D. Melchisedecis Thevenot* (Paris 1694). According to the marginalia in his work, Thévenot did rely on the English collections of Hakluyt and Purchas. See: N. Dew, "Reading travels in the culture of curiosity: Thévenot's collection of voyages", *Journal of Early Modern History* 10–1/2 (2006) 39–59.

⁶⁸ Van den Boogaart (2003) 6.

⁶⁹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 352–53.

⁷⁰ On Purchas: D. R. Ransome, "A Purchas chronology" In: L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas handbook. Studies on the life, times and writings of Samuel Purchas 1577–1626* (London 1997) 329–80.

Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes (1625). This collection combined the material in Hakluyt's three-volume work with the accounts Purchas had published himself in the form of the popular *Purchas his pilgrimage*, reprinted several times after its initial appearance in 1613.⁷¹

The plan of the *Pilgrimes* essentially parallels the structure and contents of Hakluyt's collection, arranging the accounts geographically and chronologically, and maintaining an Anglican world-view, primarily but no longer exclusively based on English sources.⁷² Striving for completeness, Purchas' volumes contain even more narratives, but accommodating these texts into his collection required frequent and drastic editing. Although Purchas attempted to be a conscientious editor—he usually informed his readers when he shortened accounts—the accumulation of textual cuts, for example in the case of the journal of Anthony Knyvett, sometimes made the remaining edition unintelligible: consecutive paragraphs could carry information on different locations once Purchas had cut out the intermediate voyage. The active editing role even inspired Purchas to refer to himself as the author, using the travellers' accounts to express his devotion to Protestant orthodoxy. Here Purchas' objectives diverged from those of Hakluyt, as the former aimed at moral education of his readers while the *Principall Navigations* served a more narrow political purpose.⁷³

Purchas' editing strategy can be deduced from analysing the most extensive cuts made to Anthony Knyvett's journal of his extraordinary adventures on both sides of the Atlantic in the 1580s. After being stranded on an island off the coast of Brazil, Knyvett and some of his comrades were rescued and taken captive by Portuguese vessels. The Portuguese, however, rescued Englishmen on the condition that they were Catholics. Yet Purchas considered passages in his journal which could be used to the advantage of Catholicism inappropriate, and the extract implying that Knyvett was a Catholic—he was after all rescued—was hence omitted. Confessional issues clearly influenced Purchas' editorial strategy, albeit in a different way than in Frankfurt

⁷¹ Helfers (1997) 166–69; C. R. Steele, "From Hakluyt to Purchas" In: D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt handbook* (London 1974) 74–84.

⁷² R. F. Hitchcock, "Samuel Purchas as editor—a case study: Anthony Knyvett's Journal", *The modern language review* 99–2 (2004) 305; see also: C. Urness, "Purchas as editor" In: L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas handbook. Studies on the life, times and writings of Samuel Purchas 1577–1626* (London 1997) 121–44.

⁷³ Hitchcock (2004) 307; Urness (1997) 138, 141 ff.; Helfers (1997) 168 ff. On Hakluyt's collection: cf. *supra*, Ch. 1, pp. 41–45.

and Oppenheim. Other corresponding elements between Purchas and the De Brys include the concentration on contemporary narratives, and the rather careless handling of geographical names which resulted in confusion, but neither is, of course, the result of direct influence.⁷⁴ For *India Orientalis* XII and XIII, William Fitzer plundered *Purchas his pilgrimes*, copying and translating as many as eight brief texts for the final volumes of the De Bry collection.⁷⁵ He also borrowed Purchas' map of China for his final volume, the earliest map published in Europe based on Chinese sources.⁷⁶

The genre underwent a more imperative change after the 1590s as a result of the changing editorial objectives. Whereas Ramusio and Hakluyt, as well as the sixteenth-century cosmographers, were erudite scholars of geography, their opposite numbers in the seventeenth century were driven by concerns other than erudition. Unlike Montalboddo, Thevet, and Ramusio, the De Brys, Hulsius, and Purchas modified the accounts in order to reach a wide readership. They did not regard the actual narratives alone as powerful enough to entertain armchair travellers in the Old World, yet their more comprehensive editorial methods lacked the erudition and the precision of the couched adaptations made by the likes of Ramusio. The absence of knowledgeable editing continued to tarnish the collections as the seventeenth century progressed. In the wake of the success of the De Brys, and as part of the ongoing ascendancy of the printing industry, booksellers and publishers rather than humanists or geographers co-ordinated the next generation of compilations.

Amsterdam, as the hub of Europe's publishing efforts, and as one of the centres of its overseas expansion in the first half of the seventeenth century, provided the next collections. In 1619, the publisher Michiel Colijn issued the combined travel accounts previously published by Cornelis Claesz.⁷⁷ Johannes Janssonius purchased his colleague's copperplates after Colijn's death in 1635, and re-used them for the first sizeable Dutch collection. *Begin ende Voortgangh vande Vereenigde Neederlandsche geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, appearing in 1646 on the

⁷⁴ Hitchcock (2004) 307–11.

⁷⁵ See App. 2.

⁷⁶ H. Wallis, "Purchas's maps" In: L. E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas handbook. Studies on the life, times and writings of Samuel Purchas 1577–1626* (London 1997) 150–51, 154–55.

⁷⁷ M. Colijn, ed., *Oost-Indische ende West-Indische voyagien* (Amsterdam 1619).

eve of the long-awaited peace with Spain, looked back on the first fifty years of Dutch expansion under the flag of the Dutch East India Company. *Begin ende Voortgangh*, more than any other collection, bar the one by Hulsius, copied many of its characteristics from the De Bry collection. The two-volume collection assembled all the momentous Dutch reports of overseas expansion published after 1602. Isaac Commelin, the editor responsible for the task of collecting, cannot have encountered the problems of his sixteenth-century predecessors, as all the accounts were written in Dutch and the illustrations were ready-made. It is conceivable that Commelin, a descendent of the family of Heidelberg and Amsterdam publishers, did a fair share of the work in Janssonius' workshop.⁷⁸

The *Begin ende Voortgangh* volumes created the same atmosphere as the De Bry volumes by attaching considerable importance to the iconographic material, perhaps because Commelin, to his dismay, did not get access to the archives of the Dutch East India Company and kept his introductory comments to a minimum. Colijn's illustrations were faithfully copied for *Begin ende Voortgangh*. The collection's title-pages gave a favourable impression of the works' contents and were probably used to draw attention to the attractiveness of the volumes. Many of the accounts in the collection had not been made public before, and some of the reports had been written only a few years before the collection appeared, giving the collection a sense of urgency.

Several texts in *Begin ende Voortgangh* were copied from the De Bry collection, as they had not been published in Dutch before. Roelof Roelofs' report of Van Neck's second voyage to the East Indies and four corresponding illustrations were copied from *India Orientalis* VIII, although Commelin inserted new information based on the original manuscript.⁷⁹ The second account in this De Bry volume, concerning the same expedition but written by the sailor Cornelis Claesz, whose ship followed a different route than the main fleet, was copied for the Dutch

⁷⁸ H. H. Zwager, "Isaac Commelin en zijn verzameling *Begin ende Voortgangh* van de Vereenighde Nederlandtsche geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie"; separately published article intended as an introduction to the facsimile-edition of *Begin ende Voortgangh* (4 vols.; Amsterdam 1969) 3–9; C. R. Boxer, "Introduction to the facsimile edition of Isaac Commelin's '*Begin ende Voortgangh*'" In: Idem, *Dutch merchants and mariners in Asia 1602–1795* (London 1988) II 2–3.

⁷⁹ *Begin ende Voortgangh vande Vereenigde Neederlandsche geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (2 vols.; Amsterdam 1646) I [A1r–D2r]: 'Kort ende waerachtigh verhael van de tweede Schipvaerd'. The engravings are *Ind. Or.* VIII, ills. i, iii–v.

collection of voyages without alterations.⁸⁰ Commelin and Janssonius also translated Jan van Bree's detailed account of the first expedition of the Dutch East India Company under the command of Wybrand van Warwijck and Sebald de Weert from *India Orientalis* VIII. De Weert was killed by the troops of the King of Candy, and the gripping engraving designed in Frankfurt was repeated in *Begin ende Voortgangh*, as one of a set of five.⁸¹ The remaining unpublished account in *India Orientalis* VIII, written by Cornelis van der Venne, was also issued as part of the Dutch compendium, while *Begin ende Voortgangh* included the engravings the De Brys made for the journal of Stefan van der Hagen.⁸²

Begin ende Voortgangh was the first in a line of Dutch collections of voyages, all of which are known after the name of the publisher responsible for gathering and organising the material. The bookseller Joost Hartgers reprinted the whole of *Begin ende Voortgangh* in 1648, and added another set of spectacular accounts including the shipwreck of the Dutch vessel *Batavia* on the west coast of Australia, and Willem Bontekoe's tale of an explosion which destroyed his East Indiaman.⁸³ Gillis Joosten Saeghman's collection *Verscheide Oost-Indische Voyagien* (1663–64) closely resembled the two collections of the 1640s. Not all the accounts translated from the De Bry collection reappeared in Saeghman's work, but like *Begin ende Voortgangh* and Hartgers' spin-off, Saeghman's volumes did put an emphasis on iconographic material as first shown in the De Bry collection, mainly sloppily executed woodcuts. If anything, Saeghman paid even more attention to spectacular details, and was prepared to cut the accounts to the bare essentials in order to add sensational details. All modifications were aimed solely at reaching a broad readership for texts which by now were common and familiar reading matter.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *Begin ende Voortgangh* (2 vols.; Amsterdam 1646) I [D2r–D4r]: 'Volght de Beschrijvinghe van de drie resterende Schepen'.

⁸¹ *Begin ende Voortgangh* (2 vols.; Amsterdam 1646) I [AAAAA1r–LLLLL4v]: 'Historische Verhael, Vande Reyse gedaen inde Oost-Indien'; *Ind.Or.* VIII, ills. vi–x.

⁸² *Begin ende Voortgangh* (2 vols.; Amsterdam 1646) I [DDD1v–DDD2r]: 'Kort verhaelt van de twee-jaerige Voyagie'; Boxer (1988) 10 ff.

⁸³ Zwager (1969) 8–9. Hartgers' accounts were also published separately, and cannot always be found under the collective title *Oost-Indische Voyagien* (Amsterdam 1648).

⁸⁴ G. Verhoeven, "De reisuitgaven van Gillis Joosten Saeghman: 'En koopt er geen dan met dees fraaie Faem'", *Literatuur* IX (1992) 330–38.

11.6. EPILOGUE: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY REVIVAL

Since both the reputation and the availability of the De Bry collection decreased in the second half of the seventeenth century, the influence of the volumes on later compilers faded. Thévenot did not use it, and the same applies for later Dutch collectors like the physician Olfert Dapper, whose treatises on Africa and Asia published around 1670 and 1680 did not betray any form of dependency on the De Bry collection.⁸⁵ Yet Thévenot and Dapper were learned collectors, unlike the publishers before them, and when in the early eighteenth century the Leiden bookseller Pieter van der Aa issued a series of travel accounts, he did revert to earlier Dutch collections, and hence indirectly to the De Bry volumes for inspiration.⁸⁶

After testing the market with the publication of his first set of three voyages in Dutch in 1704, Van der Aa treated readers in the United Provinces to a comprehensive twenty-eight volume collection in 1706 and 1707. Every month a new issue appeared, in order to create and maintain the interest of readers. *Naauwkeurige versameling der gedenkwaardigste zee- en landreysen na Oost en West-Indien* thus attempted to take the commercial benefits of serial production to new heights. Van der Aa's collection ultimately comprised 130 different narratives written by Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English travellers made available in a cheap octavo-format. For more affluent readers, Van der Aa issued the same collection in folio around 1710.⁸⁷ The gist of these volumes, intended to reach readers with variable spending prowess, is reminiscent of the De Bry and Hulsius collections.

Outside the domain of the Dutch publishing industry, eighteenth-century authors of treatises on the New World still relied on the De Bry

⁸⁵ Dapper's works, all published in Amsterdam, include *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten* (1668), *Asia, of naukeurige beschryving van het rijk des Grooten Mogols, en een groot gedeelte van Indiën* (1672), and *Naukeurige beschryving van Asië* (1680). My thanks go out to Jack Wills for examining copies of Dapper's books for traces of the De Bry collection, to no avail.

⁸⁶ On Van der Aa: P. G. Hofijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733). Leids drukker en boekverkooper* (Hilversum 1999); idem, "The Leiden bookseller Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733) and the international book trade" In: C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, et al., eds., *Le magasin de l'univers: the Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* (Leiden 1992) 169–84.

⁸⁷ Hofijzer (1999) 41–43. The 1704 publication was titled *De gedenkwaardige West-Indise voyagien*, while the collection in-folio was issued with titles such as *De doorlugtige scheeps-logten der Portugysen*, *De gedenkwaardige voyagien der Spanjaarden*, *De aanmerkenswaardige voyagien door Francoisen* and *De wijjd-beroemde voyagien der Engelsen*.

engravings. The Enlightenment turned the discoveries, and particularly the discovery of the New World, into a major intellectual issue.⁸⁸ In Europe's search for the roots of native Americans, the widespread familiarity with the *America*-illustrations quickly became evident.⁸⁹ While the early Dutch expeditions to Asia, the staple of the *India Orientalis*-series, had been surpassed by embassies to China, by Jesuit letters of missionary success, and by more spectacular, and more lavishly illustrated, voyages made by the Dutch East India Company—one only has to think of authors like Matteo Ricci and Engelbert Kaempfer—the New World iconography of the seventeenth century was soundly dominated by De Bry engravings and their derivatives. Robert Beverley, when writing on the English colony of Virginia in 1705, was left with few options when looking for iconographic support of his text. He could either use *India Occidentalis* I and II, or he could opt for the illustrations to the journals of English travellers such as John Smith and Ralph Hamor, or else the designs made by artists like Robert Vaughan. All were heavily indebted to the De Bry plates of the Roanoke colony.⁹⁰

More striking was the impact of the De Bry engravings on the publications of early eighteenth-century French authors like the Joseph-François Lafitau and Bernard Picart. Lafitau, a Jesuit missionary from Bordeaux, and the Huguenot engraver Picart, living as a refugee in Amsterdam, both wrote treatises on the customs of North American inhabitants. Lafitau, in 1724, issued *Moeurs des sauvages Amériquains, comparees aux moeurs des premiers temps*. The majority of the illustrations included in the two volumes were directly copied from the *America*-series, and corroborated Lafitau's preconceived analogies between pre-Christian Europe and the New World. Both Robert Beverley and Lafitau criticised the engravers responsible for illustrating their works.⁹¹ Yet Lafitau also used the Latin texts, some 130 years after the relevant De Bry volumes had come off the presses. In the marginal notes to his comparative study, he cited the accounts in *India Occidentalis* VIII and XII among others, even referring to Walter Raleigh's outdated description of headless natives in Guyana.⁹²

⁸⁸ Burke (1995a) 46–47.

⁸⁹ Sturtevant (1976) 419–20.

⁹⁰ R. Beverley, *The history and present state of Virginia* (London 1705), which included the De Bry designs of Kiwasa, the Virginian idol: Book 3, 30–31; see: M. C. Fuller, *Voyages in print. English travel to America, 1576–1624* (Cambridge 1995) 136–37.

⁹¹ Sturtevant (1976) 418.

⁹² J.-F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages Amériquains, comparees aux moeurs des premiers temps*

Bernard Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (Amsterdam 1723–43) shared some of Lafitau's observations. His engravings, published in nine volumes by the bookseller Jean-Frédéric Bernard who shared the editorial objectives of the De Brys in issuing this collection of treatises, relied on various compositions designed in Frankfurt.⁹³ Based on the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth engravings to *India Occidentalis* II, Picart described the Timucua custom of sacrificing their first-born children to their king, who was regarded as a descendant of the sun. Elsewhere, he copied De Bry engravings of Africa, but only those engravings which denounced heathendom and savagery, not the more descriptive designs of Congo first made by Lopez and Pigafetta. Both Lafitau and Picart, then, turned to the De Bry collection not only as the most obvious source of iconographic material, but also because the editing strategy emphasised the heathendom abroad, making the illustrations suitable for assimilation to eighteenth-century theses on paganism in the Americas. Both authors refined the ethnologically indiscriminate process of copying already apparent in the De Bry collection, and both used a marvellous ritual selected for depiction in Frankfurt in the 1590s to substantiate more extensive textual surveys of heathendom.⁹⁴

Half a century after the appearance of the French ethnographies of the 1720s, Thomas Jefferson acquired Lafitau's treatise for his private library.⁹⁵ After having finally purchased the *America*-series, Jefferson would have noticed that Lafitau, like Picart, still relied on the engravings made in the 1590s, and this may have further added to the appeal and, to some extent, the lasting authority of the De Bry iconography. But the passing of two centuries inevitably changed the meaning readers

(2 vols.; Paris 1724) I 62: "Walter Raleigh place un Peuple nombreux d'Acelaphes dans la Guyane", taken from: "Walter Raleigh. in Descript. Guyanae. Indiae Occid. parte 8", and I 320: "Paralip. Americae Indiae Occid. parte 12, fol. 130". The illustrations Lafitau copied include *Ind. Occ.* I, ill. xviii and *Ind. Occ.* II, ills. xiv, xv, xxix, xxxiv, xxxv, and xxxviii; see: F. Lestringant, "Le roi soleil de la Floride, de Théodore de Bry à Bernard Picart", *Études de lettres* LXX-1/2 (1995b) 19–20, 28–29; W. C. Sturtevant, "Lafitau's hoes", *American antiquity* 33–1 (1968) 93–94.

⁹³ D. Pregardien, "L'Iconographie des *Cérémonies et coutumes* de B. Picart" In: D. Droixhe and P.-P. Gossiaux, eds., *L'homme des Lumières et la découverte de l'autre* (Brussels 1985) 183–90.

⁹⁴ Lestringant (1995b) 18–19.

⁹⁵ Millicent Sowerby (1952–59) IV 183. Jefferson apparently did not possess Picart's work.

attached to the voyages. In a letter to John Adams in 1812, to whom he sung the praises of the monumental volumes and noted that “fact and fable are mingled together”, Jefferson informed his countryman that he considered the De Bry volumes “less suspicious [...] in their complexion, more original and authentic, than those of Lafitau”.⁹⁶ This comparative statement, however, does not sum up Jefferson’s overall appraisal of the De Bry volumes. Bibliographic rather than representational or ethnological interest in the collection undoubtedly conditioned his devotion to the volumes, as was the case for so many of his less affluent or, in the words of Dibdin, less fortunate contemporaries.

⁹⁶ Millicent Sowerby (1952–59) IV 176: Jefferson to Adams, 11/6/1812.

CONCLUSION

One could argue that Tommaso Campanella was right on both accounts, in 1600, when he claimed that more history had been made in the previous century than in the preceding four thousand years, and that more books had been made than in the preceding five thousand years.¹ The printing industry had reached maturity, after all, at the same time that the discovery of the New World and the European return to Asia were just two of many significant events of the era. Both elements can be considered stimuli for collections of voyages published between 1500 and 1700. The printed testimonies of the European encounter with overseas societies and their commercial success in the bookstores of the Old World enabled compilers to combine the two developments Campanella described into one genre. Whereas the sixteenth-century editors of collections had been educated men trying to make sense of a rapidly expanding world, their seventeenth-century successors were mostly publishers and booksellers, whose objective it was to present the growing number of armchair travellers with a comprehensive impression of European experiences in America, Africa, and Asia.

The De Brys, at the turn of the century, were the first publishers to co-ordinate such a vast enterprise, breaking with the humanist traditions of editorship which up to then had characterised the genre. In line with Campanella's statement—which emphasised the primacy of the printing revolution—the publication and the sale of books were their main objectives. Given their widespread appeal, the reports of Europe's maritime expansion formed the ideal set of historical events for a collection which became the nucleus of a successful publishing firm. In order to sell their showpiece to readers across Europe, the De Brys adjusted the representations of the overseas world as presented in the original accounts. Their editorial strategy, a clear testimony to the business acumen ascribed to them by friends, was aimed at making the volumes acceptable for all potential customers. Because of religious struggles, and the resulting segregation of society along confessional lines, this would require careful planning.

¹ Cf. *supra*, Ch. 1, p. 30.

The collection's linguistic division allowed for textual differentiations invisible to the reader of a particular edition, but unmistakable when both versions are being compared. This study has demonstrated that some of the differences between the German and Latin narratives were significant in both their scope and their representational implications. Some accounts included in one translation were even omitted altogether in the corresponding version. The De Brys, moreover, left out parts of the accounts they considered offensive, and once even went so far as to reduce a traveller's introduction to a fraction of its original size to avoid expected controversy and the threat of censorship. Hence the Latin volumes, intended to reach both religiously moderate members of the Republic of Letters and readers in territories loyal to Rome, blunted the edges of accounts written by polemical Protestant authors. The German translations, while less categorical in their omissions and modifications, were also neutralised in order not to provoke controversy.

Scholars of the De Bry collection have tended to look at its Protestant character, describing it as a contribution of bitter Protestant refugees to the polemicalised realm of printed matter in the period around 1600. Richard Hakluyt's involvement in the collection's conception and the incorporation of the testimonies from Girolamo Benzoni, Jean de Léry, and René de Laudonnière in the early *America*-volumes have fuelled this impression. John White's watercolours in particular, used for the opening volume, have been routinely interpreted as depictions disclosing a Protestant agenda. To a certain extent, this is understandable. The De Brys were indeed Calvinists, and in selecting and editing travel accounts they may have been subliminally influenced by religious concerns. But this was not the point of the collection, and not the representational objective of the collection as is often argued. Looking at the early *America*-volumes, the question regarding the extent to which these volumes may be representative of the collection as a whole, or even for that series alone, has seldom been addressed. The omissions of entire prefaces and narratives mentioned above indicate different patterns of modification, and therefore demand a different approach to the collection's contents and the underlying editorial strategy.

The consensus behind the thesis that the De Brys intended to sing the praise of Protestant success overseas stems in part from the assumption that Theodore was forced to escape persecution in his hometown Liège. Some publications still consider the goldsmith a victim of the Duke of Alva's oppression of the Reformed in the Netherlands, yet his actual migration to Strasbourg before 1560 was conditioned by

economic anxieties at least as much as by religious intolerance. The family's move to Antwerp in the late 1570s reveals the same combination of religious push-factors and the commercial appeal of his new domicile. Their decision to ultimately settle in Frankfurt in the late 1580s is an unequivocal example of economic migration. The arrival of many Calvinists immediately following the Fall of Antwerp in 1585 generated social tensions between Frankfurt artisans and patricians and the newly arrived merchant families from the Low Countries. By 1588 the Imperial Free City was reluctant to accommodate Calvinists hoping to find shelter against the continuing confessional wars ravaging parts of Europe.

Frankfurt, however, was the centre of the European book trade, and hence the ideal place to settle for a family intent on starting up a publishing firm. Theodore and his sons, using their skills as copper engravers nurtured in Antwerp, succeeded in making their officina one of the most recognisable in Europe, producing books and copper engravings no other German publishing house was capable of issuing in the 1590s. Alongside the collection of voyages, the De Brys published several other multiple-volume works in different languages aiming to grasp, condition, and maintain the interest of an international reading public. The family further issued popular emblem books as well as publications profiting from interest in the renewed hostilities with the Ottomans. Such small, attractive, and essentially quickly produced books provided the turnover needed to invest in larger projects like the collection of voyages. As the firm matured, an increasingly varied corpus of publications rolled off the presses of the printers in their service.

The catalogue of works the De Brys issued shows not only the relative importance of the collection of voyages, but also reveals that the family refrained from publishing two types of books. With one or two notable exceptions, the humanist tracts issued by the De Brys were distinctly second-rate, and classical texts—the staple of many publishing firms—were missing altogether. Their close friend Jean-Jacques Boissard bemoaned the family's lack of erudition, and wholeheartedly complained to Carolus Clusius and others about what he considered the ineptitude of the De Brys in publishing learned treatises in a truthful and responsible manner. Only after being forced to move to Oppenheim in 1609, under the protection of the Elector Palatine, did Johan Theodore de Bry obtain scholarly manuscripts with an international appeal, written by Rosicrucians like Robert Fludd and Michael Maier. Since these texts, sponsored by the Heidelberg court, were highly contentious, they

were exclusively published in the Palatinate. The caution and prudence characterising the firm's publishing strategy also explains the omission of a second group of works from the De Bry catalogue, namely theological treatises. Despite the dominance of religious texts and bibles in the Frankfurt fair catalogues and, consequently, in private libraries around 1600, the De Brys did not publish works aimed at this segment of the book market.

The single exception to this rule, in 1595, instantly sparked controversy. Frankfurt censors twice blocked the publication of Julius Roscius' *Opera misericordia* because they deemed it papist. While Johan Theodore and Johan Israel eventually issued the Jesuit treatise in Montbéliard, the incident tainted their relationship with their father. Although the two generations continued to co-operate for the three years remaining until Theodore's death, the firm used two different imprints after 1595, and a disappointed father complained about the lack of support he received from his sons. Johan Theodore and Johan Israel, however, never again antagonised local censors. Despite their Reformed beliefs, they steered clear of issuing Calvinist publications. Instead they contributed as engravers to Lutheran and Catholic bibles and co-operated with translators and printers from other confessions. The private and public spheres in the world of the booksellers thus remained firmly separated at all times.

The collection of voyages, which more than any other publication defined the identity of the officina, reflects the prudent publishing strategy of the De Brys. A potentially confrontational treatise like Las Casas' *Brevissima relación* was issued on the side, not as part of a collection for which it was nevertheless ideally suited. Treatises and accounts by Catholic authors like Odoardo Lopez, Gasparo Balbi, Jose de Acosta, Antonio de Herrera, and Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos were integrated into the collection to give the volumes a less-biased appearance. The *India Orientalis*-series, an initiative of the two De Bry brothers at a time when their father was still alive, even opens with an engraving of Catholic success in converting Africans to Christianity. In line with the linguistic differentiations, the De Brys dedicated some of the Latin volumes to Catholic patrons in the hope of attracting official approval. Yet the most telling glimpses of the objectives of the De Brys can be found in the textual adjustments to the accounts, not only in the shape of sizeable omissions and selective additions, but also on the level of modifications to single phrases, margin texts, and sometimes single words.

The representation of the natural world by the De Brys shows two different, complementary sides of the collection. Study of the changes made to the exotic flora reveals that the methods of the De Brys were meticulous, and that they went to great lengths to faithfully copy and even improve the material presented in the original travel accounts, spurred on by contributors like Clusius and Paludanus. At the same time, however, exotic plants were underrepresented in most volumes, and the selectiveness of the De Brys even led to the omission of John White's illustrations of the natural world. Similar selectiveness was also apparent in the representation of the animal world in the De Bry collection. By favouring descriptions and depictions of unfamiliar creatures, the De Brys presented their readers with a negative interpretation of the natural world. It gave the impression that Divine creation had withheld useful animals from large parts of the overseas world, giving preference to the Old World with its array of horses, sheep, and oxen. Wild species, moreover, were overrepresented in the De Bry view of Africa, Asia, and America, implying a lack of taming skills in many of the societies European travellers encountered.

By attributing a traditional, symbolic connotation to animals, the De Brys enabled their readers to observe a subtle hierarchy of the overseas world. The various characteristics and appearances of separate species across the volumes, like the elephant, provide an indication of the 'comparative potential' of the collection of voyages. Species that were represented as wild in West Africa were perfectly obedient to man in parts of Asia, notably South-East Asia. The Asian methods of catching and domesticating elephants were also substantially more sophisticated than the rather arbitrary methods applied in Africa. The De Brys depicted and described both the methods and the resulting subservience of elephants in detail. In the New World other wild, even monstrous species were found. This was a deviation from the traditional view of America's nature, where the shortage of quadrupeds was considered a sign of organic inferiority. Other stereotypical elements of the early modern representation of the New World, like the supposedly tame predators and mute cats and dogs were not on display either. In spite of the engraving of Adam and Eve in *India Occidentalis* I, the alterity of the New World in the collection was not based on such prelapsarian notions. The De Brys, in other words, did not look for traditional, known entities in unknown parts of the world, as sixteenth-century cosmographers had done, but constructed their own set of representations.

The publishers, like almost all other early modern Europeans gazing at the overseas world, displayed great interest in different aspects of the physical appearance of the indigenous peoples and their care for the human body. Eating and drinking habits, mutilating one's own body or that of others, lack of clothing, and body posture were therefore all subject to editorial changes in the hands of the De Brys. These features, while sometimes converging in a single engraving, were further spread throughout the collection. Depictions of nudity and especially feathered headdresses expanded beyond their customary horizons in the collection, and the territory home to cannibalism was also enlarged. European conceptions of New World folklore moved to African shores, while aspects of both were integrated into Asian identities, making the various continents to some extent interchangeable.

The De Brys, additionally, defined the otherness of the peoples encountered more sharply than their travelling authors had done. They omitted softening or outright positive comments from the original travel accounts, while selecting spectacular and more degrading passages for depiction. Topics like mutilation and self-mutilation, receiving limited attention until then, were pushed to the fore on several occasions. Drunkenness was highlighted, and so was the consumption of food that was considered abject, either by texture or lack of preparation. Spectacular forms of paganism were considered the most suitable instrument to represent the otherness abroad and to sell copies of the volumes across early modern Europe. The De Brys, in their collection, therefore stressed the distinctly un-Christian, unfamiliar background of all indigenous beliefs encountered. If the original accounts had not included depictions of local heathen practices, the De Brys methodically designed new engravings, dismissive interpretations of overseas routines without exception. Other techniques included the omission of passages that were deemed in some way approving of paganism, typographical highlighting of controversial excerpts, the ventilation of disgust at exotic beliefs through strongly-worded marginalia alongside the texts, and a variety of small editorial adjustments. The process of alteration included putting the emphasis on the vices of heathendom in the prefaces to the volumes.

Comparing the German and the Latin versions of the volumes helps us understand the representations of the overseas world in the De Bry collection. Without undermining the otherness of the overseas peoples, the Latin editions were generally more reluctant to overemphasise the pagan nature of their rituals. The German versions, in contrast,

tended to revel in describing paganism in its most vivid details. The differences between the two versions suggest that there was no such thing as a single overriding representational ideology on the part of the publishers, and the broadly shared assumption that the collection was conceived as a vehicle of Reformed propaganda must therefore be shelved as one-dimensional. The variations between Latin and German translations instead point to a process of modification based on the presumed expectations, interests, and desires of different groups of readers. The De Bry alterations to excerpts of the travel accounts concerning Christianity are also characterised by a reluctance to antagonise potential readers, including censors, and by a strategy to neutralise the Latin volumes, which were most likely to end up on Catholic bookshelves. Narratives by Protestant pamphleteers, like De Léry's *Histoire*, were therefore thoroughly revised. For the German volumes, however, the publishers followed a similarly cautious approach, omitting the most controversial fragments.

This complex editing strategy, so clearly visible when the texts are examined, puts the celebrated copper engravings in a new perspective. The illustrations to Benzoni's account of Spanish brutalities in the New World retain their accusatory connotation, and the De Brys rarely omitted Dutch engravings of maritime successes at the expense of their Iberian rivals, but there is much more to the collection than these illustrations alone. Especially when the origins of the engravings are taken into account, the changes the De Brys made point to an overall emphasis on the alterity of the worlds the Europeans encountered and a juxtaposition between uncultured, barbarous societies in America, Africa, and Asia and their civilised Christian visitors from the Old World. Not only do these representations reflect the anxieties of many learned Europeans who despised the confessional turmoil in the Empire, in France, and elsewhere, they also matched the expectations of European readers who still believed, or preferred to believe, in tales of marvels abroad. Moreover, demeaning overseas peoples, particularly by stressing the scale of their heathen beliefs, also served to enhance the damaged self-esteem of Christianity, and, most importantly for the publishers, to sell the collection's volumes to readers regardless of their confessional allegiance.

The success of the De Brys in avoiding the wrath of the Catholic readership can be measured by the collection's entry on the Spanish and Portuguese Indices. This may seem paradoxical at first, but the De Brys managed to include narratives such as De Léry's *Histoire* without

inflaming Rome's Congregation of the Index to the point where *India Occidentalis* III, or even the collection as a whole by association, was forbidden. Despite the inclusion of De Léry's report on at least one of the *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*, even the very edition used by the De Brys, the corresponding version issued in Frankfurt suffered only the expurgation of selected passages, but, crucially, not prohibition of the entire work. The textual modifications made in the De Bry workshop successfully neutralised the narratives to achieve a more lenient inquisitorial assessment. Hence the sale of the volumes in the Iberian monarchies remained possible, albeit conditionally, while Northern European readers were eager to find out which passages had angered inquisitors in Madrid and Lisbon.

The offensive passages—in a sense the controversial phrases the De Brys did not recognise as such or remove—were often of a political nature. Remarks testifying to Spanish tyranny or a Portuguese lack of effort to convert the indigenous heathens regularly resulted in expurgations. Anti-Iberian, particularly anti-Spanish rhetoric was common in sixteenth-century Europe, and was recognised and appreciated by Catholics in France, Italy, and elsewhere. After abandoning the translation of the volumes into French in 1590, the De Brys drew French readers to the collection through the addition of French travel accounts to the Latin editions. Volumes of the collection thus retained their anti-Spanish rhetoric, but if customers wanted to read unilaterally detrimental assessments of Spanish conduct in the New World, they could better turn elsewhere. Jean de Léry's *Histoire* was available in unexpurgated form in various languages. Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del mondo nuovo* was printed in German in a hostile version only a handful of years before the appearance of *India Occidentalis* IV, V, and VI. In their pictorial representations, the De Brys instead opted to combine the traditional view of Indians as innocent victims of the conquistadors with graphic depictions of heathendom.

This editorial strategy proved successful, as the collection found its way onto the shelves of private libraries across Europe: readers from Seville to Lithuania, regardless of their religious persuasion, acquired volumes of the firm's 'magnum opus' in the first half of the seventeenth century. According to the pattern of consumption, many customers considered the accounts to be integral parts of one collection, or at least of one of the two series. As the number of volumes continued to increase in the 1600s and 1610s, the impression that the books should be purchased and read together gained further ground. When the

India Orientalis-series had matured sufficiently to match the nine-volume *America*-series, which was not extended further between 1602 and 1618, most of the customers in Jan and Balthasar Moretus' Antwerp bookstore bought the De Bry collection as a whole, in a single transaction. Only those who had purchased the initial volumes at an earlier stage, when the collection was still being developed, continued to buy separate volumes in order to complete their personal sets.

The accumulation of volumes enhanced the collection's prestige: many of the rich and famous took pride in possessing the voyages. While the price impeded the availability of the collection for the middle classes—until public libraries opened their doors in later decades—the eagerness of more affluent customers assured their commercial success. Before the collection turned into a collector's item in the 1650s and 1660s, the volumes were sold in most of the important bookshops across Europe. Even where this was not the case, as in Spain, the collection nevertheless infiltrated the most significant private libraries. On the whole, the size of a collector's library in the early seventeenth century determined the chance of the De Bry volumes finding their place on the shelves: the larger the private library, the greater the likelihood of it containing the voyages.

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, the collection was considered authoritative. Academic libraries and scholars of botany, medicine, and geography acquired the *India Occidentalis*- and *India Orientalis*-series, which enjoyed roughly similar sales figures. Merchants, noblemen, clerics, and magistrates added to the collection's readership. Not everyone capable of buying the volumes did so, however. Several libraries of prominent humanists with an established interest in the overseas world did not include the collection. Why these scholars did not purchase the De Bry volumes is uncertain: perhaps they still valued the authority of classical geographers like Ptolemy and Strabo over travel literature written by contemporaries. The collection additionally may have suffered from a questionable reputation in the Republic of Letters, if the late seventeenth-century testimony of John Locke is to be believed. Locke rated other collections of voyages as better and more complete than the De Bry collection.

The available sources do not give any clues as to which elements of the volumes Locke and other readers liked or disliked. Another matter the surviving documents fail to solve is the distinction between customers buying the German and the Latin translations. Humanists invariably acquired the Latin editions, and so did those who did not

read German, in parts of Europe like France, Spain, and Italy. The German translations were for sale in the Dutch Republic, but very few of the seventeenth-century auction catalogues indicate the ownership of German volumes. Only in the Empire and possibly Scandinavia did the German translations attract the attention of the reading public. While the sources seem to point to a predilection for the German volumes among Protestants who read German, the scarcity of the material does not allow for more definite conclusions. The Latin volumes, at any rate, were just as well represented in Protestant circles—in England for instance—but then the De Brys had not aimed at dissuading Protestants from buying the collection in Latin. Readers in England, after all, were unlikely to read German and had little choice but to buy the Latin volumes.

Inevitably, there were still plenty of people who did not possess, consult, or even know the De Bry collection. But even they had ample opportunity to see some of its modified representations, which ended up in the mainstream of overseas iconography. Editors of later collections of voyages carefully studied the innovations the De Brys made to the genre, and subsequent compilations placed more emphasis on illustrations than had their sixteenth-century counterparts. If the seventeenth-century examples are divided into two categories, one made by erudite scholars of geography like Thévenot and Dapper, and the other made by publishers and editors like Purchas, Commelin, Saeghman, and Van der Aa, the latter grouping relied on the De Bry collection for inspiration, whereas the former did not use it as extensively. Yet the hastily edited collections of voyages attracted a wide readership until the early eighteenth century, thus prolonging the lifespan of the De Bry representations.

The contemporary collection produced by the Hulsius family was at the same time reliant on the De Bry model and responsible for further dispersing its iconography. After an initial period which may have been characterised by competition—but this remains unlikely given the close personal ties between the De Brys and Levinus Hulsius—the period after 1606 unmistakably saw a co-operative effort, co-ordinated by the De Brys to whom the Hulsius family were indebted. While the folio collection continued to be published in Latin and German for an affluent readership, the smaller-sized Hulsius collection aimed at readers with a smaller budget. The analogous German quarto voyages the De Brys had issued beginning in 1602 were abandoned in 1605, when the successful Hulsius collection was incorporated into the firm's publish-

ing strategy. From 1606 onwards, the Hulsius family confined itself to publishing narratives which had first been published as part of the De Bry collection.

The iconography of the overseas world in singular maps and travel accounts also relied heavily on the illustrations of the collection. Northern European travellers and writers of geographical literature specifically used engravings designed in Frankfurt to fuel their exotic or damning representations of the overseas world. Cartographers in the United Provinces eagerly copied the illustrations made by the De Brys and influenced their colleagues elsewhere. As the seventeenth century unfolded, the representations of Asia gradually lost their appeal. New accounts and more accurate illustrations made much of the collection's compositions redundant. Meanwhile the *America*-volumes continued to dominate New World iconography for generations, not because the volumes were purchased in greater numbers, but because the early seventeenth century had relied so heavily on the De Bry representations of North America, of the Black Legend, and of cannibalism, that later generations could simply not avoid using the De Bry illustrations or its imitations and adaptations when looking for suitable pictures.

Apart from geographical scholars bound to take notice of the De Bry volumes, artists and publishers copied the ethnographical engravings of the collection. Venetian costume books of the 1590s derived some of their portraiture from the early *America*-volumes, while Rubens and Clusius, to name just two different types of readers, used the collection's illustrations for their own purposes. Given the variety of adaptations, speculative claims that even Shakespeare knew the De Bry collection and incorporated some of its contents into his work do not necessarily have to be met with disbelief, although the available evidence is far from conclusive.² While the engravings can be traced effortlessly in seventeenth-century paintings and prints, pointing to the direct use of the modified texts is much more complicated. Grimmelshausen, for his *Simplicissimus*, almost certainly copied De Bry translations when describing the exotic places his protagonist encountered. Other authors referred their readers to the De Bry editions by means of the margins to their treatises, suggesting they had read these versions. Yet the only explicit surviving assessments of the collection date from a time when the collection's authority had been surpassed by time and by more

² C. Frey, "The Tempest and the New World", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30 (1979) 39.

detailed descriptions of the overseas world. John Locke's and Thomas Jefferson's critiques can hardly be considered to stand for the impression the volumes made on their contemporary reading public. It is therefore largely impossible, in this respect, to arrive at a definite conclusion of the impact the adapted texts made in early modern Europe.

Stephen Greenblatt, in 1991, asked whether we can "legitimately speak of 'the European practice of representation'? There were profound differences among the national cultures and religious faiths of the various European voyagers, differences that decisively shaped both perceptions and representations".³ The De Bry collection, in various ways, answers that question in the affirmative. It is, in fact, hard to think of any better example from the sixteenth or seventeenth century which so perfectly embodied the concept of Europe or European—even if no such concept existed as we know it today—as the De Bry collection with its assemblage of Dutch, English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and French travel accounts all translated into Latin for an affluent readership undivided by political or religious boundaries. As such, the collection both reflected and moulded a self-styled European identity which left little room for confessional divisions or attempted to gloss over the ruptures which had affected the Old World since the Reformation. The overseas world as a whole, whether New or rediscovered, provided the perfect counterweight for rebuilding European satisfaction and self-confidence. Hence, as the implicit epitome of European self-definition, the De Bry collection above all vied to be recognisable, conforming itself to widespread expectations of the overseas world as uncivilised and un-Christian. Commercial considerations strictly curtailed the De Brys' representational and ideological latitude, should they have had the intention of using the collection to disseminate their private considerations in the first place. The price, rather than the nature of the narratives included, was what bothered the publishers most as the enterprise continued to expand. The editorial strategy of the De Brys can only properly be understood if their commercial anxieties are appreciated.

³ Greenblatt (1991) 8.

APPENDIX ONE

PUBLICATIONS OF THE DE BRY FIRM

Preliminary note

This list contains all works published by the De Bry firm, whether by Theodore, by his widow, by his two sons or by Johan Theodore alone. For the years after 1623, only first editions of remaining volumes of the collection of voyages have been described. The list is based on five different types of sources. Apart from the actual publications, the catalogues of the Frankfurt book fairs (Q99 for the Easter fair of 1599, S01 for the September fair of 1601, etc.), the 'Cahiers de Francfort' of the Officina Plantiniana (Arch. MPM 969–1051), the 'Zensurzettel' in the Frankfurt city archives, and the 1609 poster catalogue of the De Bry firm have been used. Only publications which are referred to in at least two of the five different types of sources are included in the main list. Works only mentioned in one source can be found in separate lists at the end, with explanations regarding their inclusion outside the main list. All books have been listed by the year of publication, with the books in 2° mentioned first, then the books in 4° etc. Volumes of the collection of voyages have always been listed first. For these volumes, the listed number of illustrations refers to the engravings of the common size, mostly included in the second section of each of the books. Title-pages, portraits, and heraldic dedications have not been included. Maps are only described as such when not included into these sections. Books which are not first editions are also included, but only after the first editions of that particular year, and marked by a * before their number in the list. To distinguish different editions, the STCN-fingerprint method (Vriesema 1986) has been used. The list of copies includes, if possible, one British (preferably BL), one German (pref. HAB), and one Dutch (pref. UBA) copy. I truthfully transcribed the title-pages, including blatant spelling mistakes, which sometimes enable us to distinguish two different editions. I only corrected v's and u's when appropriate. I am grateful to the staff of the following libraries who examined copies for me: Georgianna Ziegler at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Peter Harrington at the John Hay Library, Brown

University, Cate Cooney at the Winterthur Library, Monika Butz at the University Library in Basel, Gertrud Oswald at the Austrian National Library, Andreas Wittenberg at the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, and Ivo Asmus at the University Library in Greifswald.

Frequently used abbreviations

BL:	British Library, London	StUBF:	Stadt- und
BNF:	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris		Universitäts- bibliothek Frankfurt
BSB:	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich	UBA:	University Library, Amsterdam
HAB:	Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel	UBL:	University Library, Leiden
JCBL:	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI	UBL	Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden
KB:	Royal Dutch Library, The Hague	Thysia:	Leiden
NSA:	Dutch National Maritime Museum, Amsterdam	UBU:	University Library, Utrecht
ÖNB:	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna	UCL:	University Library, University College London
		VU:	University Library, Free University, Amsterdam

All other collections are mentioned in full.

1590

1. Thomas Harriot, *Admiranda narratio fida tamen, de commodis et incolarum ritibus virginiae nuper admodum ab anglis, qui à Dn. Richardo Greinvile equestri ordinis viro eò in coloniam anno M.D.LXXXV. deducti sunt inventae*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 34, [94] pp., 28 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL c.74.g.4 (1); HAB A 131.1 Hist. 2°; UBL 1368 A 8 (1)

Add.: Volume I of the *America*-series, printed by Johan Wechel and also sold by Sigmund Feyerabend. An imperial privilege was obtained for a period of four years. The original English edition by Thomas Harriot (*A briefe and true report*, London 1588)

is translated by several people including Carolus Clusius, who is credited on the title-page. Dedicated to Maximilian, Archduke of Tirol.

Lit: Kuhlemann (2007); Greve (2004); Solok (1994); Faupel (1989); Hulton (1984); Hulton and Quinn (1964)

2. Thomas Harriot, *Wunderbarliche, doch Warhafftige Erklärung, Von der Gelegenheit und Sitten der Wilden in Virginia, welche newlich von den Engelländern, so im Jar 1585. vom Herrn Reichard Greinvile, einem von der Ritterschafft, in gemeldte Landschafft die zu bewohnen geführt waren, ist erfunden worden.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: 33, [89] pp., 28 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6623 (1); HAB A 41 Hist. 2^o (1); KB 1712 A 12 (1)

Add.: Printed by Johan Wechel and also sold by Sigmund Feyerabend. The four-year privilege is mentioned on the title-page. Translated by the unidentified Christian P., dedicated to Christian I, Elector of Saxony.

Lit: Kuhlemann (2007); Greve (2004); Solok (1994); Faupel (1989); Hulton (1984); Hulton and Quinn (1964)

3. Thomas Harriot, *Merveilleux et estrange rapport, toutesfois fidele, des commoditez qui se trouvent en virginia, des facons des naturels habitans d'icelle, laquelle a esté nouvellement descouverte par les anglois que messire Richard Greinvile chevalier y mena en colonie l'an 1585.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: 33, [9], [82] pp., 28 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6836; BNF 30576801; JCB L J.590 B915v

Add.: The only volume of the collection of voyages also published in French. Printed by Johan Wechel and also sold in Sigmund Feyerabend's shop. Translated by Carolus Clusius, dedicated to William IV, Elector Palatine.

Lit: Kuhlemann (2007); Greve (2004); Solok (1994); Faupel (1989); Hulton (1984); Hulton and Quinn (1964)

4. Thomas Harriot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia. of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discouered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinvile Knight In the yeere 1585. Which remained under the governement of twelve monethes.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: 33, [9], [82] pp., 28 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6837

Add.: Second English edition of Harriot's *A briefe and true report*, printed by Johan Wechel and also sold by Sigmund Feyerabend, the

only volume of the collection to appear in English. Richard Hakluyt is credited by De Bry in the preface as the person who “first Incouraged me to publish the Worke”. He also translated the Latin captions into English. The Imperial privilege for four years also applied to this edition. Dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh.

Lit: Kuhlemann (2007); Greve (2004); Solok (1994); Faupel (1989); Hulton (1984); Hulton and Quinn (1964)

1591

5. René de Laudonnière, Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, et al., *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Navigatione, duce Renato de Laudo[n]niere classis Praefecto Anno MDLXIII. Quae est secunda pars Americae. Additae figurae et Incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivu[m] expressae brevis item Declaratio Religionis, rituum, vivendique ratione ipsorum*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [8], 30, [88], [26] pp., 42 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6627 (3); HAB M Gx 2^o 7; UBL 1368 A 8 (2)

Add.: Volume II of the *America*-series, printed by Johan Wechel, and also sold in the late Sigmund Feyerabend's bookshop. De Bry included the Imperial privilege he had obtained for Volume I of the collection in 1590. Carolus Clusius made the Latin translation of the original French account of René de Laudonnière (*L'histoire notable de la Floride*, Paris 1586), for which he could also have used Hakluyt's English translation of 1587. The illustrations and part of the additional text is based on Le Moyne's personal account. Dedicated to Christian I, Elector of Saxony.

Lit.: Greve (2004); Fishman (1995); Lawson and Faupel (1992); Feest (1988); Hulton (1977)

6. René de Laudonnière, Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, et al., *Der ander Theyl, der Newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americae, Von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam (die gegen Nidergang gelegen) gethan. Eine unter dem Häuptmann H. Laudonniere, Anno 1564. Die ander unter H. Ribald 1565. Die dritte, unter H. Guorguesio 1567. geschehen. Mit Beschreibung und lebendiger Contrafactur, dieser Provintze, Gestalt, Sitten und Gebräuch der Wilden*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [8], 42, [88], [26] pp., 42 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6623 (2); HAB 41 Hist. 2^o (2); UBA OF 82–8/14

- Add.: The first of the volumes of the collection printed by Johan Feyerabend, although the name of Johan Wechel still features on the title-page. Translated into German from Clusius' Latin edition by Oseam Halen. The four-year privilege of 1590 was included. Dedicated to William IV, Elector Palatine.
- Lit: Greve (2004); Fishman (1995); Lawson and Faupel (1992); Feest (1988); Hulton (1977)

1592

7. Hans Staden, Jean de Léry, and Nicolas Barré, *Americae tertia pars Memorabile provinciae Brasiliae Historiam continet*[n]s. [...] *Addita est Narratio projectionis Ioannis Lerij in eandem Provinciam, qua ille initio gallicè conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit. His accessit Descriptio Morum & Ferocitatis incolarum illius Regionis, atque Colloquium ipsorum idiomate conscriptum.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 296, [18] pp., 44 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6627 (4); HAB M Gx 2° 7; UBL 1368 A 9

Add.: Volume III of the *America*-series, translated by Carolus Clusius and Johan Adam Lonicer. The volume was printed by Johan Wechel, the last volume to come off his presses. The only volume of the collection which has the plates, some of which are printed twice or thrice, included in the text, instead of in a separate section. Dedicated to William IV, Elector Palatine.

Lit.: Greve (2004); Obermeier (2002); Lestringant (1999); Bucher (1981)

8. *Emblemata nobilitati et vulgo scitu digna: singulis historijs symbola adscripta & elegantes versus historiam explicat*[n]tes. *Accessit Galearu*[m] *expositio, & Disceptatio de origine Nobilitatis.* [...] *Stam und Wapenbuchlein Wolgestellte und kunstliche Figuren, Sampt dere*[n] *Poetische*[n] *erklärung, auch vo*[n] *Adels anku*[n]fft beid fur *Adels Perso*[ne]n, und allerhandt Standt. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8° obl.: [32], [78] pp., 78 ills.

Copies: BL 246.a.44; ULB Bonn, E 183/3; UBA 2007 G 34

Add.: Intended to be used as 'album amicorum', and dedicated to the late Sigmund Feyerabend's son Karl. In 1593, the same book was printed in a more common 4°-edition (nr. 10). Since copies of this work are often interleaved with white pages, the number of pages can vary according to the preferences of the owner.

Lit: Verhaak (2001); Harms and Von Katte (facs. 1979)

1593

9. Hans Staden and Jean de Léry, *Dritte Buch Americae, Darinn Brasilia durch Johann Staden [...] Item Historia der Schiffart Ioannis Lerij in Brasilien, welche er selbst publiciert hat [...] Vom Wilden unerhörten wesen der Innwoner, von allerley frembden Gethieren und Gewächsen, sampt einem Colloquio, in der Wilden Sprach*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 92, [30], 193 (93–285), [1] pp., 40 ills.

Copies: BL G6623 (3); HAB A 41 Hist. 2° (3); UBA OF 82–9

Add.: Like in its Latin counterpart (nr. 7), the illustrations are included in the text. Johan Adam Lonicer translated De Léry's account into German. Johan Feyerabend presumably printed this volume. Some of the plates are included twice. Dedicated to Frederick IV, the new Elector Palatine.

Lit: Greve (2004); Obermeier (2002); Lestringant (1999); Bucher (1981)

10. *Emblemata nobilitati et vulgo scitu digna singulis historiis symbola adscripta & elega[n]tes versus historia[m] explica[n]tes. Accessit Galearu[m] expositio, & Disceptatio de origine Nobilitatis. [...] Stam und Wapenbuchlein. Kunstliche Figuren, sampt zierliche[n] Compartemente[n], von allerley Blum Werck, Grotische[n] etc Dergleiche[n] vormals nicht außgange[n]. Beneben dere[n] Poetische[n] erclarung. Auch vo[n] Adels a[n]kunfft, Beid für Adels Persone[n] und allerha[n] sta[n]de*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 31, [1], [192] pp., 94 ills.

Copies: BL 12304.cc.21; HAB M Uk Sammelb. 2 (1); UBL Thysia 1371 (1)

Add.: Extended 4°-edition of nr. 8, dedicated to the brothers Simon and Daniel Soreau, and to the memory of their late father, an old friend of Theodore de Bry. Since copies of this work are often interleaved with white pages, the number of pages can vary according to the preferences of the owner.

Lit: Warnecke (facs. 1894)

11. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Emblematum liber*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [16], 103, [1] pp., 53 ills.

Copies: BL 89.k.25; HAB M Uk 87; UBA 2002 F 5

Add.: First published with the same title in 1588 in Metz, by Abraham Faber. De Bry made new engravings, after designs by the author, for this edition. Each of the emblems was dedicated separately by Boissard, whereas the book as a whole

was dedicated by the author to Catherine de Heu. The British Library copy includes the French dedication, also to Catherine de Heu, instead of the Latin version.

Lit: Adams (2003); Harms (1973)

12. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Emblemata*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [16], 103, [1] pp., 54 ills.

Copies: HAB M Uk Sammelb. 2 (2); UBU RAR Lmy Boissard 1; BNF 30121803

Add.: German edition of nr. 11, dedicated to Prince Bishop Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn. Translated from Latin into German by Johan Adam Lonicer. The name of the printer is unknown.

Lit: Adams (2003)

1594

13. Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae pars quarta. Sive, Insignis & Admiranda Historia de reperta primùm Occidentali India à Christophoro Columbo Anno M. CCCXCII Scripta ab Hieronymo Bezono Mediolanense, qui istic a[n]nis XIII. versatus, dilige[n]ter omnia observavit. Addita ad singula ferè capita, non contemnenda scholia, in quibus agitur de earum etiam gentium idololatria. Accessit praeterea illarum Regionum Tabula chorographica*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [10], 145, [5], [48] pp., 24 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6628 (1); HAB M Gx 2^o 7; UBL 1368 A 10 (1)

Add.: Latin translation of an original Italian edition published in Venice in 1565. De Bry mentioned the Imperial privilege of 1590. Printed by Johan Feyerabend, probably more than once as the fingerprint-method reveals several states with the imprint 1594. The illustrations of the second state are numbered. De Bry was praised in the preliminaries by Boissard and Perrot de la Salle.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keazor (1998); Caraci (1991); Keen (1976)

14. Girolamo Benzoni, *Das vierdte Buch Von der neuwen Welt. oder Neuwe und gründtliche Historien, von dem Nidergängischen Indien, so von Christophoro Columbo im Jar 1492. erstlich erfunden. Durch Hieronymum Bentzo von Meyland, welcher 14. Jar dasselbig Land durchwandert, auff's fleissigst beschrieben und an Tag geben. Mit nützlichen Scholien und Außlegungen fast auff jede Capitel, von deren Völkern Sitten, Gebräuch und Gottesdienst*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [20], 141, [53] pp., 24 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6623 (4); HAB A 42 Hist. 2^o (1); UBA OF 82–10

Add.: Printed by Johan Feyerabend. The German translation by Nicolaus Höniger (Geneva 1582–83), with textual additions by Urbain Chauveton, was used. De Bry dedicated this volume to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel, and added the privilege of 1590.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keazor (1998); Caraci (1991); Keen (1976)

15. Paul Perrot de la Salle, *Tableaus sacrez de Paul Perrot Sieur de la Sale. P. qui sont toutes les histoires du viel Testament representees & exposees selon leur sens en poesie Francoise*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 229, [3] pp., 114 ills. (all woodcuts)

Copies: BL 11474.aaa.31; HAB A 167.4 Poet.; KB 757 D 21

Add.: Printed by Johan Feyerabend. Some illustrations carry the monogram IA, Jost Amman, who for years had been associated with the firm of Sigmund Feyerabend. Dedicated by the author to his brother-in-law, the French tax collector for the Champagne Martin Nau.

Lit: Adams (2003); Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999–2002) F477

1595

16. Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae pars quinta. Nobilis & admiratione plena Hieronymi Bezoni Mediolanensis, secundae sectionis H[istor]ia: Hispanorum, tum in Nigritas servos suos; tum in Indos crudelitatem, Gallorumq[ue] pirataru[m] de Hispanis toties reportata spolia; Adventu[m] item Hispanoru[m] in Novam Indiae continentis Hispaniam, eorumq[ue] contra incolas eius regionis saevitiam explicans. Addita ad singula fere Capita scholia, in quibus res Indiae luculenter exponuntur*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry

Coll.: 2°: [2], 82 (1–78, 89–92), [46] pp., 22 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL c.115.h.2 (5); HAB M Gx 2° 8; UBL 1368 A 10 (2)

Add.: Both translator and printer of this volume are unknown. In his letter to Franciscus Raphelengius, De Bry showed himself unhappy with the printer's work. De Bry referred to an Imperial privilege he had obtained. The preliminaries also contain an engraved portait of Columbus.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976)

17. Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae Das fünffte Buch, Vol schöner unerhörter Historien, auß dem andern theil Ioannis Benzonis von Meylandt gezogen: Von der Spanier Wüten, beyd wider ihre Knecht die Nigriten, und auch die arme Indianer: wie die Spanier von den Frantzösischen Meerraubern zum offtermal angriffen unnd*

geplündert worden, denn auch, wie sie erstlich das neuwe Spanien erfunden haben, und gantz erbärmlich mit dem armen Landvölcklein daselbst umbgangen sind. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 115, [3], [44] pp., 22 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL 10003.e.22; HAB A 42 Hist. 2° (2); UBA OF 82–11 (lacking the map).

Add.: De Bry relied on the earlier German translation by Nicolaus Höniger (Geneva 1582–83), with elaborations by Urbain Chauveton. Dedicated to Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976)

18. *Nova alphati effictio Historiis ad singulas literas corresponde[n]tibus [...]* *Versibus insuper Latinis et Rithmis Germanicis no[n] omnino inconditis. Neüw Kunstliches Alphabet, gezirt mit schonen Figurn, deren Jede sich auff seinen Buchstaben accom[m]odirt.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [54] pp., 24 ills.

Copies: HAB M Ui 4° 42; UBL Thysia 2177 (1); BNF 30171554

Add.: The first publication carrying the imprint of the two sons of Theodore de Bry. Dedicated to Jean-Jacques Boissard. The texts are in both Latin and German.

Lit: Kiermeyer-Debre and Vogel (facs. 1997)

19. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Emblemes*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 111 (1–8, 17–119), [1] pp., 53 ills.

Copies: Folger Shakespeare Library PN6349.B6 F55; Bibl. Mazarine 4° 11214–1

Add.: French edition of nr. 11, with French explanations added to the illustrations by the humanist Petrus Lepidus. Dedicated by Lepidus to Mme de Clervent. This work, including the French texts, was first published in Metz in 1588.

Lit: Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999–2002) F114

1596

20. Girolamo Benzoni and Nicolas le Challeux, *Americae pars sexta. sive historiae ab Hieronymo Be[n]zono Mediolane[n]se scriptae, sectio tertia, res no[n] minus nobiles & admiratione plenas continens, quàm praecedentes duae. In hac enim reperies, qua ratione Hispani opule[n]tissimas illas Peruani regni provincias occuparint, capto Rege Atabaliba: dei[n]de orta inter ipsos Hispanos in eo regno civilia bella. Additus est brevis de Fortunatis insulis Com[m]entariolus in duo capita*

distinctus. Item additiones ad singula Capita Historiam illustrantes. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 108, [60] pp., 28 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6628 (3); UB Göttingen 4 ITIN I 3848:6.7.8 RARA; BNF 30171580

Add.: The translator of this volume is unknown. Printed by Johan Feyerabend, as one of his employees picked up the book after it has passed through the hands of the Frankfurt censors (StAfr. ZBBP 24, f23r). De Bry mentioned an Imperial privilege on the title-page.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976); Collon-Gevaert (1966b)

21. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum turcicorum, principum persarum, aliorumq[ue] illustrium Heroum Heroinarumq[ue] ab Osmene usq[ue] ad Mahometem II.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [10], 353, [5] pp., 47 ills.

Copies: BL 280.d.33 (2); HAB A 196.35 Hist. (2); Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Print Room 327 K 18

Add.: The identity of the printer is unknown. Dedicated by the author to Petrus Lepidus, Boissard's friend and translator. The pages are numbered 1–356, with the last four pages running from 350 to 356.

Lit: —

22. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Leben und Contrafeiten der Türckischen un[d] Persischen Sultanen, von Osmene an, biß auff den jetztregierenden Sultan Mahumet II. Auch vieler anderer fürtrefflicher Helden und Heldinen Historische Beschreibung, und eigentlicher Abriß.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 394, [6] pp., 47 ills.

Copies: HAB M QuN 207 (1); ÖNB 261659–B.Fid

Add.: The German translation of nr. 21. The names of the translator (Lonicer?) and printer are unknown. Dedicated to Duke Frederick I of Württemberg.

Lit: —

23. Julius Roscius, *Opera misericordiae ad corpus pertinentia, figuris et iconibus in aes incisus expressa et repraesentata: Cum selectis sententiis et testimoniis, ex veteri et novo Testamento desumptis.* Montbéliard, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 31, [21] pp., 9 ills.

Copies: HAB A 519.1 Theol. 2° (4); ÖNB 253846–C.Fid

Add.: Permission to publish this work in Frankfurt was rejected twice (StAfr. ZBBP 20, nrs. 35 & 62), and the brothers finally decided to have it published in Montbéliard. First published in Rome in 1586, with engravings by Mario Chartari. The name of the printer was not mentioned, possibly Jacques Foillet. Dedicated to the Frankfurt jeweller Servatius Marell.

Lit: —

24. *Alphabeta et characteres, iam inde a creato mundo ad nostra usq. tempora; apud omnes omnino Nationes usurpati; ex varijs Autoribus accurate deprompti.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4° obl.: [12], [124] pp., 64 ill.

Copies: BL 53.a.19; BSB L.gen 13; UBL 721 C 17, incomplete.

Add.: The name of the printer is unknown. Dedicated to Phillip Ludwig, Count of Hanau-Lichtenberg. Since copies of this work are often interleaved with white pages, the number of pages can vary according to the preferences of the owner.

Lit: —

25. *Alphabeten und Aller art Characteren, so jemals von Anbegin der Welt, bey allen Nationen, in allerley Sprachen, im Brauch gewesen, auß vielen Autoribus mit fleiß zusammen gezogen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [12], [102] pp., 47 ill.

Copies: Bodleian Ashm. 565; StUBF N.lib. Ff 11307; UB Basle, BE V 19

Add.: German title-copy of nr. 24. Since copies of this work are often interleaved with white pages, the number of pages can vary according to the preferences of the owner.

Lit: —

26. Johan Adam Lonicer [& Levinus Hulsius], *Historia Chronologica Pannoniae: Ungarische und Siebenbürgische Historia, was sich in denen Landen, seyt den Sündflut hero, biß auf jetztregierende Rö. Keys. Mt. Rodolphum II. den XXXX. Christlichen König in Ungarn, und Sigismundum Bathorium Hertzogen in Siebenbürgen, etc. Fürnemlich aber in jetztwerenden Kriegshändlen, denckwürdiges begeben: Darinnen obgemeldter Potentaten, Kriegßfürsten und Feldobersten Leben, Ritterliche Thaten, und wider den Türcken newlicher zeit erhaltene Victorien, außführlich angeordnet.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 160, [8], 51, [1] pp., 14 ill., 1 map.

Copies: HAB M QuN 207 (2); ÖNB 63.G.20

Add.: Printed by Johan Kollitz, who seldom worked for the family. Levinus Hulsius, not mentioned anywhere in the book itself, was referred to in the request for permission to publish the book (StAfr. ZBBP 24, f14v). Dedicated to Duke Frederick I of Württemberg.

Lit: —

27. Johan Adam Lonicer [& Levinus Hulsius], *Pannoniae historia chronologica: res per Ungariam, Transylvaniam Iam inde à co[n]stitutione Regnorum illorum, usq[ue] ad Invictiss. Rom. Im. Rodolphum II. Ungariae Regem Christianum XXXX et Sereniss. Sigismu[n]dum Bathorium Trans&c. Ducem, maxime vere hoc bello gestae: Vitae item acta & Victoriae reliquorum eius belli Procerum, per T. An. Privatum C. Icones ge[n]uinae Regum, Ducum & Procerum eiusdem militiae Tabula Chorographica Ungariae toti[us] nova: quaedam Topographica & quaedam Historicae effigiationes artificiosae*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [14], 229, [1] pp., 14 ill.

Copies: BL 590.e.13; HAB M QuN 219.1; ÖNB BE.8.P.17

Add.: Translated from German (nr. 26) into Latin by Johan Adam Lonicer. The name of the printer is unknown.

Lit: —

28. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Theatrum vitae humanae*. Metz, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [16], 266, [2] pp., 61 ill.

Copies: BL 89.e.14; HAB A 21.1 Pol. (1); UBU RAR Lmy Boissard 3

Add.: Printed in Metz, by Abraham Faber, who had already printed several of Boissard's books in the 1580s. Dedicated by the author to Catherine de Heu.

Lit: Adams (2003); Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999–2002) F115

29. Denis Lebey de Batilly, *Emblemata*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [148] pp., 64 ill.

Copies: BL c.24.a.17; HAB M Uk 35; KB 488 D 34

Add.: The designs for the emblems were made by Jean-Jacques Boissard, a close friend of Lebey de Batilly, who had first printed the work without illustrations. Many of the illustrations were earlier used for Boissard's emblem books, as was the engraved title-page, which was used for nr. 28. The author added two separate dedications, to Pierre Nevelet-Dosch and to Phillip du Plessis-Mornay.

Lit: Choné (1991)

30. *Emblemata saecularia, mira et iucunda varietate saeculi huius mores ita experimentia, ut Sodalitatum Symbolis Insigniisque conscribendis et depingendis peraccommoda sint. Versibus Latinis, rithmisque Germanicis, Gallicis, Belgicis: speciali item Declamatione de Amore exornata. Weltliche lustige neuwe Kunststück, der jetzigen Welt lauff fürbildende, mit artlichen Lateinischen, Teutschen, Frantzösischen und Niderländischen Carminibus und Reimen geziert, fast dienstlich zu einem zierlichen Stamm und Wapenbüchlein.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [2], 37, [1], [200] pp., 100 ills.

Copies: Glasgow Univ. Libr., Sp. Col. SM 238; HAB A 22.1 Eth.; UBL Thysia 1371 (2)

Add.: Probably one of the most successful titles of the De Bry catalogue, as the first polyglottic emblem book. Some illustrations were accompanied by texts in four languages. The De Brys tried to dedicate the work to Phillip Ludwig II of Hanau-Lichtenberg, but failed because he was away on a trip and could not give them permission to do so (HStAM 81/A33, nr. 7, 20–21). Often used as ‘album amicorum’.

Lit: Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999–2002) F131

1597

31. Girolamo Benzoni, *Das sechste Theil der newwen Welt. oder Der Historien Hieron. Benzo von Meylandt, Das dritte Buch. Darinnen warhafftig erzehlet wirdt, wie die Spanier die Goldreiche Landschafften deß Peruanischen Königreichs eyngenommen, den König Atabalibam gefangen und getödtet. Auch wie sie entlich sich selbst untereinander auffgerieben haben. Sampt einem kurtzen zu end angehangten Tractätlein von den glückhafftigen Inseln.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [6], 124 (fol. 1–62), [58] pp., 28 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL 6624 (1); HAB A 42 Hist. 2° (3); UBA OF 82–12

Add.: Printed by Johan Feyerabend, and based on an existing translation by Nicolaus Höniger (Geneva 1582–83), which included textual commentary by Urbain Chauveton. The Frenchman Nicolas le Challeux’s report is missing here. Dedicated to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel. An Imperial privilege was mentioned on the title-page.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976); Collon-Gevaert (1966b)

32. Ulrich Schmidel, *Das VII. Theil America. Warhafftige unnd liebliche Beschreibung etlicher fürnemmen Indianischen Landschafften und Insulen, die vormalis in keiner Chronicken gedacht.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 62 pp. (fol. 1–31), 1 ill.
 Copies: BL 6624 (2); HAB A 42 Hist. 2° (4); UBA OF 82–13
 Add.: Three illustrations to Schmidel's voyage were later added to *Ind.Occ.* VIIIapp. The account was earlier published as *Neuwe Welt: das ist, Warhafftige Beschreibunge...* (Frankfurt 1567) by Sigmund Feyerabend. Levinus Hulsius also published Schmidel's report (Hulsius' Volume IV), but unlike De Bry he used the original manuscript, which was much more accurate.

Lit: Lefebvre (1987)

33. Odoardo Lopez and Filippo Pigafetta, *Regnum Congo hoc est Warhafft und Eigentliche Beschreibung deß Königreichs Congo in Africa, und deren angrenzenden Länder, darinnen der Inwohner Glaub, Leben, Sitten und Kleydung wol und außführlich vermeldet und angezeigt wirdt*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 74, [40] pp., 14 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6607 (1); HAB A 184 Hist. 2° (1); BNF 30171614

Add.: The first volume of the *India Orientalis*-series. Printed by Johan Saur. Although the title-page claimed it was translated—by August Cassiodorus Reyna—from the Portuguese, the original was in fact written in Italian. Dedicated by Cassiodorus Reyna to Hans Georg, Count of Solms and Georg, Count of Erbach.

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2004); De Jonghe (1938)

34. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *I. pars romanae urbis topographiae & Antiquitatum, Quâ succinctè & breviter describuntur omnia quae tam publicè quam privatim videntur anim-adversione digna*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 161 (1–160, 163), [1] pp., 3 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL 144.f.13 (1); Staatsbibl. Berlin Rr 4313 (1); UBL 426 B 11 (1)

Add.: The first volume of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (6 vols., 1597–1602). This volume was largely based on descriptions of Rome by Italian authors which had presumably been translated by Boissard. Printed by Johan Feyerabend. Dedicated by Boissard to Johan I, Duke of Zweibrücken.

Lit: Van Groesen (2002); Callmer (1962)

35. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *II. pars antiquitatum romanarum seu Topographia Romanae Urbis Iam inde ab V. C. ad nostra usq[ue] temporae maxime quando in summo flore fuit, accuratissima: Plateae eiusdem cum aedificijs & magnificis*

structuris publicis effigiatę & ordine digestę, Descriptio perspicua singulis figuris apposita. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [6], 18, [72], 157 (55–211), 11, [2] pp., 46 ill., 3 maps.

Copies: BL 144.f.13 (2); Staatsbibl. Berlin Rr 4313 (2); UBL 426 B 11 (2)

Add.: Second volume of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (6 vols., 1597–1602), like Volume I (nr. 34) still largely based on older descriptions by Italian authors like Bartholomaeus Marlianus and Onophrius Panvinus. Printed by Johan Saur.

Lit: Van Groesen (2002); Callmer (1962)

36. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *III. pars antiquitatum seu inscriptionum & Epitaphiorum quae in saxis & marmoribus Romanis videntur cum suis signis & imaginibus exacta descriptio.* Frankfurt/Metz, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [22], 42, [216] pp., 110 ill.

Copies: BL 144.f.13 (3); Staatsbibl. Berlin Rr 4313 (3); UBL 426 B 11 (3)

Add.: Third volume of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (6 vols., 1597–1602), and the first volume devoted entirely to Boissard's collection of inscriptions. At least partially (the text only?) printed by Abraham Faber in Metz, as early as 1595. Dedicated to Herman van Ghoer, Baron de Pesche.

Lit: Van Groesen (2002); Callmer (1962)

37. [Michael Julius], *Außführlicher Bericht, von Ankunfft, Zunehmen, Gesetzen, Regirung und jäm[n]erlichem absterben Mechemeti I. Genealogia seiner Successorn, biß auff den jetztregirenden Mechemetem III. Auß vielen glaubwürdigen Autoribus fleissig zusammen getragen. II. Propheceyung Keyzers Severi un[d] Leonis, sampt etlichen andern Weissagungen, vom Utergang deß Türckischen Regiments bey jetztregirenden Mechemete III.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [8], 101, [3] pp., 26 ill.

Copies: Wellcome Libr., 1128/B; BSB Turc. 267 i; ÖNB 64.H.36;

Add.: Dedicated to Count Phillip Ludwig II of Hanau-Lichtenberg (also: HStAM 81/A33, nr. 7, 22–23). The name of the supposed author is not mentioned anywhere in the work itself, but is referred to in the request for permission to publish in Frankfurt (StAfr. ZBBP 24, f34v). This edition probably appeared before the Latin version (nr. 38), as it was listed in the Q97-Frankfurt fair catalogue, after permission was received in January 1597.

Lit: —

38. [Michael Julius], *I. Acta Mechmeti I. Saracenorum Principis. natales vitam, victorias, imperium et mortem eius ominosam complectentia. Genealogia successorum eiusdem ad modernum usq[ue] Mechmetem III. Ex variis hinc inde Autoribus fide dignis diligenter congesta. II. Vaticinia. Severi et Leonis in Oriente Impp. cum quibusdam aliorum aliis, interitum regni Turcici sub Mechmete hoc III. praedicientia.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 58, [2], 28 (59–86), [6] pp., 26 ill.

Copies: BL 281.g.8; HAB A 158.1 Hist. (1); BNF 33233257

Add.: Latin translation of nr. 37. The name of the printer is unknown. Dedicated to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine.

Lit: —

39. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Icones quinquaginta virorum illustrium doctrina & eruditione praestantium ad vivum effictae, cum eorum vitis descriptis.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 288, [8] pp., 51 ill.

Copies: BL 611.e.5 (1); HAB A 19–20 Geom. (1); VU XA.00041 (1)

Add.: First volume of Boissard's *Icones virorum illustrium*-series of portraits. The very first biography was of Columbus, and Boissard referred his readers to the *Ind.Occ.*-series for more information on the explorer. Dedicated by Boissard to the Metz magistrate Jacob Prallionius. The name of the printer is unknown. The four-volume series (1597–99) was forbidden by the Congregation of the Index in Rome.

Lit: Janku (1884)

40. Benito Arias Montano & Conrad Ritterhusius, *David, virtutis exercitissimae probatum Deo spectaculum, ex Davidis, Pastoris, Militis, Ducis, Exsulis ac Prophetae exemplis.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [12], 146 pp., 42 ill.

Copies: BL 4823.d.5; HAB A 9.1 Eth. (2); ÖNB 2.L.34

Add.: Printed by Zacharias Palthenius. The same work was first published by Phillip Galle in Antwerp in 1575. The Altdorf university professor Ritterhusius made the work available for publication again, and probably extended the original version. He dedicated the work to Otto Henry, Count of the Palatinate.

Lit: Bataillon (1942)

41. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Schawenspiel Menschliches Lebens.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

- Coll.: 4^o: [8], 265, [1] pp., 61 ill.
- Copies: Bodleian Oxford Douce PP 264; Staatsbibl. Berlin, Nv 7653; ÖNB 31.H.14
- Add.: German translation of nr. 28, printed by Johan Feyerabend. Translated by Johan Homberger (StAfr. ZBBP 24, f33v). The dedication to Margaretha van der Heijden, the wife of the Frankfurt jeweller Servatius Marell, and probably Johan Theodore and Johan Israel's sister-in-law, stops abruptly, and was included in this incomplete way.
- Lit: —

1598

42. Odoardo Lopez and Filippo Pigafetta, *Regnum Congo hoc est Vera descriptio regni africana, quod tam ab incolis quam lusitanis Congus appellatur*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.
- Coll.: 2^o: [8], 60, [40] pp., 14 ill., 2 maps.
- Copies: BL G6609 (1); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/b:1 RARA; UBA 1802 C 4 (1)
- Add.: First volume of the Latin *India Orientalis*-series. Translated by August Cassiodorus Reyna. Probably the first work of the family which was printed by Wolfgang Richter. Dedicated to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine.
- Lit: Van den Boogaart (2004); De Jonghe (1938)
43. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Ander Theil der Orientalischen Indien, Von allen Völkern, Insulen, Meerporten, fliessenden Wassern und anderen Orten, so von Portugal auß, lengst dem Gestaden Aphrica, biß in Ost Indien und zu dem Landt China, sampt andern Insulen zu sehen seind. Beneben derenselben Aberglauben, Götzendienst und Tempeln, Item von iren Sitten, Trachten, Kleidungen, Policeyordnung, und wie sie haußhalten, beid so viel die Portugesen, welche da im Land wohnen, und auch das inheimische Landvöcklein anlangt. Deßgleichen von der Residentz deß Spanischen Viceroy und anderer Spanier in Goa, Item von allen Orientalischen, Indianischen Waaren und Kummerschafften: sampt deren Gewichten, Masen, Muntzen und ihrem Valor oder Wirdigung*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.
- Coll.: 2^o: [12], 134, [82] pp., 38 ill.
- Copies: BL G6607 (2); HAB A 184 Hist. 2^o (2); BNF 31538432
- Add.: First of three volumes devoted to Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, originally published in Dutch (Amsterdam 1596).

Printed by Johan Saur. Probably translated into German by Johan Adam Lonicer, as suggested by the title-page of the Latin edition (nr. 51). The preliminaries also contained an engraved portrait of the author.

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2002, 2003 & 2004); Van Groesen (2001)

44. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *III. pars antiquitatum romanarum Sive II. tomus, Inscriptionum & Monumentorum quae Romae in saxis & marmoribus visuntur*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [19], 37 (16–52), [192] pp., 98 ill.

Copies: BL 144.f.14 (1); Staatsbibl. Berlin, Rr 4313 (4); UBL 426 B 12 (1)

Add.: Fourth volume of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (6 vols., 1597–1602). Dedicated to Herman van Ghoer, Baron de Pesche.

Lit: Van Groesen (2002); Callmer (1962)

45. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Narratio regionum indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 141, [3] pp., 17 ill.

Copies: BL 980.e.25; HAB M Gx 117; KB 1707 C 6

Add.: Printed by Johan Saur. At least four engravings were based on drawings by Jodocus van Winghe. The translation was based on Las Casas' original Spanish version *Brevissima relación* (Seville 1552). Dedicated by Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine.

Lit: Bumas (2000); Conley (1992)

46. Jean-Jacques Boissard and Johan Adam Lonicer, *II. pars Icones virorum illustrium doctrina & eruditione praestantium continens, quorum alij inter vivos esse desierunt, alij nunc quoq[ue] vitaj aura[m] fruuntur cum vitis eorum, descriptes*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 300, [8] pp., 49 ill.

Copies: BL 611.e.5 (2); HAB A 19–20 Geom. (2); VU XA.00041 (2)

Add.: Second part of Boissard's four-volume *Icones*-series (1597–99). Dedicated by Boissard to Louis Malarmey of Besançon. In all likelihood printed by Matthias Becker.

Lit: Janku (1884)

47. Jean-Jacques Boissard and Johan Adam Lonicer, *III. pars Iconum virorum illustrium, quorum alij quidem inter vivos esse iam olim desierunt, alij*

vero nunc quoq[ue] vitali aura, honorumq[ue] suorum beati per fruuntur gloria. Natalium eorundem succincta notatio, singulis Iconibus adiuncta. Frankfurt, heirs Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [8], 327, [9] pp., 50 ill.

Copies: BL 611.e.6 (1); HAB A 19–20 Geom. (3); VU XA.00041 (3)

Add.: Third part of Boissard's four-volume *Icones*-series (1597–99). This is the only title of 1598 which testifies to the death of Theodore de Bry, and the continuation of the publishing firm by the heirs. The sons mentioned Theodore's demise in the preface. Printed by Matthias Becker.

Lit: Janku (1884)

1599

48. Ulrich Schmidel, *Americae pars VII. Verissima et iucundissima descriptio praecipuarum quarundam Indiae regionum & Insularum, quae quidem nullis ante haec tempora visae cognitaeque.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: 62, [2] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL c.115.h.3 (2); HAB M Gx 2^o 7; UBA 1802 B 9 (2)

Add.: For the first time, the Lutheran schoolteacher Gotthard Artus was credited on the title-page for his contribution, his translation of the German account into Latin. Artus was to work for the De Brys at least until 1620. Just a single illustration was included; relevant engravings were later added to *Ind. Occ.* VIII (nr. 49).

Lit: Lefebvre (1987)

49. Nuno da Silva, Walter Bigges & Lt. Croft, Thomas Cates, Walter Raleigh, Lawrence Keymis, and Francis Pretty, *Americae pars VIII. Continens primo, descriptionem trium itinerum nobilissimi et fortissimi equitis Francisci Draken, qui peragrato primum universo terrarum orbe, postea cum nobilissimo Equite Iohanne Hauckens, ad expugnandum civitatem Panama, in Indiam navigavit, ubi vitam suam ambo finierunt. Secundo, iter nobilissimi Equitis Thomae Candisch, qui duorum ferè annorum spacio, 13000. Anglicana miliaria in mari confecit, ubi describuntur quoque omnia quae in hoc itinere ipsi acciderunt & visa sunt. Tertio, duo itinera, nobilissimi & fortissimi Domini Gualtheri Raleigh Equitis & designati gubernatoris Regij in Anglia praesidij, nec non fortissimi Capitanei Laurentii Keyms. Quibus itineribus describitur auriferum et potentissimum Regnum Guiana, ad Septentrionem fluminis Orenoque, aliàs Orecliana dicti, situm, cum metropoli eius Manoa & Macuiguarai, aliisq[ue] finitimis regionibus & fluviis,*

mercibus item praestantissimis, & mercatura, quae in regno hoc exercetur. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [2], 78, 99, [3], [36], [2] pp., 18 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL c.115.h.3 (3); HAB M Gx 2° 7; UBA 1802 B 9 (3)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker, translated from Dutch and German into Latin by Gotthard Artus. The original six reports were all first published in English in London. The texts by Raleigh, Keymis, and Pretty were subsequently translated into Dutch for Cornelis Claesz. Bigges' and Croft's report, on Sir Francis Drake's second voyage, was translated into German before this volume appeared. Which edition of Drake's circumnavigation the De Brys used is unclear, as is the authorship of this account. Drake's first and second voyage, by Da Silva and by Bigges and Croft respectively, were included in the German additamentum to *Ind. Occ.* VIII (nr. 56).

Lit: Whitehead (1997)

50. Walter Raleigh, Lawrence Keymis, Francis Pretty, and Thomas Cates, *Americae Achter Theil, In welchem Erstlich beschrieben wirt das Mächtige und Goldreiche Königreich Guiana, zu Norden deß grossen Flusses Oronoke, sonst Oregliana genannt, gelegen, sampt desselbigen fürnembsten und reichsten Hauptstätten Manoa und Macuiegwarai, auch die fürnembste und köstlichste Kauffmannschafften die dieses Königreich überflüssig in sich hat. Item, Eine kurtze Beschreibung der umbligenden Landtschafften Emereia, Arromaia, Amapaia, Topago, &c. in welchen neben andern Völkern die Kriegische Weiber, von den Alten Amazonas genannt, wohnen, sampt kurtzer meldung 53. grosser Wasserströhm, unter denen der Oronoke der gröste ist, und sich wol 500. Teutscher Meil in das Landt hineyn, bey nahe an die mächtige Statt Quito in Peru, erstreckt. [...]* Zum andern, die Reyse deß Edlen und vesten Thomas Candisch, welcher im Jar 1586. mit 3. Schiffen in Engellandt außgefahren, und nach dem er das Meer bey die 13000. Engelländischer Meil besegelt, in Anno 1588. wider an ist gelanget, sampt Erzehlung aller Abentheuer und Geschichten so im auff dieser Reyß zu handen gestossen seynd [...]

Und zum dritten die letzte Reyß der gestrengen, Edlen und vesten Frantzen Draeck und Iohan Hauckens, Ritters, welche Anno 1595. mit 6. der Königin und 21. andern Schiffen, darauff 2500. Mann gewesen, in Engellandt abgesegelt in die Occidentalische Indien, die Statt Panama eynzunehmen, Auff welcher Reyse sie beyde ir Leben beschlossen haben. Frankfurt, heirs Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 56, 30, [2], 48, [60] pp., 21 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6624 (3/4); HAB A 43 Hist. 2° (1); UB Basle, EU I 16–18

Add.: Translation of four accounts (Raleigh, Keymis, and Pretty, as well as Drake's third and final voyage) from Latin into German, by August Cassiodorus Reyna, based on the corrupted Dutch translations made for Cornelis Claesz. Printed by Matthias Becker, dedicated to Landgrave Ludwig IV of Hesse-Marburg. The final three ills., devoted to the Dutch account included in the German additamentum (nr. 56) were not included anywhere in the Latin collection.

Lit: Whitehead (1997)

51. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *II. pars indiae orientalis, in qua Iohan. Hugonis Lintscotani Navigatio in Orientem, item regna, littora, portus, flumina, apparentiae, habitus moresque Indorum & Lusitanorum pariter in Oriente degentium: praeterea merces, monetae, mensurae, & pondera, quae quibus in locis, quove compendio prostant, accurate proponuntur*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [12], 114, [82] pp., 38 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6609 (2); UB Göttingen 4 ITIN I, 3844/b:4 RARA; UBA 1802 C 4 (2)

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter. Translated into Latin by Johan Adam Lonicer (StAfr. ZBBP 24, f70r). The preliminaries also contained an engraved portrait of the author.

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2002, 2003 & 2004); Van Groesen (2001)

52. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Willem Lodewijcksz, and Gerrit de Veer, *Dritter Theil indiae orientalis, Darinnen erstlich das ander Theil der Schifffahrten Joann Huygens von Lintschotten auß Hollandt, so er in Orient gethan, begriffen, und fürnemlich alle gelegenheit derselbigen Landen, Insulen, Meerpforten, &c. so unter wegen auffstossen, und dann in India fürkommen, Wie auch alles, was der Author allda im Landt, und nachmals auff seiner Widerreyse nach Hollandt gesehen und erfahren, eygentlich beschrieben wirdt. II. Der Holländer Schiffahrt in die Orientalische Insulen Iawan und Sumatra sampt Sitten, Leben und Superstition, etc. der Völcker. III. Drey Schifffahrten der Holländer nach obermeldten Indien, durch das Mitnächtingsche, oder Eißmeer, darinnen viel unerhörte Ebentewer*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [12], 233, [119] pp., 58 ills., 8 maps.

Copies: BL G6607 (3); HAB A 184 Hist. 2^o (3); UB Basle, EV IV 8–11

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Translated by Gotthard Artus. Apart from the *Itinerario* which had already been used for *Ind.*

Or: II (nr. 43), Artus additionally translated Gerrit de Veer's account, *Waerachtighe beschryvinghe van drie seylagien* (Amsterdam 1598), and *Historie van Indien* by G. M. A. W. L[odewijcksz] (Amsterdam 1598).

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2002); Van Groesen (2001)

53. Andreas Laurentius, *Historia anatomica humani corporis et singularum eius partium multis controversiis et observationibus novis Illustrata*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [24], 442, [28] pp., 27 ills.

Copies: BL 548.k.5; UBA 447 B 28; UBL Thysia 2247

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker, dedicated by the author to King Henry IV of France. A conflict concerning this work erupted between the De Brys and the Frankfurt publisher Jonas Rosa (StAfr. Ratsprotokollen 1601, f43v). The Amsterdam copy has the preliminaries of the second edition (nr. *60).

Lit: —

54. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Warhafftiger und gründtlicher Bericht Der Hispanier gewelichen, und abscheuwlichen Tyranny, von ihnen in den West Indien, so die Neuwe Welt genennet wirt, begangen*. Frankfurt, [heirs Th. de Bry?].

Coll.: 4^o: [14], 158, [48] pp., 17 ills.

Copies: BL G7105; HAB A 150.50 Hist. (1)

Add.: The German version of 45. The author's dedication to Phillip II of Spain was copied. Four of the 17 ills. were signed by Jodocus van Winghe.

Lit: Bumas (2000); Conley (1992)

55. Jean-Jacques Boissard and Johan Adam Lonicer, *IV pars Iconvm viros virtute atque eruditione illustres repraesentantium, quorum alij inter vivos esse jam olim desierunt, alij vero nunc quoq; vitali lumine honorum et dignitatum suarum perfruuntur gloria Natalium eorundem brevis & succincta notatio*. Frankfurt, heirs Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [8], 335, [9] pp., 50 ills.

Copies: BL 61 l.e.6 (2); HAB A 19–20 Geom. (4); VU XA.00041 (4)

Add.: Fourth and final volume of the biographical *Icones virorum illustrium*-series (1597–99), printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by Lonicer to Johan Jageman, who was later to become Count of Hohenstein.

Lit: Janku (1884)

1600

56. Nuno da Silva, Walter Bigges & Lt. Croft, and Michiel Joostens van Heede, *Additamentum; Das ist, Zuthuung zweyer fürnemmer Reysen oder Schifffahrten Herrn Francisci Draken Ritters auß Engelland, In die West Indien und Americam gethan, Neben noch etlichen Figuren und Kupfferstücken, so beydes in das siebende und achte Theil Americae gehören. Item, die Reyse der Holländischen Armada in die Insel groß Canarien, welche den 15/25 May, des 1599. Jahrs von Holland mit 72. Schiffen außgefahren, und den 10. Septembris gemeldtes Jahrs mit 35. Schiffen widerumb in Holland kommen sind.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 73, [1] pp., no ills.

Copies: BL 10003.e.32 (2); HAB A 43 Hist. 2° (1a)

Add.: Appendix to Volume VIII of the *America*-series, published in German only. This appendix included Drake's first two voyages, already included in the Latin Volume VIII, and Michiel Joostens van Heede's account of a Dutch voyage to the Canary Islands (*Discours ende beschrijvinghe...*, Rotterdam 1599), not included in the Latin collection. The engravings to the additamentum had already been added to *Ind. Occ.* VIII (Ger), but other copies have the last 15 engravings of *Ind. Occ.* VIII at the end of the additamentum, which seems more coherent. This depends on the binding and on the moment of purchase. Printed by Matthias Becker, dedicated to Landgrave Ludwig IV of Hesse-Marburg.

Lit: —

57. Jan Huygen van Linschoten and Willem Lodewijcksz, *Vierder Theil Der Orientalischen Indien, In welchem erstlich gehandelt wirdt, von allerley Thieren, Früchten, Obs, un[d] Bäumen, Item von allerhand Würtz, Specereyen und Materialen, Auch von Perlen und allerley Edelgesteinen, so in gemeldten Indien gefunden werden, wo und wie sie wachsen, Auch wie sie daselbst geschätzt, gekaufft, und genannt werden. [...] Zum andern, die letzte Reise der Holländer in die Ost-Indien, welche außgefahren im Frühling deß 1598. Jahrs. und mit 4. Schiffen wiederum glücklich anheim gelanget, im Monat Julio deß 1599. Jahrs.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 121, [45] pp., 21 ills.

Copies: BL G6607 (4); HAB A 184 Hist. 2° (4); UB Basle, EV IV 8–11

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter, and translated from Dutch into German by Gotthard Artus. The annotations by Bernardus

Paludanus are printed in a larger font-size than in the two earlier volumes devoted to Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*. This volume is almost exclusively concerned with the flora and fauna of the East Indies. The dedication honoured Frederick I, Duke of Württemberg, a patron of both Paludanus and the De Brys.

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2002); Van Groesen (2001)

58. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *V. pars antiquitatum romanarum Sive III. tomus, Inscriptionum & Monumentorum, quae Romae in saxis & marmoribus visuntur*. Frankfurt, sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [20], [260] pp., 130 ill.

Copies: BL 144.f.14 (2); Staatsbibl. Berlin, Rr 4313 (5); UBL 426 B 12 (2)

Add.: Fifth part of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (6 vols., 1597–1602). Dedicated to a certain Franciscus Bourzollus.

Lit: Van Groesen (2002); Callmer (1962)

59. Daniel Cachedenier, *Introductio ad linguam Gallicam; Quae vindicatur ab ea difficultate, cuius illam suspectam reddiderunt hactenus no[n]nulli, qui ignorantia sua caeteris Germanis ad eam praecluserunt aditum, quem facilimu[m] esse ex linguae Germanicae cum Gallica collatione, methodo ita facili & perspicua demonstratur, ut neq[ue] necessaria artis praecepta cum selectionibus exemplis omitantur, neq[ue] supervacanea discentibus obtrudantur*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [38], 427, [3] pp., no ill.

Copies: HAB A 79 Gram.; KB 895 J 27; ÖNB 73.M.96

Add.: The De Brys obtained a five-year Imperial privilege for this work, which was printed by Matthias Becker. It was the first title of the De Bry catalogue to appear without any illustrations. Dedicated by the author to Hieronymus Baumgartner and Johannes Welser, two Nuremberg magistrates.

Lit: —

*60. Andreas Laurentius, *Historia anatomica humani corporis et singularum eius partium multis controversiis et observationibus novis Illustrata*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [24], 442, [28] pp., 27 ill.

Copies: HAB A 35.3 Phys. 2°; UBL 640 A 9

Add.: Second edition of nr. 53, almost identical to the first edition, with an identical title-page. Printed by Matthias Becker. The

dedication by the author to King Henry IV of France was repeated.

Lit: —

*61. Andreas Laurentius, *Historia anatomica humani corporis et singularum eius partium multis controversiis et observationibus novis Illustrata*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [16], 442, [22] pp., 26 ill.

Copies: BSB 2 Anat. 42

Add.: Third edition of nr. 53. The date of appearance is uncertain, but cannot have been before 1600. Printed by Matthias Becker. The dedication to King Henry IV of France was omitted.

Lit: —

*62. Thomas Harriot, *Wunderbarliche, doch Warhafftige Erklärung, Von der Gelegenheit und Sitten der Wilden in Virginia, welche newlich von den Engelländern, so im Jar 1585 vom Herrn Reichard Greinvile, einem von der Ritterschafft, in gemeldte Landtschafft die zu bewohnen geführt waren, ist erfunden worden*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: 31, [7], [80] pp., 28 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL 10003.e.15; HAB T 1207 2^o Helmst. (1)

Add.: Second edition of Harriot's *Briefe and true report* in German, printed by Matthias Becker. The same translation, by Christian P., and the same set of illustrations were used again. Johan Theodore changed the signature on the opening plate, of Adam and Eve, from 'Theodore de Bry fe.' into 'Jo. Theodore de Bry fe.' The same dedication as in the first edition was included. The numbers of the engravings differ from those of the first edition, the plate of Adam & Eve not being numbered '1'. Thus the second engraving of the first edition becomes the first numbered plate of this edition, the third becomes the second etc.

Lit: Greve (2004)

1601

63. N. N., *Fünffter Theil Der Orientalischen Indien, Eygentlicher Bericht und warhafftige Beschreibung der gantzen vollkommenen Reyse oder Schiffart, so die Holländer mit Acht Schiffen in die Orientalische Indien, sonderlich aber in die Javanische und Molukische Inseln, als Bantam, Banda, und Ternate, &c. gethan*

haben, welche von Amsterdam abgefahren im Jahr 1598. und zum Theil Anno 1599. zum Theil aber im Jüngst abgelauffenen 1600. Jahr; mit grossen Reichthumb von Pfeffer, Muscaten, Negelein, und anderer köstlichen Würtz wider anheym gelanget. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 66, [42] pp, 20 ill.

Copies: BL G6607 (5); HAB A 184 Hist. 2° (5); UBA OF 82–6

Add.: Gotthard Artus translated *Journael ofte Dagh-register* (Amsterdam 1600), the report of a voyage by Jacob van Neck and Wybrand van Warwijck, from Cornelis Claesz' Dutch original. An extract of the same account had already been included in *Ind.Or.* IV. Printed by Matthias Becker.

Lit: —

64. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Willem Lodewijcksz, and Gerrit de Veer, *Tertia pars indiae orientalis: Qua continentur I. Secunda pars navigationum à Ioanne Hugone Lintschotano Hollando in Orientem susceptarum; & maxime situs illarum regionum, & in his insularum, fluminum, riparum, portuum, &c. tum in transitu, tum ipsa India sitorum: ubi iuxta etiam universa, quae autor illic, & postea in reditu versus Hollandiam vidit & notavit, diligenter designantur. II. Navigatio Hollandorum in insulas Orientales, Iavan & Sumatram: ubi pariter de moribus, vita, & religione incolarum quaedam haud iniucunda traduntur. III. Tres navigationes Hollandorum in modò dictam Indiam per Septentrionalem seu glaciale Oceanum, ubi mira quaedam & stupenda denarrantur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 170, [120] pp., 58 ill., 6 maps.

Copies: BL G6609 (3); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/b:3 RARA; UBA 1802 C 4 (3)

Add.: Latin version of nr. 52. Printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated to the Elector Palatine Frederick IV. Translated from German into Latin by Bilibaldus Strobaeus.

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2002); Van Groesen (2001)

65. Jan Huygen van Linschoten and Willem Lodewijcksz, *Pars quarta indiae orientalis: qua Primum varij generis Animalia, Fructus, Arbores: Item, Aromata seu Species & Materialia: Similiter & margaritae seu uniones ac gemmarum species pleraque, sicut in India tum effodiantur, tum generentur; quo itidem incensu, pretio & appellatione sint, accuratè describuntur. [...] Secundo: Novissima Hollandorum in Indiam Orientalem navigatio, ad veris Anni 1598. introitum suscepta, & quatuor exinde reducibus navibus mense Iulio An. 1599. confecta, exponitur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

- Coll.: 2^o: [8], 111, [45] pp., 21 ills.
 Copies: BL G6609 (4); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/b:4 RARA; UBA 1802 C 4 (4)
 Add.: Latin version of nr. 57. The translation, from the earlier German version, was made by Bilibaldus Strobaeus. Printed by Matthias Becker, and dedicated to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine.
 Lit: Van den Boogaart (2002); Van Groesen (2001)

66. N. N., *Quinta pars indiae orientalis: Quâ continetur Vera & accurata descriptio universa navigationis illius, quam Hollandi cum octonis navibus in terras Orientales, praecipuè verò in Iavanas & Moluccanas Insulas, Bantam, Bandam & Ternatem, &c. susceperunt: qui An. 1598 Amstelredamo solventes, partim postero anno 1599, partim hunc sequente 1600 cum ingentibus divitiis, piperis, nucum myristicarum Garyophyllorum, & caeterorum pretiosorum aromatum, feliciter confecto itinere redierunt: ubi iuxta, quaecunque in itinere ab ipsis gesta, visa & observata sunt, sigillatim percensentur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

- Coll.: 2^o: [8], 60, [42] pp., 20 ills.
 Copies: BL 569.i.4 (1); HAB A 184 Hist. 2^o; UBA 1802 C 4 (5)
 Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Translated from German (nr. 63) into Latin by Bilibaldus Strobaeus. The account described the voyage under Jacob van Neck and Wybrand van Warwijck.
 Lit: —

67. Jose de Acosta and Barent Jansz, *Neundter und Letzter Theil Americae, Darin[n] gehandelt wird, von gelegenheit der Elementen, Natur, Art und eigenschafft der Neuen Welt: Item von derselben Völcker, Abergläubischen Götzendienst, Ploicey und Regiments Ordnung: Beneben einem feinen Register oder Catalogo, aller Könige, von anfang ihrer Königreich an biß auff den letzten König der Mexicaner, Montecuma genannt, den andern deß Nahmens, Sampt eygentlicher Beschreibung der Wahl, Krönung, und Todt derselben, und letztlich was diese Indianer für Krieg wider einander geführet haben. [...] Ferner auch von der Reise der fünff Schiffe, so im Junio deß 1598. Jahrs in Hollandt außgefahren der meynung durch das Fretum Magelanum, zu den Moluckischen Inseln zu schiffen, wie sie nemlich von einander kommen und zersrewet worden, also daß nur allein der Hauptmann Sebald de Weert, sampt noch einem Schiff beysammen blieben, und auff die vier Monat lang, mit grosser gefahr in dem Freto sich auffgehalten, Welcher auch endlich, als er uber die 2. Jahr auff solcher Reise elendiglich zugebracht, mit einem Schiffe, Anno 1600. unverrichter Sache wider anheim kommen.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [8], 327, [1], 72, [54] pp., 25 ills.
 Copies: BL 10003.e.28 (1); HAB A 43 Hist. 2^o (2); BNF 30171595
 Add.: Johan Homberger translated Jose de Acosta's account using the Dutch version, which had been translated by Jan Huygen van Linschoten (*Historie naturael ende morael*, Enkhuizen 1598). Artus translated the original Dutch edition of Barent Jansz' *Wijdtloopigh verhael* (Amsterdam 1600). Both Wolfgang Richter (Acosta's text and all the plates) and Matthias Becker (Jansz' account) printed parts of this volume, designated to be the final volume of the series. Dedicated to Landgrave Ludwig IV of Hesse-Marburg.
 Lit: Van Groesen (2005 & 2006a)

68. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Parnassus cum imaginibus Musarum Deorumq[ue] praesidium Hippocrenes*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [20], 50 (fol. 1–25) pp., 26 ills.
 Copies: Univ. London Libr. CC23 [Boissard]; HAB Xb 4^o 476; ÖNB 50.A.23*
 Add.: A compilation of several of Boissard's earlier works. Dedicated by the author to a certain Marcus Claudius à Rya. The illustrations were designed by Boissard, and engraved by Robert Boissard and Johan Theodore. The name of the printer is unknown.
 Lit: —

*69. Daniel Cachedenier, *Introductio ad linguam Gallicam; Quae vindicatur ab ea difficultate, cuius illam suspectam reddiderunt hactenus nonnulli, qui ignorantia sua caeteris Germanis ad eam praecluseru[n]t aditum, quem facillimum esse ex linguae Germanicae cum Gallica collatione, methodo ita facili & perspicua demo[n]stratur, ut neque necessaria artis praecepta cum selectionib. exemplis omitantur, neq[ue] supervacanea discentibus obtrudantur. Recens adiecta est appendix in qua dialogismo latinogallico praxis seu usus praeceptorum demonstratur*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 8^o: [38], 427, [5], 74, [6] pp., no ills.
 Copies: BSB L.lat. f. 28; ÖNB 73.M.97
 Add.: Extended second edition of nr. 59, with the same dedication. According to the Q01 Frankfurt fair catalogue (ed. Grossius, [C2v]), the appendix, printed by Becker and containing only dialogues, was also sold separately. It contained a separate dedication, to a certain Marcus Gulcherus, and had a separate title-page: *Introductionis ad linguam Gallicam appendix. In qua dialo-*

gismo LatinoGallico praxis seu usus praeceptorum, cum ad Etymologia[m] tum ad Syntaxin pertinentium, adiectis ad marginem scholiis & ascripto paginae numero ita demonstratur, ut facile sit cuiq[ue] theoriam cum praxi conferre. Opus mole quidem perexiguum, sed ad intelligenda praecepta in introductione tradita magnopere conducens.

Lit: —

1602

70. Jose de Acosta, Barent Jansz, and Olivier van Noort, *Americae Nona & postrema Pars. Qua de ratione elementorum: de Novi Orbis natura: de huius incolarum superstitiosis cultibus: deq[ue] forma Politiae ac Reipubl. ipsorum copiosè pertractatur: Catalogo Regum Mexicanorum omnium à primo usq[ue] ad ultimum Moteçumam II. addito: cum etiam ritus eorum coronationis, ac sepulturae annectitur, cum enumeratione bellorum, quae mutuò Indi gesserunt. His accessit designatio illius navigationis, quam 5. naves Hollandicae Anno 1598. per fretum Magellanicum in Moluccanas insulas tentarunt: quomodo nimirum oborta tempestate Capitaneus Sebalt de Weert à caeteris navibus dispulsus. postquam plurimis mensibus in freto infinitis aerumnis miserè iactatus fuisset, tandem infectare post biennium An. 1600. domum reversus sit. Addita est tertio navigatio recens, quam 4. navium praefectus Olevier à Noort proxime suscepit: qui fretu Magellanicum classe transmissis, triennij spatio universum terrae orbem seu globum mira navigationis sorte obivit: annexis illis, quae in itinere isto singularia ac memorabilia notata sunt.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 362, [54], 56, 100, [32] pp., 39 ills.

Copies: BL c.115.h.3 (4); HAB M Gx 2° 7; UBA 1802 B 9 (4)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Latin version, translated from the German, of nr. 67, and including the additamentum, which was published separately in German (nr. 71). Dedicated to Christian II, Elector of Saxony.

Lit: Van Groesen (2005 & 2006a)

71. Olivier van Noort, *Additamentum, Oder Anhang deß neunnden Theils Americae, Welches ist Ein warhafftige, unnd eygentliche Beschreibung der langwrigen, sorglichen und gefährlichen Schiffahrt, so Olivier von Noort, General Oberster uber vier Schiffe, auff welchen 248. Mann, mit Kriegßrüstung und Proviandt nach Notturfft wol versehen gewesen, durch das gefehrliche Fretum Magellanicum, umb die gantze Kugel der Welt in dreyen Jahren, nemlich vom Julio, deß 1598. Jahres, da er von Roterdam abgefahren, biß auff den Augustum deß 1601. Jahres wunderbarlich gethan, und verrichtet hat, sampt erzehlung allerhandt Abenthew, Mühe, Noht und*

Gefahr, so ihm in der zeit begegnet, auffgestossen, und zuhanden gangen. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 103, [33] pp., 14 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6626 (2*); HAB 43 Hist. 2° (2a); BNF 30171595

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker, and translated from Dutch into German by Gotthard Artus.

Lit: —

72. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *VI. pars. antiquitatum romanarum Sive IIII tomus, Inscriptionum & Monumentorum, quae Romae in saxis & marmoribus visuntur.* Frankfurt, sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 47, [293] pp., 146 ill.

Copies: BL 144.f.14 (3); Staatsbibl. Berlin, Rr 4313 (6); UBL 426 B 13.

Add.: The sixth and final volume of Boissard's *Antiquitates Romanae* (1597–1602).

Lit: Van Groesen (2002); Callmer (1962)

73. Jacques Perret, *Architectura et perspectiva. Des fortifications & artifices.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [132] pp., 28 ill.

Copies: BL c.78.e.14 (1); UB Göttingen, 4 ARS MIL 498/27 RARA; ÖNB 19579–C Alt Mag

Add.: Second French edition of *Des fortifications et artifices* (1st ed., Paris 1601). Printed by Wolfgang Richter, dedicated by the author to King Henry IV of France.

Lit: —

74. Jacques Perret, *Architectura et perspectiva. Etlicher Festungen, Städt, Kirchen, Schlösser un[d] Häuser, wie die auff's stärkeste, zierlichste und bequembste können gebawet oder auffgerichtet werden.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [132] pp., 28 ill.

Copies: UCL Graves 154.e.3; HAB A 36.1 Geom. 2°; UBA 465 B 12 (1)

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter. First published in French (*Des fortifications et artifices*, Paris 1601). The name of the translator is unknown. Dedicated to Ernst Frederick, Markgrave of Baden and Hochberg.

Lit: —

*75. Olivier van Noort, *Neuwe Schiffart, Warhafftige und eygentliche Beschreibung der langwirigen, sörglichen und gefährlichen Reyse, so Olivier von Noort, General Oberster uber vier Schiffe, auff welchen 248. Man[n], mit Kriegßbrüstung und Proviand nach Notturfft wol versehen gewesen, durch das gefehrliche Fretum Magellanium, um[m] die gantze Kugel der Welt in dreyen Jaren, nemlich vom Julio, deß 1598. Jares, da er von Rotterdam abgefahren, biß auff den Augustum deß 1601. Jares wunderbarlich gethan, und verrichtet hat, sampt erzehlung allerhandt Abentheuwer, Mühe, Noht und Gefahr, so jm in der zeit begegnet, auffgestossen, und zuhanden gangen.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 119, [1] pp., 13 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6924; HAB H T 82.4° Helmst. (2); UBA 1245 G 15

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. First German quarto-edition of a volume which was included, in folio, in the collection of voyages (as *Ind. Occ.* IX app.). The same translation, by Artus from the Dutch original, was used as for nr. 71.

Lit: —

1603

76. Pieter de Marees, *Sechster Theil Der Orientalischen Indien, Warhafftige Historische Beschreibung deß gewaltigen Goltreichen Königreichs Guinea, sonst das Goltgestatt von Mina genandt, so in Africa gelegen, sampt derselben gantzen Beschaffenheit, auch Religion unnd Opinion, Sitten und Sprachen, Handel und Wandel der Eynwohner daselbst, beneben einer kurtzen Erzehlung, was die Schiffe, so dahin fahren wollen, für einen Lauff durch die Canarische Inseln, biß an das Cabo de Trespunctas, da das Goltgestatt sich anfänget, halten müssen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [6], 154, [54] pp., 26 ill.

Copies: BL G6607 (6); HAB A 184.1 Hist 2° (1); BNF 30171617

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter. Translated by Artus from the Dutch original.

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2004)

77. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Topographia urbis Romae. Das ist, Eygentliche Beschreibu[n]g der Statt Rom, sampt allen Antiquiteten, Palläst, Amphitheatris oder Schawoplatz, Obeliscis, Pyramiden, Lustgarten, Bildern, Begräbnüssen, Oberschriften und dergleichen, So in und umb der Statt Rom gefunden, und in vier Tagen ordentlich beschawet und gesehen werden können.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

- Coll.: 2°: [4], 78, [208] pp., 99 ills., 2 maps.
 Copies: Manchester Univ. Libr., 11586; HAB A 19.3 Bell. 2°; UB Basle, EU 112.
 Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. A German compilation of Boissard's six-volume *Antiquitates Romanae* (1597–1602). The title-page of the fifth Latin volume was re-used. The translator is unknown.
 Lit: Van Groesen (2002)

*78. René de Laudonnière, Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, et al., *Der ander Theil, der Newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americae, Von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam (die gegen Nidergang gelegen) gethan. Eine unter dem Hauptmann H. Laudonniere, Anno 1564. Die ander unter H. Ribald 1565. Die dritte, unter H. Gourguesio 1567. geschehen. Mit Beschreibung und lebendiger Contrafactur, dieser Provintze, Gestalt, Sitten und Gebräuch der Wilden.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

- Coll.: 2°: [6], 42, [88], [28] pp., 42 ills., 1 map.
 Copies: BL G6625 (2); HAB T 1207.2° Helmst. (2); ÖNB 253767–D.2 Fid
 Add.: Second edition of the German version of *Ind.Occ.* II. Printed by Wolfgang Richter. The same translation, dedication and illustrations as for the original edition of 1591 were used.
 Lit: Greve (2004); Fishman (1995); Lawson and Faupel (1992)

*79. Pieter de Marees, *Wahrhaftige Historische Beschreibung deß gewaltigen Goltreichen Königreichs Guinea, sonst das Goltgestatt von Mina genannt, so in Africa gelegen, sampt desselben gantzen Beschaffenheit, auch Religion und Opinion, Handel und Wandel der Eynwohner daselbst, beneben einer kurtzen Erzehlung, was die Schiffe, so dahin fahren wöllen, für ein Lauff durch die Canarische Inseln, biß an das Cabo de Trespunctas, da das Golt-Gestatt sich anfänget, halten müssen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

- Coll.: 4°: [8], 228 pp., 21 ills., 1map.
 Copies: BL c.32.e.14; Staatsbibl. Berlin, Nv 7992 R; UBA 1804 D 39
 Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter. The same translation, by Artus from the Dutch, was used as for nr. 76. This is the cheaper quarto-edition of De Marees' account.
 Lit: —

1604

80. Pieter de Marees, *Indiae Orientalis pars VI. veram et historicam descriptionem auriferi Regni Guineae ad Africam pertinentis, quod alias littus de mina vocant, continens, Qua situs loci, ratio urbium & domorum, portus item & flumina varia, cum variis incolarum superstitionibus, educatione, forma, commercii, linguis & moribus, succincta brevitate explicantur & percensentur*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [8], 127, [3], [52], [2] pp., 26 ill.

Copies: BL 569.i.4 (2); HAB M Cd 4^o 26 (1); UBA 1802 C 5 (1)

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter. Translated from German into Latin by Artus. Dedicated to Johan Schweikard of Kronberg, Archbishop of Mainz.

Lit: Van den Boogaart (2004)

81. Jean Errard, *La fortification reduicte en art et demonstree*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [8], 77, [151] pp., 38 ill. (& several woodcuts)

Copies: BL c.78.e.14 (2); StBibl. Augsburg 2 Stw 112

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter. First published in Paris in 1600 (*La fortification réduite...*). Dedicated by the author to King Henry IV of France.

Lit: —

82. Jean Errard, *Fortificatio, Das ist: Künstliche und wolgegründte Demonstration un[d] Erweisung, wie und welcher Gestalt gute Festungen anzuordnen, un[d] wider den Feind, so sie mit Heerskrafft nach allem Vortheil möchte angreifen, zu verwahren und zu versichern, Auff allerley Orte und Gelegenheiten, wie die mögen zu befestigen vorfallen, gerichtet*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [8], 71, [149] pp., 38 ill.

Copies: BL 719.k.22; HAB A 19 Bell. 2^o (2); UBA 465 B 12 (2)

Add.: Translated from the French original. Printed by Wolfgang Richter. Dedicated to Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel.

Lit: —

83. Hendrick Ottsen, *Warhafftige Beschreibung der unglückhafften Schifffahrt eines Schiffs von Ambsterdam, die Silberne Welt genannt, welches nach Ersuchung deß Gestadts Guinea von seinem Admiral durch Ungewitter abgetrieben, und nach Río de Plata zu gefahren, wie es nemblich daselbst vor einem Flecken Bonas Aeres, durch ein falsche Freundlichkeit deß Spanischen Gubernatorn, seinen Verwalter sampt*

etlicher andern verlohren, Auch im zurück fahren, an dem Meerbusen Todas los Santos gantz und gar in der Portugaleser Hände gerathen, von welchem es also empfangen, daß allein der Schiffman Heinrich Ottsen, nach 30. Monden, so er auff dieser Reyse armselig zugebracht, wieder in Hollandt angeländet. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [4], 62 pp., 5 ill.

Copies: BL c.32.e.13; UB Göttingen, 8 ITIN I, 2324 (2); ÖNB 48.G.20

Add.: Translated by Artus from the original Dutch report by Hendrick Ottsen, *Journael oft daghelijcx-register van de voyagie na Rio de la Plata* (Amsterdam 1603), and printed by Wolfgang Richter. The *America*-series had been stopped after the appearance of Volume IX in 1602, hence probably the separate publication of this account.

Lit: —

1605

84. Joris van Spilbergen and Gasparo Balbi, *Siebender Theil der Orientalischen Indien, darinnen zwo unterschiedliche Schiffarten begrieffen. Erstlich Eine Dreyjährige Reyse Georgij von Spielbergen Admirals uber drey Schiffe, welche An. 1601 auß Seeland nach den Orientalischen Indien abgefahren und nach viel widerwertigkeiten An. 1604 wider in Seelandt ankom[m]en, darinnen seine gantze Reyse, und was im für Abentheuer auff derselben begegnet, wie dann auch die mächtige Königreich Matecalo unnd Candy, sampt ihren prächtigen Königen, Sitten und Ceremonien, verzeichnet und beschrieben. Zum andern ein Neunjährige Reyse eines Venetianischen Jubilirs, Casparus Balby genannt, sampt allem, was jme auff derselben von 1579. bis in 1588. begegnet und widerfahren, neben Anweisung aller Zölln, Gewichten, Massen und Müntzen deren man sich von Aleppo auß biß ins Königreich Pegu zu gebrauchen, wie dann auß deß Handels und Wandels Lebens Sitten, Ceremonien und Gebräuchen der Völcker und Eynwohner deß mächtigen Königreichs Pegu.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 52, [4], 134, [54] pp., 22 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6608 (1); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/a:7 RARA; NSA A IV-1 4b3

Add.: Translated from Italian and Dutch into German by Artus. Printed by Matthias Becker.

Lit: —

85. Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente, *De visione, voce, auditu*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 163, [13] pp.; 11 ill. (and numerous woodcuts)

Copies: UBL 642 A 9 (2)

Add.: The title-page is undated, and the name of the De Brys is not mentioned. Yet this title-page is identical to the one of the second edition of 1613 (nr. *141). It was announced by the De Bry firm in the Q05 Frankfurt fair catalogue, and was included in the firm's poster catalogue of 1609. As early as the S04 Frankfurt fair, the printer Matthias Becker sold a copy of the work 'Augennes de febribus' to Jan Moretus (Arch. MPM 189, f55r), but it is not certain that these two works correspond. The original version was published in Italian: *De visione, voce, auditu* (Venice 1600). Dedicated by the author to three physicians in Padua.

Lit: Scharpf-Paravicini (1991); Huizink (1984); Birchler (1979)

86. Roelof Roelofsz and Jan van Bree, *Zwo unterschiedliche neue Schiffarten, Nemlich Ein Historische Beschreibung der Reyse, so der Admiral Jacob von Neck auß Hollandt in die Orientalischen Indien von Ann. 1600. biß An. 1603. gethan. Darnach Ein Historia, so von Johan Hermann von Bree, Obersten Handelsman, auff dem Schiff der Holländische Zaun genannt, in gleichmessiger Reyse von Ann. 1602. biß in An. 1604. auffgezeichnet worden*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 135, [1] pp., 10 ill.

Copies: BL c.33.f.3; HAB A 198.7 Hist. (9)

Add.: Both translations from the Dutch by Artus were probably based on manuscripts, as no printed versions of these accounts are known in Dutch before 1646. Printed by Wolfgang Richter.

Lit: —

87. Kaspar Bauhin, *Theatrum anatomicum*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [16], 1314, [52] pp., 134 ill.

Copies: BL 780.e.1 (1); HAB A 52 Phys (1); UBU M Oct 394 (1)

Add.: The work, one of the most popular in the De Bry catalogue, was printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by the author to Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel (HStAM 4a 39, 116). The final 52 pages are sometimes also found as part of the appendix (nr. 94), as in the British Library-copy.

Lit: —

*88. Hans Staden, Jean de Léry, and Nicolas Barré, *Americae tertia pars Memorabile provinciae Brasiliae Historiam contine[n]s. [...] Addita est Narratio profectionis Ioannis Lerij in eandem Provinciam, qua ille initio gallicè conscripsit, postea verò Latinam fecit. His accessit Descriptio Morum & Ferocitatis incolarum illius Regionis, atque Colloquium ipsorum idiomate conscriptum.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 296, [16] pp., 45 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6633 (4); UB Freiburg, MK 97/4005–3970C,3; UBA 1802 B 8 (3)

Add.: Second edition of *Ind.Occ.* III, with the plates included in the text. Printed by Matthias Becker, whose name and the year 1605 feature prominently on the last page of the account. The Latin translation of 1592 was used again, as was the dedication to William IV, the now late Elector Palatine. The title-pages of the first and second editions are identical. Several states of the first and second editions point to repeated printings of this volume.

Lit: Greve (2004); Obermeier (2002); Lestringant (1999); Bucher (1981)

*89. Joris van Spilbergen, *Neuwe Schifffahrt Einer Dreyjähigen Reyse, so durch Georgen von Spielbergen, Admiral uber drey Schiffe, der Widder, das Schaaff, und das Lämblein genannt, von Anno 1601. biß in 1604. verrichtet worden, darinnen nicht allein seine gantze Reyse, sampt allem, was ihm auff derselben begegnet, fein ordentlich verzeichnet, sondern auch die Mayestät, Herrlichkeit und Reichthumb der Könige zu Candy und Matecalo im Königreich Celon gelegen, sampt iren Sitten, Ceremonien, Leben und Gebreuchen, erzehlet werden, fast kurtzweilig zulesen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 78, [2] pp., 10 ill., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6568 (1), without ill.; UB Tübingen, FO XXIII 10

Add.: The same translation by Artus was used as for the folio-version which formed part of *Ind.Or.* VII (nr. 84). Printed by Matthias Becker.

Lit: —

1606

90. Joris van Spilbergen and Gasparo Balbi, *Indiae Orientalis pars septima; Navigationes duas, Primam, trium Annorum, à Georgio Spilbergio, trium navium praefecto, Ann. 1601. ex Selandia in Indiam Orientalem susceptam: Alteram, novem*

Annorum, à Casparo Balby, Gemmario Veneto, Anno 1579. ex Alepo Babyloniam versus, & inde porro ad regnum Pegu usque continuatam, continens. Omnium quae illi quidem ad Annum 1604. huic vero ad Annum 1588. usque acciderunt, commemoratione; Regum item, locorum, populorum, rituumque variorum descriptione addita. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 126, [4], [44], [2] pp., 22 ills.

Copies: BL 986.h.20 (3); HAB M Cd 4° 26 (2); UBA 1802 C 5 (2)

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter, translated by Artus. Dedicated to Johan Schweikard von Kronberg, Archbishop of Mainz.

Lit: —

91. Roelof Roelofsz and Jan van Bree, *Achter Theil der Orientalischen Indien, begreifend erstlich Ein Historische Beschreibung der Schiffart, so der Admiral Jacob von Neck auß Hollandt in die Orientalische Indien von Ann. 1600. biß An. 1603. gethan. Darnach Ein Historia, so von Johan Herman von Bree, Obersten Handelsmann auff dem Schiff der Holländische Zaun genannt, in gleichmessiger Reyse von An. 1602. biß in An. 1604. auffgezeichnet worden.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 100, [24] pp., 11 ills.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (8); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/a:8 RARA; NSA A IV-1 4b3

Add.: Translated from Dutch into German by Artus. Printed by Wolfgang Richter.

Lit: —

92. Cornelis Claesz, Cornelis van der Venne, and Stefan van der Hagen, *Appendix. oder Ergänzung deß achten Theils Der Orientalischen Indien, Begreifend drey Schiffarten, Eine, von Cornelio Niclas, unter der Admiralschafft Iacobi von Neck, in vier Jahren, Die ander, von Cornelio von der Ven, in zweyen Jahren, Die dritte, unter der Admiralschafft Stephani von der Hagen, in dreyen Jahren verrichtet. In welchen etliche Victorien wieder die Portugesische Kracken oder Schiffe, sonderlich aber die jüngste Eroberung und Einnemmung der Portugesischen Festungen Annabon und Tidor, kürztlich vermeldet werden.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 26, [22] pp., 7 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (8*); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/a:App RARA; NSA A IV-1 4b3

Add.: Translated by Artus from the Dutch originals, of which only Stefan van der Hagen's *Kort ende warachtigh verhael* (Rotterdam 1606) had been published before. The two other accounts

were probably available as manuscripts. Printed by Wolfgang Richter.

Lit: —

93. *Warhafftige unnd eygentliche Beschreibung der allerschrecklichsten und grausamsten Verrätherey so jemals erhört worden, wieder die Königliche Maiestat, derselben Gemahl unnd junge Printzen, sampt dem gantzen Parlament zu Londen in Engeland fürgenommen, Wer nemlich die Autoren un[d] Anfänger derselben gewesen, wie es entdeckt, die Thäter ergriffen, gefangen, und gestrafft worden, Neben kurtzer erzehlung der gantzen deß Parlaments Session.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 32, [6] pp., 3 ill.

Copies: BL G6103; HAB A 248 Hist. 4° (3)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Registration of the events and repercussions of the Guy Fawkes conspiracy of November 1605. The identity of the author is unknown.

Lit: —

94. *Appendix Ad theatrum anatomicum Caspari Bauhini: sive explicatio Characterum omnium, qui figuris totius Operis additi fuere: quae seorsim compingi debet.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [8], 197, [3] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL 780.e.1 (2); HAB A 52 Phys (2); UBU M Oct 394 (2)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Although no date can be found on the imprint, the year of publication is almost certainly 1606, as Bauhin's *Theatrum* was sold to Jan Moretus for the first time at the S05 Frankfurt fair, and this appendix, which appeared later, was first sold at the Q06 Frankfurt fair. Moretus usually bought new De Bry publications straight away. The title-page refers to the year 1600, yet this was the result of an ornamental design—first used for the title-page of nr. 59—being re-used. The appendix was nothing more than a collection of captions to the illustrations in nr. 87, and was presumably not written by Bauhin himself.

Lit: —

1607

95. Various authors, *Indiae Orientalis pars octava: Navigationes quinque, Primam, à Iacobo Neccio, ab Anno 1600. usque ad Annum 1603. Secundam, à Iohanne Hermannno de Bree, ab Anno 1602. usq[ue] ad Annum 1604. Tertiam,*

à Cornelio Nicolai, *Annis quatuor. Quartam, à Cornelio de Vena, duobus Annis. Quintam, sub Stephano de Hagen tribus Annis, in Indiam Orientalem susceptas & peractas continens. Locorum, Regum, Populorum, rituumque variorum descriptione, victoriarum item à Lusitanis reportatarum, & Araboinae, Tidorisque expugnationis commemoratione addita.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 114, [46] pp., 18 ill.

Copies: BL W7725; HAB M Cd 4° 26 (2); UBA 1802 C 5 (3)

Add.: Translated by Artus. Printed by Wolfgang Richter.

Lit: —

96. Bonaiuto Lorini, *Fünff Bücher von Vestung Bauwen, Bonaiuti Lorini Florentinischen vom Adel. In welchen, durch die allerleichtesten Reguln, die Wissenschaft sampt der Practick, gelehret wirdt, wie man Städte und andere örter, uff unterschiedlicher Situs gelegenheit sol befestigen: Und da insonderheit, Im ersten, von der Wissenschaft sampt den Reguln unnd Ursachen, wie man alle Grundrisse der Vestungen auffreissen, unnd zu eim vollkömlichen Ende bringen sol, gehandelt, Im andern, die Practick, mit welcher man ein Vestung wircklichen anlegen und bawen sol, gezeigt, Im dritten, Unterschiedliche Grundrisse gesetzt, und wie man die best verstandneste darunder außlesen sol, gelehret, Im Vierten, der unterscheid der Situs oder Gelegenheit der örter, und wie man dieselbigen befestigen sol, erklärt, Im fünfften unnd letzten, die Mechanischen Künste, sampt ein underricht wie man vierlerley Werkzeug und Instrumenta machen sol, beides mit einem kleinen Gewalt sehr grosse Läste zuheben, wie auch gar uff einen leichten Weg die Sachen zu wegen zubringen, so beyde in Friedens unnd Kriegszeiten deß Menschen Leben am nötigsten sindt, gelehret, Und alles, durch beygefügte Lehren und Underricht, so zu verstandt gedachter Materien, gereichen kan, uffs deutlichste erklärt wirdt.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [12], 215, [83] pp., 36 ill.

Copies: BL 1605/212; HAB A 19 Bell. 2° (1); UBA 465 B 12 (3)

Add.: Translated from the Italian original (Bonaiuto Lorini, *Delle fortificationi [...] libri cinque*, Venice 1596) by David Wormbser. Printed by Matthias Becker, dedicated to Joachim Ernst, Margrave of Brandenburg.

Lit: —

*97. Johan Adam Lonicer, [Levinus Hulsius], [Gotthard Artus], and Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Historia Chronologica Pannoniae: Ungarische und Siebenbürgische Historia, was sich in denen Landen, seyt der Sündflut hero, biß auff jetztregierende Rö. Keys. Mt. Rudolphum II. den XXXX. Christlichen König in Ungarn, und Sigismundum Bathorium Heertzogen in Siebenbürgen, etc. Fürnemblich aber in jetztwerenden Kriegßhändeln, denckwürdiges begeben. Darinnen obgemeldter*

Potentaten Kriegßfürsten und Feldobersten, Leben, Ritterliche Thaten, und wider den Türcken erhaltene Victorien, außführlich angeordnet. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 160, [8], 103, [1] pp., 21 ill.

Copies: HAB A 197.3 Hist. (1); ÖNB BE.8.P.18

Add.: No printer was mentioned. Seven illustrations were added, as was information on the peace-agreement with the Ottomans of 1606.

Lit: —

1608

98. Lorenzo Pignoria, *Characteres Aegyptii, hoc est, sacrorum, quibus Aegyptii utuntur, simulachrorum accurata delineatio et explicatio, qua antiquissimarum superstitionum origines, progressiones, ritusque, ad Barbaram, Graecam & Romanam historiam illustrandam, enarrantur, & multa scriptorum veterum loca explicantur atque emendantur.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 86 (fol. 1–43), [16], [8] pp., 16 ill.

Copies: BL 1473.c.32; HAB A 179.1 Hist. (2); UBL Thysia 1380 (3)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by the author to Cardinal Caesar Baronius.

Lit: —

99. Jacob Ulfeldt, *Hodoeporicon Ruthenicum, In quo de Moscovitarum Regione, Moribus, Religione, gubernatione, & Aulâ Imperatoriâ quo potuit compendio & eleganter exequitur, nunc primum editum cum figuris aeneis, ex Bibliotheca Melchioris Haiminsfeldii Goldasti.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 66, [12] pp., 5 ill.

Copies: BL 590.e.17; HAB 127.14 Hist. (2); KB 277 E 16 (1)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld to the Palatine court official Achatius von Dohna.

Lit: —

100. Johan Schenck von Grafenberg, *Lithogenesia Sive de microcosmi membris petrefactis: et de calculis eidem microcosmo per varias matrices innatis: pathologia historica, per Theorian et Autopsian demonstrata. Accessit Analogicum Argumentum ex Macrocosmo de calculis brutorum corporib[us] innatis. Quibus Concretio portentosa ex Panspermio semine viscoso & bolari per salis spiritum coagulato, illustratur: Cui deinceps Dissolutionis secunda Pars & germana soror adsociabitur.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [16], 69, [9] pp., 6 ill. (& several small woodcuts)
 Copies: BL 784.l.2 (1); HAB A 115.5 Quod (3); ÖNB 68.S.27
 Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. The author expresses his thanks to his Hanau-based colleague Johan Reinard.

Lit: —

101. Marquard Freher, *Sulpitius, sive de aequitate Commentarius Ad L. I. C. De Legibus*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 23, [1] pp., no ill.

Copies: BL 501.e.10 (3); HAB A 35 Jur. (6); UBU C qu 71 (3)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker.

Lit: —

102. Weyrich Wettermann, *Historischer Bericht Von der Wetterauw, Rinckaw, Westerwald, Löhngöwe, Hayrich, unnd anderen an das Fürstenthumb Hessen grentzenden Landen, Wie es von alters und jetziger Zeit mit denselben beschaffen, und wie sie abgesonderte regiones und Ständt gewesen und noch seyen*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 34 pp., 1 ill.

Copies: HAB A 188.1 Hist. (4); ÖNB 24.L.46; BNF 31641890

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Weyrich Wettermann is a pseudonym of Marquard Freher. Dedicated by the author to the Counts of the Wetterau.

Lit: —

103. Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld, *Imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum in utroq[ue] imperio tam orientis quam Occidentis promulgata*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [24], 778, [4] pp., no ill.

Copies: BL 3908.de.1; HAB M Ti 122; ÖNB 24.R.10

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by the author to Count Phillip Ludwig II of Hanau-Lichtenberg.

Lit: —

104. Johan Schenck von Grafenberg, *Hortus Patavinus. Cui accessere V CL Melchioris Guilandini medici botanici cluentiss. coniectanea synonymica plantarum eruditissima. in gratiam rei medicae studiosorum, qui PatavI Antenoris Horto Medico operam navant*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [10], 93, [1] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL 450.c.8; HAB A 92.10 Phys. (2); ÖNB *69.K.17

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by the author to Georg Streitius of Hanau. The title-page refers to the year 1600, yet

this was the result of a ornamental design—first used for the title-page of nr. 59—being re-used.

Lit: —

*105. Thomas Harriot, *Admiranda narratio fida tamen, de commodis et incolarum ritibus virginiae nuper admodum ab anglis, qui à Dn. Richardo Greinvile equestris ordinis viro eò in coloniam anno M.D.LXXXV. deducti sunt inventae, sumtus faciente Dn. Waltero Raleigh equestris ordinis vero fodinaru stanni praefecto ex auctoritate serenissimae reginae angliae*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2º: 34, [94] pp., 28 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6633 (2); StUBF N.Libr.Ff 5576 (1); UBA 1802 B 8 (1)

Add.: Second edition of Harriot's account in Latin, *Ind. Occ.* I. The title-page is identical to that of the first edition, although the references to Johan Wechel and Sigmund Feyerabend's shop were replaced with the name of the De Brys. The name of Theodore still featured prominently. The same translation, by Clusius and others, was used as in 1590. The name of the printer is unknown.

Lit: Greve (2004)

*106. Johan Adam Lonicer, [Levinus Hulsius], [Gotthard Artus], and Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Historia Chronologica Pannoniae: Res per Hungariam et Transylvaniam, iam inde à constitutione Regnorum illorum, usque ad invictiss. Rom. Imp Rodolphum II Hungariae Regem Christianum XXXX. & Sereniss. Sigismundum Bathorium, Transylvaniae Ducem, maxime vero hoc diuturno bello gestas; Icones item vitasque et victorias, Regum, Ducum & procerum, tam Christianorum quam Turcicorum*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4º: [14], 290 pp., 21 ill.

Copies: BL 1438.c.4; HAB 127.14 Hist. (1); BNF 30171555

Add.: No printer was mentioned. A brief preface was written by the De Bry brothers especially for this second edition.

Lit: —

1609

107. Daniel Meyer, *Architectura Oder Verzeichnuß allerhand Eynfassungen an Thüren, Fenstern und Decken, etc. sehr nützlich unnd dienlich allen Mahlern, Bildthawern, Steinmetzen, Schreibern und andern Liebhabern dieser Kunst*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [6], 100 pp., 50 ill.

Copies: BSB 2 A.civ. 120; ÖNB 261779 C-Fid.

Add.: This work comprised a preface by the De Brys, and 50 illustrations without further textual explanations. The name of the printer is unknown.

Lit: —

108. Erpoldus Lindenbrog, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum septentrionalium, vicinorumque populorum diversi, Continentes historiam ecclesiasticam, et religionis propagationem, gestaque Saxonum, Sclavorum, Vandalorum, Danorum, Norvegiarum, Suedorum, &c. Situm denique & naturam omnium quae in Septentrione sunt regionum, ipsarumque gentium vetustis temporibus mores ac religiones: quibus accedunt variorum pontificum, imperatorum, Regum & Ducum Diplomata & Privilegia*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [8], 307, [5] pp., no ill.

Copies: Chr.Church Oxford, OI 2.9; HAB G1 4^o 418; UBL 1225 A 12

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by the author to Antonius Gunterus of Oldenburg.

Lit: —

109. Johan Schenck von Grafenberg, *Lithogenesia oder Wunderstein: Von wunderbarem Steingewächs oder Steingeburt in der kleinen Welt, das ist in dem Menschlichen Leib: in dem entweder die Glieder selbst und Corpus zu Stein unnd Felsen worden, oder durch alle unnd jede Leibsgliedmassen und Gefäß, nicht minder als in den Ertzgruben der grossen Welt, Stein unnd Mineralia erwachsen. Darinnen durch ein kurtzen Theorischen verfasten Discurs die Ursach dero Coagulation im Saltgeist uffgesucht und eröffnet: Beneben in Praxi mit lebendigen denckwürdigen Historien unnd Exempeln, auch abgestochnen Figurn vieler Gelärter Leut, bezeugt, bekräftiget, illustriert, dociert, und überwiesen wirdt, daß in dem Menschen so wol als einem reichen Bergwerck allenthalb solche Stein und Mineraln erwachsen mögen. Mit angefügter Analogischer Zugaab Dero Steingewächs vieler anderer Gethier und Animalium, daß in denselben gleichfalls derogleichen Stein durch ihre Leibkörper erwachsen, und zubefinden seyen*. Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: 96 pp., 20 ill. (incl. 14 woodcuts)

Copies: HAB A 46.13 Med. (3); ÖNB 69.T.14+

Add.: Translated from the Latin version (nr. 100), printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by the author to Count Johan Reinhardt of Hanau and Zweibrücken.

Lit: —

110. Realdus Columbus & Johan Schenck von Grafenberg, *Anatomia, Das ist: Sinnreiche, Künstliche, Gegründte Aufschneidung, Theilung unnd Zerlegung eines vollkom[m]enen Menschlichen Leibs und Cörpers, durch alle desselbigen innerliche und eusserliche Gliedmassen und Gefäß, so wol mit eygentlicher Beschreibung erkläret, als mit lebendigen Contrafacturen fürgebildet. Darauß das hohe, scharpffsin[n]ige Wundergebäu deß Menschlichen Leibs beyder Gestaltt zu erlernen, welcher Form, Bildtnuß, Proportz und Gestaltt der gantze Menschliche LeibCörper, so wol desselben Principal oder Hauptstück, als Privatglieder und dienstbare Mittelgefäß, ja alle desselben innerliche und eusserliche Werckzeug, Zugaab, Gliedtsglieder, und Gliedmassen, durch den Allmächtigen Schöpffer Anfangs plasmirt und erschaffen, auch nunmehr durch die wunderbare Bildung in Mutterleib formirt und propagiert wirdt.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 274, [2] pp., 44 ill.

Copies: HAB A 38.9 Phys. 2° (1); UB Basle, Otol C 1

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Columbus' work was first published in Venice in 1559 (*De re anatomica, libri XV*). It was translated and extended by Schenck, who dedicated this edition to Rudolf, Count of Sultz. More than half of the illustrations were earlier published in nr. 53.

Lit: —

111. Johan Schenck von Grafenberg, *Monstrorum historia memorabilis, monstrosa humanorum partium miracula, stupendis Conformationum Formulæ ab utero materno enata, vivis exemplis, observationibus, & picturis, referens. Accessit Analogicum Argumentum de monstis brutis.* Frankfurt, widow and sons of Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 135, [1] pp., 56 ill.

Copies: BL 956.g.35; UB Dresden, Anat. A 184; UBL 227 E 96

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. Dedicated by the author to Duke Johan August of Palatinate-Lützenstein.

Lit: —

*112. René de Laudonnière, Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, et al., *Brevis narratio eorum quæ in Florida Americae provi[n]cia Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Navigatione, duce Renato de Laudo[n]niere classis Praefecto Anno MDLXIII. Quæ est secunda pars Americae. Additæ figuræ et Incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivu[m] expressæ brevis item Declaratio Religionis, rituum, vivendique ratione ipsorum.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 30, [88], [26] pp., 42 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6633 (3); StUBF N.Libr.Ff 5576 (2); UBA 1802 B 8 (2)

- Add.: Second edition of the Latin *Ind. Occ.* II. The same title-page was used as for the first edition of 1591. The page between the text and the plates carries the year 1609. The name of the printer is unknown.
- Lit: Greve (2004); Fishman (1995); Lawson and Faupel (1992); Hulton (1977)
- *113. Odoardo Lopez and Filippo Pigafetta, *Regnum Congo, hoc est, Warhafft und Eigentliche Beschreibung deß Königreichs Congo in Africa, und deren angrenzenden Länder, darinnen der Inwohner Glaub, Leben, Sitten, und Kleydung wol und außführlich vermeldt und angezeigt wirdt.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry.
- Coll.: 2°: [8], 74, [38] pp., 14 ill., 3 maps.
- Copies: BL 568.i.1 (1); HAB Cd 4° 29 (1); UBA OF 82-5
- Add.: Second edition of the first German volume of the *India Orientalis*-series, printed by Matthias Becker. The same translation and plates as for the first edition of 1597 were used. Dedicated to Hans Georg, Count of Solms and Georg, Count of Erbach, by August Cassiodorus Reyna.
- Lit: Van den Boogaart (2004)

1610

114. Johan Schenck von Grafenberg, *Wunder-Buch Von Menschlichen, unerhörten Wunder- und Mißgebuhrten, so wider den gemeinen Lauff der Natur erschrocklich, frembd, unnd seltsam gebildet: doch glaubwürdig in diese Welt gebahren worden. Wie nicht minder von Mißgebuhrten der unvernünftigen Gethier.* Frankfurt, the late widow and sons of Th. de Bry.
- Coll.: 4°: [6], 162, [2] pp., 56 ill.
- Copies: Wellcome Libr., 5833/B; HAB A 82.22 Quod. (1); ÖNB 68.S.29
- Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. The work was translated from the Latin version of 1609. The work appeared after the death of Theodore de Bry's widow, yet the death of Johan Israel, who died before his stepmother, is not mentioned on the title-page.
- Lit: —
115. Helisaeus Rösslin, *Mitternächte Schiffarth, Von den Herrn Staden inn Niderlanden vor XV. Jaren vergeblich fürgenommen, wie dieselbige anzustellen, daß man daselbst herumb in Orient und Chinam kommen möge, zu sonderem*

der Christenheit, sonderlich Teutschlands Nutzen und Wolfart, Ein künstlicher Philosophischer Tractat, Von vielen wunderlichen die Geheimnuß der Natur betref- fenden Sachen, von den Mitternächtigen Landen, unter dem Polo, wie sie der Kälte halben beschaffen, vom Indischen Paradeiß der gantzen Welt, von dem Magnetstein, und dessen Bewegungen ein gründliche Physica, von den newen Stern zu unsern Zeiten erschienen, was sie bedeuten, uff Iohann Kepleri Keys. Maj. Mathematici hievon außgangen Schreiben, ein mehrer Bedencken. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [16], 139, [5], 16 pp. (141–56), no ills., 1 map.

Copies: BSB A Hydr. 68d; KB 346 G 38

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. This was the first book of the De Bry firm to appear in Oppenheim, one year after Johan Theodore had moved to the Palatinate. Dedicated by the author to the States-General of the Dutch Republic.

*116. Hans Staden and Jean de Léry, *Dritte Buch Americae, Darinn Brasilia durch Johann Staden von Homberg auß Hessen [...] Item Historia der Schiffart Ioannis Lerij in Brasilien, welche er selbst publiciert hat [...] Vom Wilden uner- hörten wesen der Innwoner, von allerley frembden Gethieren und Gewächsen, sampt einem Colloquio, in der Wilden Sprach.* Frankfurt, Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 92, [16], 193 (93–285), [1] pp., 38 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6625 (3)

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Occ.* III in German. The same title-page, translation and plates as for the first edition of 1593 (nr. 9) were used. Several plates were used more than once. The year of printing, 1610, is not certain.

Lit: Greve (2004); Obermeier (2002); Lestringant (1999); Bucher (1981)

1611

117. *Florilegium Novum, Hoc est: Variorum maximeque rariorum Florum ac Plantarum singularium unà cum suis radicibus & cepis, Eicones diligenter aere sculptae & ad vivum ut plurimum expressae. New Blumbuch Darinnen allerhand schöne Blumen und frembde Gewächs, mit ihren Wurtzeln und Zwiebeln, mehrer theils dem Leben nach in Kupffer fleissig gestochen, zu sehen sind.* [Oppenheim?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], [108] pp., 54 ills.

Copies: ULB Halle, Sb 3572 4°

Add.: First part of a series of publications, with illustrations of flow- ers and plants. Illustrated supplements, with 24, 10, and 24 new engravings respectively, appeared in 1613 (nr. 133), 1614

(nr. 148) and 1615 (nr. 159), without new, printed title-pages. The appendices were also sold separately, as the Moretus-accounts show. Many of the illustrations are based on Pierre Vallet's *Le Jardin du Roy* (Paris 1608). Dedicated to Herman of Kronberg, a relative of the Archbishop of Mainz.

Lit: Warner (1955)

*118. *Emblemata Secularia. mira et iucunda varietate seculi huius mores ita exprimentia, ut Sodalitatum Symbolis Insignisque conscribendis & depingendis peracomoda sint. Versibus latinis, rhythmisq[ue] Germanicis, Gallicis, Belgicis: speciali item Declamatione de literarum studiis exornata. Weltliche lustige newe Kunststück, der jetzigen Weltlauff fürbildende.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: 56, [256] pp., 130 ill.

Copies: Glasgow Univ. Libr., Sp. Coll. SM 239; UB Göttingen, 4 BIBL UFF 494; KB 71 J 62

Add.: An extended second edition of the original edition of 1596 (nr. 30), printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated to Johan Christoph von Gemmingen, the son of an Oppenheim magistrate. The newly-added emblems were mostly love emblems, a relatively new, popular emblematic genre, especially in the Dutch Republic. The explanatory texts were written in German, Latin, French, and Dutch.

Lit: Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999–2002) F132; Harms and Schilling (facs. 1994)

*119. Helisaeus Rösslin, *Mitternächtige Schiffarth, Von den Herrn Staden im Niderlanden vor XV. Jaren vergeblich fürgenommen, wie dieselbige anzustellen, daß man daselbst herumb in Orient und Chinam kommen möge, zu sonderem der Christenheit, sonderlich Teutschlands Nutzen und Wolfart, Ein künstlicher Philosophischer Tractat, Von vielen wunderlichen die Geheimnuß der Natur betreffenden Sachen, von den Mitternächtigen Landen, unter dem Polo, wie sie der Kälte halben beschaffen, vom Indischen Paradeiß der gantzen Welt, von dem Magnetstein, und dessen Bewegungen ein gründliche Physica, von den neuen Stern zu unsern Zeiten erschienen, was sie bedeuten, uff Iohann Kepleri Keys. Maj. Mathematici hievon außgangen Schreiben, ein mehrer Bedencken.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8^o: [16], 139, [5], 35 (141–75), [1] pp., no ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL G2470; HAB A 425 Quod. (3), lacking the final 36 pages.

Add.: Second extended edition of nr. 115, announced as such in the Q12 catalogue. Printed by Hieronymus Galler. The dedication of the first edition was repeated.

Lit: —

1612

120. Johan Verken, *Neundter Theil Orientalischer Indien, Darinnen begrieffen Ein kurtze Beschreibung einer Reyse, so von den Holländern un[d] Seeländern, in die Orientalischen Indien, mit neun grossen und vier kleinen Schiffen, unter der Admiralschafft Peter Wilhelm Verhuffen, in Jahren 1607. 1608. und 1609. verricht worden, neben Vermeldung, was ihnen fürnemlich auff solcher Reyse begegnet unnd zu Handen gangen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 55, [5], [24] pp., 12 ill.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (9); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/a:9 RARA; NSA A IV-1 4b4

Add.: Collected and translated by Artus, printed by Matthias Becker. Verken's account had not been published before. The same cartouche was used for the title-page as for nr. *127.

Lit: Van Gelder (1997)

121. Johan Verken, *Indiae Orientalis pars IX. Historicam descriptionem navigationis ab Hollandis & Selandis in Indiam Orientalem, sub imperio Petri-Guilielmi Verhuffii, cum novem maiorum & quatuor minorum navium classe, Annis 1607. 1608. & 1609. susceptae & peractae, &c. continens: Addita omnium, quae hoc tempore eis obtigerunt, annotatione.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 49, [7], [24] pp., 12 ill.

Copies: BL 986.h.20 (5); HAB M Cd 4° 26 (2); UBA 1802 C 5 (4)

Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter, translated from German into Latin by Gotthard Artus.

Lit: Van Gelder (1997)

122. Helisaeus Rösslin, *Chronologia primorum Caesarum ante et post natum Christum ab occupata a Pompeio Hierosolyma, usque ad ultimam devastationem eius per Titum Vespasiani filium: Historiarum tam Sacrarum quam prophanarum non illius temporis solum, sed praecedentium & consequentium etiam annorum fundamentum proponens & calculo Astronomico confirmans, In eum finem, ut verum tempus nativitatis et passionis domini nostri Iesu Christi cum tota historia evangelica in omnibus circumstantijs habeatur: ad confirmandam Religionis Christianae certitudinem, & reprimendam Judaeorum & incredularum Gentium blasphemiam.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [2], 58 (fol. 1–29), [2] pp, no ill.

Copies: UB Munich, 2 H Aux 507

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker.

Lit: —

123. Helisaeus Rösslin, *Zu Ehrn der Keyserlichen Wahl und Krönung Matthiae deß I. und Annae. 7. Keys. May. Gemahlin den 14/24 und 15/25 Tag Junij des 1612. Jahrs zu Franckfurt mit grosser Solennitet gehalten unnd verricht. Ein Tabella des Welt Spiegels. Darinnen Geistliche Göttliche unnd Politische Weltliche Sachen in einer Harmonia und Vergleichung gegen einander gestellt werden, nach den sieben Revolutionen der Planeten und Zehen Altern von Anfang der Welt biß zu Endt, das darauß zuersehen, in was Zeiten wir seyen, und was noch zuerfüllen ubrig.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [8], 30, [2] pp., no ills.

Copies: HAB A 207 Hist.; ÖNB 72.X.37

Add.: First of several works devoted to the coronation of Matthias I as Holy Roman Emperor, and dedicated to the emperor by the author.

Lit: —

124. Helisaeus Rösslin, 1572. *Prodromus. 1604. Dissertationum Chronologicarum: Das ist, Der Zeit Rechnung halben ein außführlicher und gründtlicher Teutscher Bericht, an unsern aller gnädigsten Herrn, Matthiam den I. erwählten Römischen Keysern. Das nemlich den Jahren und dem Alter unsers Herrn unnd Heylandts Iesu Christi nicht fünff Jahr zuzusetzen seyen, wie 7. Keys. Majest. Mathematicus Iohann Keplerus haben wil, sonder mehr nicht als fünff viertheil Jahr, Also, das Christus warhafftig im vierthalben und dreyssigsten Jahr seines Alters gelitten hab. Alles auch in einer Lateinischen Chronologia unnd Zeitrechnung vor Augen gestellt, mit einer richtigen Harmonia und Vergleichung Politischer Weltlicher, und Geistlicher Evangelischer Historien, durch deß Himmels Lauff Rechnung bestätigt. Allen trewhertzigen und frommen Christen zuwissen, so wol tröstlich, als den Ungläubigen und Halbstarrigen Juden damit zubegegnen nothwendig, sonderlich den Gelehrten zu lesen angenehm.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [24], 287, [1] pp., no ills.

Copies: HAB A 106.1 Hist. (3); BNF 31234400

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker. The printer, not De Bry, obtained permission to publish the work in Frankfurt (StAfr. ZBBP 53, f63v). Dedicated by the author to Emperor Matthias I.

Lit: —

125. Franz Kessler, *Kurtzer einfältiger und doch außführlicher verständlicher Bericht: Wie ein jeglicher der Mathematischen Kunst Liebhaber, gantz ringfertig, das uberauß compendios-Scioterische Gnomische, oder Geometrische und ringköstige Proportional Instrument, auß seinem unumbstößlichen wahren Grund, selber lernen machen und ins Werck richten soll. Allen Sonnuhristen, Geometris, Bawmeistern,*

wie auch allen Mahlern, Bildhawern, Steinmetzen und Schreinern zu sonderem gefallen. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 20 pp., 5 ill. (woodcuts)

Copies: HAB A 243.22.1 Quod. (1); ÖNB 72.H.13 (2)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated to Friedrich Meyer, armourer ('Zeugwarter') in Strasbourg, and friend of Johan Theodore.

Lit: —

*126. *Florilegium Novum, Hoc est: Variorum maximeque rariorum Florum ac Plantarum singularium unâ cum suis radicibus & cepis, Eicones diligenter aere sculptae & ad vivum ut plurimum expressae. New Blumbuch Darinnen allerhand schöne Blumen und frembde Gewächs, mit ihren Wurtzeln und Zwiebeln, mehrer theils dem Leben nach in Kupffer fleissig gestochen, zu sehen sind.* [Oppenheim?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], [108] pp., 54 ill.

Copies: BL 442.g.11 (1); HAB A 28.2 Geom 2° (1); UBL 463 A 7

Add.: Second edition of the first volume of the flower book, more current than the first edition. The same dedication was included.

Lit: Warner (1955)

*127. Daniel Meyer, *Architectura. Vonn Außtheijlung der fünff Seülen, und aller daraus fol[gen]der kunst und arbeit, von Fenstern, Camin, Thürgerichten, Portale[n], Brun[n]en und Epitaphie[n]. Ausz den fürnemsten Bücher[n] der Architectur, mit grosser mühe zusam[m]en, In diese geschmeidige form bracht, allen kunstliebenden nutz und dienlich.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [14], [160] pp., 80 ill.

Copies: Chr.Church Oxford, AF.4.10; UB Halle, AB 170238 (1); UBU AA Fol. 4

Add.: Extended second edition to nr. 107. The printer of the work is unknown. Dedicated by the author to Ferdinand of Bavaria, Archbishop of Cologne.

Lit: —

*128. Helisaeus Rösslin, *Zu Ehrn der Keyserlichen Wahl und Krönung Matthiae deß I. und Annae. J. Keys. May. Gemahlin den 14/24 und 15/25 Tag Junij des 1612. Jahrs zu Franckfurt mit grosser Solennitet gehalten unnd verricht. Ein Tabella des Welt Spiegels. Darinnen Geistliche Göttliche unnd Politische Weltliche Sachen in einer Harmonia und Vergleichung gegen einander gestellt werden, nach den sieben Revolutionen der Planeten und Zehen Altern von Anfang der Welt biß*

zu Endt, das darauß zu ersehen, in was Zeiten wir seyen, und was noch zuerfüllen übrig. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 30, [2] pp., no ills.

Copies: HAB A 50.7 Pol. (12); BSB 4 J. publ. g 1128

Add.: The second edition is virtually identical to the first (nr. 123). The title was very popular, according to Rösslin in the preface to another work (nr. 124 [c2rv]), which may explain the two editions in one year.

Lit: —

1613

129. Johan Verken, *Continuatio Oder Ergänztung deß neunnden Theils der Orientalischen Indien, Das ist, kurtze Continuirung, Verfolg und Ergänztung der vorigen Reyse, so von den Holl- und Seeländern, mit neun grossen und vier kleinen Schiffen, unter der Admiralschafft Peter Willhelm Verheiffen, in die Orientalische Indien von 1607. biß in das 1612. Jahr verrichtet worden. Darinn kürztzlich vermeldet wirdt, was inen fernner zu Lande und zu Wasser widerfahren und zu handen gangen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 35, [13] pp., 5 ills.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (9*); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/a: Cont. RARA; NSA A IV-1 4b4

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker's widow. Translated by Gotthard Artus.

Lit: Van Gelder (1997)

130. Johan Verken, *Supplementum nonae partis Indiae Orientalis, Hoc est, Continuatio prioris itineris sive navigationis, ab Hollandis et Selandis in Indiam Orientalem, sub admirale Petro Guilhelmo Verhuffio, cum novem maiorum & quatuor minorum navium classe, ab Anno 1607. usque ad annum 1612. peractae. Addita commemoratione omnium, quae ipsi porro in Bandicis Insulis & alibi acciderunt. Accesserunt Colloquia Latino-Malaica, seu vulgares quaedam loquendi formulae, Latina, Malaica & Madagascarica linguis, in gratiam eorum, qui navigationem fortè in Orientalem Indiam ipsimet suscepturi sunt, conscriptae.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [2], 88, [2], [10], [2] pp., 5 ills.

Copies: BL 986.h.20 (5*); UB Munich, 2 Itin. 109(2#5; UBA 1802 C 5 (4*))

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker's widow. Translated by Gotthard Artus.

Lit: Van Gelder (1997)

131. Henry Hudson, Petrus Ferdinandus de Quir [and Hessel Gerritsz], *Źehender Theil der Orientalischen Indien begreifendt Eine kurtze Beschreibung der neuwen Schifffart gegen Nordt Osten, uber die Amerische Inseln in Chinam und Iapponiam, von einem Engelländer Henrich Hudson newlich erfunden, beneben kurtzer Andeutung der Inseln und Oerter, so auff derselben Reyse von den Holländern hiebevor entdeckt worden, auß Johann Hegen von Lintschotten Reise gezogen. Item Ein Discurs an Ihr. Kön. Maj. in Spanien, wegen deß fünfften Theils der Welt, Terra Australis incognita genannt, von einem Capitein Petro Ferdinandes de Quir, &c. übergeben. Beneben Einer Delineation unnd Beschreibung der Länder der Samojeden und Tingoesen, in der Tartarey, gegen Morgen der Enge oder Überfahrt bey Weygats gelegen, so newlich von den Moßcowitern entdecket und eingenommen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 37, [11] pp., 3 ill., 3 maps.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (10); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/a:10 RARA; NSA A IV-1 4b4

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker's widow. Translated by Gotthard Artus. Parts of this volume have been taken from Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, including the three illustrations.

Lit: —

132. Henry Hudson, Petrus Ferdinandus de Quir [and Hessel Gerritsz], *Indiae Orientalis Pars X. Qua continetur, Historica relatio sive descriptio novi ad aquilonem transitus, supra terras Americanas in Chinam atq[ue] Iaponem ducturi, quemadmodum is ab Henrico Hudsono Anglo nuper inventus est, addita brevi Insularum & locorum aliorum, in itinere isto occurrentium, ex Iohannis-Hugonis Lintschottani itineralio desumpta commemoratione. Item Discursus ad sereniss. Hispaniae regem, super detecta nuper quinta orbis parte, Terra nempè Australi incognita, à Capitaneo quodam Petro-Ferdinando de Quir, &c. conscriptus. Addita descriptione regionum Siberiae, Samoiediae atque Tingoesiae, in Tartaria versus ortum freti Weigatsii sitarum, quae nuper à Moscis detectae & occupatae sunt.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 32, [2], [6] pp., 3 ill., 3 maps.

Copies: BL 986.h.20 (6); HAB M Cd 4° 26 (2); UBA 1802 C 5 (5)

Add.: Printed by Matthias Becker's widow. Translated by Gotthard Artus. Latin version of nr. 131.

Lit: —

133. *Amplificatio sive Dilatatio Florilegij nuper coepti auctiq[ue] Iam verò varijs atque Elegantioribus Floribus Exornati. Erweiterung oder Vortpflanzung des newlich angefangenen, schon Vermehrten Blumbuchs; So jetzt mit mancherleij schönen Blumen ausgebeßert und gezieret worden.* [Oppenheim?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

- Coll: 2^o: [48] pp., 24 ills.
 Copies: BL 442.g.11 (2); HAB A 28.2 Geom 2^o (2); Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Print Room 329 C 26 (2)
 Add.: First addition to nr. 117. No separate title-page was printed, only a brief statement on the top of the page containing the first illustration. Since the work did not include any printed texts, there was no need to hire a printer. De Bry almost certainly printed the plates himself.
 Lit: Warner (1955)

134. Gotthard Artus, a.o., *Electio et Coronatio Sereniss. potentiss. et invictiss. Principis et Dn. Dn. Matthiae I. electi Rom. Imperat. semper Augusti etc. Eiusq[ue] sereniss. coniugis Annae Austriacae etc. tabulis aeneis adumbrata. Wahl undt Krönung. Des aller durchleuchtigsten, großmechtigsten undt unüberwindlichsten Fursten undt herren, herrn Matthiae I. erwählten Römischen Kayzers etc. undt Ihrer Kay. Maj. Gemahlin in schönen kupferstucken abgebildet. Sereniss. Potentiss. et invictiss. Principi et Dn. Dn. Matthiae I. electo Rom Imperat. semper Augusto etc. Reverendiss. item et illustriss. Principibus et Dominis, S. R. I. Septemviris etc. hanc electionis et Coronationis delineationem.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

- Coll.: 4^o: [28] pp., 13 ills.
 Copies: BL 811.d.41; HAB A 36.11.1 Geom. 2^o (2); BNF 31734743
 Add.: Co-operation of Johan Theodore de Bry, Jakob de Zetter, and Johan Gelle, with poetry by Gotthard Artus.

Lit: —

135. *Repraesentatio et Explicatio duorum arcuum triumphalium Quos Fausti ominis & piae congratulationis ergò sereniss. potentissimoq. principi ac domino, D. Friderico V. comiti Palatino ad Rhen. S. R. imperii septemviro duci Bavariae, &c. ex Anglia reduci cum illustrissima principissa D. Elisabetha dilectissima conjuge serenissimi atque invictissimi Iacobi I. Magnae Britanniae regis filia unica, charissima, ingredienti Oppenheimium Senatus Populusque ibidem publicè posuit. Abriß und Beschreibung zweier Triumph- Oder Ehren Pforten, Welche zu unterthänigsten Ehren und hertzlicher Glückwündschung Dem Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Friderichen dem Fünfftten Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, deß Heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertztrucksässen und Churfürsten, Hertzogen in Bayern, etc. Und der auch Durchleuchtigsten, Hochgebornen Princessin und Frawen, Frawen Elisabethen, Deß Großmächtigsten Jacobi deß Ersten Königs in groß Britannien Einiger hochgeliebter Tochter Als beyde Ihr Churfürstl. Gg. zu Oppenheim eingezogen Ein Ehrsam Rath und Bürgerschaft daselbst verfertigen und auffrichten lassen.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

- Coll.: 4^o-obl.: 12, [16] pp., 7 ills.

Copies: HAB A 26.7.1. Geom.; ÖNB *48.Q.11; BNF 30171533

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated to the mayor and magistrates of Oppenheim. Three engravings were signed by Johan Theodore.

Lit: —

136. Job. Kornthauer, *De peste Aurelio Theophrasti Paracelsi Tractatus. So er an die Statt Störtzingen geschrieben, Cum Commentariis Jobi Kornthaueri, Illustris. Principis ac D. D. Ludovici Landgravii Hassiae, &c. Medici, so er seinen beyden Discipulis, Georgio Rittero Medico Badensi und Philippo à Sayer explicirt. Darinnen und damit auch etlicher fürnemmer innerlicher und eusserlicher Kranckheiten und Schäden Cura, so beydes inn- und ausserhalb der Pest den Menschen begegnen mögen; Auß Rechtem Grund und gewisser Experientz Theophrastischer und anderer Medicinalischer Kunste beschrieben, zufinden ist.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 123, [1] pp., no ills.

Copies: BL 1167.f.18; BSB 4 M Med 54; UB Basle, PHM Fd 2

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated to Georg Eger, alderman and merchant of Frankfurt. Eger was a close friend of Johan Theodore's father-in-law Marsilius van der Heijden (Meinert 1981, 371).

Lit: —

137. Franz Kessler, *Eygentlicher Bericht Vom Nutzen und Gebrauch deß Proportional Instruments Francisci Keßlers von Wetzler. Durch welche man erstlich in unglaublicher Geschwindigkeit und schneller Eyl, nach allem Astronomischen Sciöteterischen oder Sonnuhrischen, auch Geometrischen erfordern, alle grosse oder kleine ungetheilte Quadrantriß in ihre begerte Grad und Minuten Wie dann auch zum andern alle grosse oder kleine Sonnen- oder Stunden Zirkelrisse in ihre begehrte Stunden und Minuten theilen, oder aber welches Grades- Stund- oder Minutens Pünctlein man begirig auff das allerperfectist erfinden kan. Item, Wie auch in gleicher Geschwindigkeit alle schnurstracke oder gerade Linien, in so viel gerade oder ungerade Theil, so viel deren Theil einem nur belieben, außgetheilet, oder aber ein jegliche wahre groß solcher Theilung auff ungetheilte Linie, auff das allerperfectist erforschet werden mögen. Und wie endtlich auch durch solches Instruments alle gemahlte Historien, einzelne Bilder oder Figuren, oder aber andere dergleichen Dinge manchem Mahler oder Bildhawer oder andern künstlichen Arbeitern zu grossem Vortheil, nach eines jeden Gefallen vergrössert oder verkleinert werden mögen, etc.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 8 pp., no ills.

Copies: HAB A 243.22.1 Quod. (2)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler.

Lit: —

*138. Girolamo Benzoni, *Das vierdte Buch Von der neuwen Welt. oder Neuwe und gründtliche Historien, von dem Nidergängischen Indien, so von Christophoro Columbo im Jar 1492. erstlich erfunden. Durch Hieronymum Bentzo von Meyland, welcher 14. Jar dasselbig Land durchwandert, auff's fleissigst beschrieben und an Tag geben. Mit nützlichen Scholien und Außlegungen fast auff jede Capitel, von deren Völkern Sitten, Gebräuch und Gottesdienst.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [20], 141, [53] pp., 24 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6625 (4/5) with a Latin title-page; HAB T 1207.2° Helmst. (4); BNF 30171591

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Occ.* IV, printed by the widow of Matthias Becker. The title-page is identical to that of the first edition, yet the date of 1613 is confirmed on the last page of the translated account.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976)

*139. Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae Das fünffte Buch, Vol schöner unerhörter Historien, auß dem andern Theil Ioannis Benzonis von Meylandt gezogen: Von der Spanier Wüten, beyd wider ihre Knecht die Nigriten, unnd auch die arme Indianer: wie die Spanier von den Frantzösischen MeerRäubern zum offtermal angriffen und geplündert worden, den[n] auch wie sie erstlich das neuwe Spanien erfunden haben, und gantz erbärmlich mit dem armen Landvölcklein daselbst umbgangen sind.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 115, [49] pp., 22 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6625 (6) with a Latin title-page; HAB T 1207.2° Helmst. (5); BNF 30171592

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Occ.* V, printed by Erasmus Kempffer. The title-page, the account, and the illustrations are identical to the first edition of 1595, the year 1613 is mentioned on the page between the text and the illustrations.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976)

*140. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Ander Theil der Orientalischen Indien, von allen Völkern, Insulen, Meerporten, fliessenden Wassern und anderen Orten, so von Portugal auß, lengst dem Gestaden Aphrica, biß in Ost Indien und zu dem Landt China, sampt andern Insulen zu sehen seynd. Beneben derenselben Aberglauben, Götzendienst, und Tempeln, Item von jhren Sitten, Trachten, Kleidungen, Policeyordnung, und wie sie haußhalten, beid so viel die Portugesen, welche da im Lande wohnen, und auch das inheimische Landvölcklein anlangt. Deßgleichen*

von der Residentz deß Spanischen Viceroy's und anderer Spanier in Goa, Item von allen Orientalischen, Indianischen Waaren und Kummerschafften: sampt deren Gewichten, Masen, Munzen und ihrem Valor oder Werdigung Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [14], 134, [84] pp., 38 ills.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (2); HAB M Cd 4° 29 (2); NSA A IV-1 4b1

Add.: Second edition of *Ind.Or.* II in German, printed by Erasmus Kempffer. The title-page, translation, and plates are identical to those of the first edition of 1598.

Lit: —

*141. Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente, *Tractatus Anatomicus triplex quorum primus De Oculo, Visus Organo Secundus De Aure, Auditus Organo Tertius De Laringe, Vocis Organo admirandam tradit Historiam, Actiones, Utilitates*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 163, [11] pp., 11 ills. (and numerous woodcuts)

Copies: Oxford Trin.Coll., O9.19 (2); HAB M Mb 4° 108; UBA 594 B 34

Add.: Second edition of nr. 85, with a slightly different title. The name of the printer is unknown, probably the widow of Matthias Becker, although the imprint reads Oppenheim. The imprint can easily be misread as 1614. New edition of the original *De visione, voce, auditu* (Venice 1600).

Lit: Scharpf-Paravicini (1991); Huizink (1984); Birchler (1979)

*142. Jacques Perret, *Architectura et perspectiva. Etlicher Festungen, Stätt, Kirchen, Schlösser und Häuser, wie die auff's stärkeste, zierlichste und bequemste können gebawet oder auffgerichtet werden*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [134] pp., 28 ills.

Copies: BL 534.m.11 (2); HAB A 19.3 Bell. 2° (1); ÖNB 72.Q.42

Add.: Second edition of nr. 74, printed by Hieronymus Galler. The original dedication, to Ernst Frederick of Baden and Hochberg, was repeated.

Lit: —

*143. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Parnassus cum imaginibus Musarum Deorumq[ue] praesidium Hippocrenes*. [Oppenheim?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [20], 50 (fol. 1–25) pp., 26 ills.

Copies: Wellcome Libr., D 944 (preliminaries only); HAB A 26.5 Geom 2°; UB Basle, BF I 2:2

Add.: Second edition of nr. 68, presumably printed by Hieronymus Galler. The same dedication as in the first edition was included. The same plates were used as for the first edition.

Lit: —

*144. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Warhafftiger und gründlicher Bericht Der Hispanier gewlich: und abscheulichen Tyranny von ihnen in den West Indien, die newe Welt genant, begangen*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 178, [2] pp., 17 ills.

Copies: HAB Xb 3583; ÖNB 393341–B.Kar

Add.: Second edition of nr. 54, probably printed by Hieronymus Galler. The author's dedication, to Prince Phillip (later Phillip II) of Spain, was again included.

Lit: —

1614

145. Giorgio Basta, *Le gouvernement de la cavallerie legiere Traicté, Qui comprend mesme ce qui concerne la grave, pour l'intelligence des Capitaines. Matiere par ci-devant iamais traictée, reduite en art avec ses preceptes*. Hanau, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [12], 76, [8] pp., 12 ills.

Copies: BL 441.f.12; HAB Xb 4° 419; UB Zürich, M 7317

Add.: The single publication of the De Bry firm certainly published in Hanau. Originally published in Italian by Giorgio Basta and Girolamo Sirtori (probably the Venetian edition *Il governo della cavalleria leggiera* of 1612). Translated into French by an unknown translator for the De Bry firm. The name of the printer is also unknown. The original dedication to the archbishop of Cologne was copied by De Bry.

Lit: —

146. Diego Ufano, *Artillerie. C'est a dire, vraye instruction de l'artillerie et de toutes ses appartenances. avec une declaration de tout ce qui est de l'office d'un General d'icelle, tant en un siege qu'en un lieu aßege. Item des batteries, contrebatteries, ponts, mines & galleries, & de toutes sortes des machines requises au train. avec un enseignement de preparer toutes sortes des feux artificiels, tant pour resiouyr les amis, que pour molester & endommager, & par eau & par terre les ennemis*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 164, [4] pp., 27 ills.
 Copies: BL c.47.i.12 (1); StBibl. Trier, E 41 4'; BNF 30171538
 Add.: Printed by Egenolf Emmel. Taken from the original Spanish edition (*Tratado dela artilleria*, Brussels 1612), by an unknown translator. Dedicated to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel (HStAM, 4a 39, 130).

Lit: —

147. Diego Ufano, *Archeley, Das ist: Gründlicher und Eygentlicher Bericht von Geschütz und aller zugehör, beneben außführlicher Erklärung was einem Generali oder Obersten uber das Geschütz beydes in einem Läger, und in einem belägerten ort oblige und befohlen. Item wie Batterien und Contrabatterien, Brücken, Steg, Minen und verborgene Gäng, beneben allerhandt zum Krieg gehörige und der Archeley anhangige Maschinen, auch mancherley Feuerwerck, den Feind zu Wasser und zu Land damit zubeschädigen wol an zu ordnen*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [12], 179, [83] pp., 27 ills.
 Copies: BL 1602/123; HAB A 21 Bell. 2° (2); ÖNB 72.R.19
 Add.: Printed by Egenolf Emmel. German version of nr. 146. Dedicated to Frederick V, Elector Palatine.

Lit: —

148. *Augmentatio uberior Florilegij antehac coepti jam iterum locupletati, floribus nonnullis exoticis, visu jucundis. Fernere Vermehrung des Blumbuchs, so vor disem angefangen, und ietz wiederum verbessert mit zusatz etlicher fremden, lieblichen blumen*. [Oppenheim?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [20] pp., 10 ills.
 Copies: BL 442.g.11 (3); HAB A 28.2 Geom 2° (4)
 Add.: Second addition to nr. 117. No separate title-page was printed, instead a brief statement was printed on the top of the page containing the first illustration. Since the work did not include any printed texts, there was no need to hire a printer. De Bry almost certainly printed the plates himself.

Lit: Warner (1955)

149. Giorgio Basta, *Gouverno della Cavalleria, Das ist, Bericht Von Anführung der leichten Pferde: dabey auch was die schweren belanget, so viel den Capitänen zuwissen vonnöhten, begriffen*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [12], 83, [9] pp., 12 ills.
 Copies: HAB A 21 Bell. 2° (1); UBU D Qu 4; ÖNB 80.Bb.10
 Add.: Printed by the widow of Matthias Becker. Who translated it into German is not known. Edited (and published?) by

Girolamo Sirtori, whose dedication to Ferdinand, Archbishop of Cologne was included by De Bry.

Lit: —

150. Johannes Creccelius, *Collectanea Ex Historijs, De Origine et Fundatione Omnium ferè Monasticorum Ordinum in specie: Simulq[ue] de Fundatione et Donatione Cathedralium ac Collegiatarum Ecclesiarum cum suis Canoniciatibus: vero usu et abusu talium bonorum, tam apud quosdam reformatae quàm Papisticae Religionis Canonicos et Vicarios*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [12], 203, [23] pp., 11 ill.

Copies: Durham Univ. Libr., Routh 29.C.9; HAB A 438 Theol. (7); UB Basle, Frey D V 45:1

Add.: The name of the printer is unknown. Dedicated by the author to the magistrates of Lübeck.

Lit: —

151. Jakob de Zetter, *Kosmographia Iconica Moralis sive Centuria elegantissimarum Inventionum, ab ingeniosissimis moderni Seculi Artificibus, ad exprimendos et corrigendos Hominum mores, excogitatarum ac delineatarum: in unum nunc faciculum collectarum nec non uniformiter distichis Latinis, rhythmis Germanicis versibusq[ue] Gallicis explicitarum. Pourtraict de la cosmographie Morale C'est à dire Une Centurie de tres belles inventions controuuees et gravees par les plus ingenieux Maistres de ce siecle, pour représenter et corriger les moeurs des hommes recueillies maintenant ensemble et exposees par vers Latins, Allemands et Francois. New Kunstliche Weltbeschreibung das ist Hundert auserlesener kunststuck, so von den Kunstreichsten Maistern dieser Zeit erfunden und gerisen worden, gegenwertigen Weltlauf und Sitten vor zu mahlen und uff besserung zu bringen: Nun mehr ins kupffer zu samen getragen: mit kurtzen Lateinischen versen, auch Deütschen und Frantzösischen Rejmen artig erklaret*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o obl.: [12], [196] pp., 96 ill.

Copies: HAB A 39.7 Geom (2)

Add.: Probably published in co-operation with the Amsterdam publisher Hendrick Laurensz, according to the Q14 Frankfurt fair catalogue. The Frankfurt imprint is also confirmed in the same catalogue. Dedicated by the author to Antonio Mauclerc, a Frankfurt citizen.

Lit: Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999–2002) F631

152. Kaspar Bauhin, *De hermaphroditorum monstrosorumq[ue] partuum natura ex Theologorum, Jureconsultorum, Medicorum, Philosophorum, & Rabbiorum sentantia Libri Duo hactenus non editi: planè Philologici, infinitis exemplis illustrati:*

omnium facultatum Studiosis, lectu ut jucundissimi, sic & utilissimi. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 36, 572, [4], 22 (573–94), [2] pp., 7 ills.

Copies: BL 1172.b.2; HAB A 86.1 Phys. (1); UBL 626 G 18 (1)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Georg Rudolf, Duke of Liegnitz and Brieg. The title-page, which also carries the names of Johan Israel de Bry and Matthias Becker, and the year 1600, was re-used, after having initially been made for nr. 59. The fourth illustration is a copy of the seventeenth illustration of *Ind.Occ.* II.

Lit: —

153. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *De vulnere quodam gravissimo & periculoso, ictu sclopeti inflicto. observatio et curatio singularis: In qua multa, variaque lectione digna, & cheirurgiae studiosis utilissima, recensentur, & instrumenta, ab authore inventa, adumbrantur.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 77, [3] pp., 10 ills. (all woodcuts)

Copies: BL 783.c.7; UB Göttingen, 8 MED CHIR III, 122/a; UBU N Oct 25 (4)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author (Oct. 1613) to the magistrates of the Swiss canton Solothurn.

Lit: —

154. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *Observationum & Curationum Cheirurgicarum centuria tertia. Epistolis nonnullis virorum doctissimorum, nec non instrumentis Cheirurgicis, ab authore inventis illustrata.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 557, [3] pp., 21 ills. (incl. 18 woodcuts)

Copies: BL 1169.e.5; Staatsbibl. Berlin, Jg 7372; UBU N Oct 25 (3)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author (Dec. 1613) to Frederick V, Elector Palatine.

Lit: —

*155. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Narratio regionum indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 138, [2] pp., 17 ills.

Copies: Manchester Univ. Libr., 10545; HAB 150.5 Hist. (2); BNF 30745281

Add.: Second edition of nr. 45, printed by Hieronymus Galler. The same dedication as in the first edition, to Frederick IV, Elector Palatine, was included.

Lit: —

1615

156. Johan Jacob Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß, Darinnen gelehret und gewiesen werden: I. Die Handgrieff der Mußquet und deß Spiesses, jedes insonderheit. II. Das Exercitium, oder wie man es nennet, das Trillen, mit einem Fähnlein gantz perfect, nach der gewöhnlichen Praxi deß Durchleuchtigen, Fürtrefflichsten Kriegshelden Mauritii Printzen von Oranien, Graffen von Nassau, etc. angewiesen, gemehret und gebessert. III. Schöne neue Batailie, oder Schlachtordnungen mit einem Fähnlein, wie auch einem gantzen Regiment Knecht. Neue Invention besonderer Art Flügel an ein Fähnlein und gantzes Regiment, darneben die Quartierung im Feldzug und Läger mit guten leichten Vorthail alles zu verrichten, und was bey einem Regiment weiters zu wissen nöthig. IV. Der Ungerischen bißhero geführten Regimenten Kriegs-Disciplin zu Fuß, nach behörlicher Art der rechten edlen Kriegskunst, gebessert und in ein richtigere und nützlichere Ordnung gebracht. Alles mit schönen Kupferstücken angewiesen. Zu hochnöthigstem Nutzen und Besten nicht allein allen ankommenden Soldaten, sondern auch in Abrichtung eines gemeinen Landvolcks und Außschuß in Fürstenthummen und Stätten insonderheit und in gemein. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.*

Coll.: 2^o: [16], 154, [2] pp., 35 ills.

Copies: BL ML p.12; HAB A 17 Bell. 2^o (1); ÖNB 72.R.69

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel, and the magistrates of Danzig, Lübeck, Hamburg, and Frankfurt.

Lit: —

157. Johan Jacob Wallhausen, *L'art militaire pour l'Infanterie. Au quel est montré: I. Le maniement du Mousquet & de la Pique, un chacun en particulier. II. L'Exercice d'une compagnie d'Infanterie toute parfaite, selon la pratique du Tresillustre & Tresexcellent Chef de guerre Maurice Prince d'Oreng, Comte de Nassau, &c. déclaré augmenté et corrigé. III. Belles & nouvelles Ordonnances de batailles d'une compagnie, & d'un Regimen tout entier d'Infanterie. Nouvelle invention d'une singuliere sorte d'ailes pour une compagnie & entier regimen: comme aussi comment il faut repartir les quartiers pour un camp, le tout avec bon & aisé avantage, & ce qu'on doit en outre cognoistre en un Regimen. IV. La discipline militaire de l'Infanterie, qui jusqu'à present a esté usitée es Regimens Ongrois, corrigée & mise en meilleur ordre, selon la nature de la vraye science militaire. Le tout représenté par belles figures gravées en cuivre. Pour le bien & profit non seulement de tous nouveaux soldats, mais aussi pour l'instruction du commun peuple & des soldats d'eslite tant és Duchez, comme aussi és villes, en general & en particulier. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.*

Coll.: 2^o: [16], 160, [30] pp., 33 ills.

Copies: BL 534.m.14; HAB Xb 4^o 405

Add.: A six-year Imperial privilege was mentioned on the title-page of this work, which was printed by Hieronymus Galler. Translated from the French by an unknown translator. Dedicated to Maurice of Nassau.

Lit: —

158. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Tractatus posthumus Jani Jacobi Boissardi Vesuntini De divinatione & magicis praestigiis, Quarum Veritas ac Vanitas solidè exponitur per Descriptionem deorum fatidicorum qui olim Responsa dederunt; eorundemque Prophetarum, Sacerdotum, Phoebadum, Sibyllarum et Divinorum, qui priscis Temporibus celebres Oraculis exstiterunt: Adjunctis simul omnium Effigiebus, ab ipso Autore è Gemmis, Marmoribus, Tabulisq[ue] antiquis ad vivum delineatis.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [28], 358, [12] pp., 53 ill.

Copies: BL 719.k.5; HAB A 96 Quod. 2° (1); UBL Thysia 1573

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler, dedicated to the princes of Zweibrücken, by both Boissard and Johan Theodore. There is no year of publication on the title-page, yet Johan Theodore's self-portrait, made when he was 52 years old, indicates that it cannot have been published before 1615. It was announced in the Q15 Frankfurt fair catalogus, and first sold to the Moretus brothers at the same fair (Arch. MPM 1019, f36r), making 1615 the only year in which the book can have appeared for the first time.

Lit: —

159. '3. *Appendix florilegij/3. Erweiterung des Blumbuchs*'. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [48] pp., 24 ill.

Copies: BL 442.g.11 (4); HAB A 28.2 Geom 2° (3)

Add.: Third and final addition to nr. 117. No separate title-page was printed, and unlike in the other two additions (nrs. 133, 148), no statement appeared on the first page either. Since the work did not include any printed texts, there was no need to hire a printer. De Bry almost certainly printed the plates himself. Several bibliographies as well as Werner's article, however, confirm the appearance of this fourth and final part of *Florilegium novum*. In the BL-copy, a previous owner mentioned—in contemporary handwriting—the '3° appendix florilegij de Bry, A° 1616', but the last addition almost certainly appeared in 1615, as Moretus bought four copies of

‘Continuatio florilegij in fol.’ at S15 (Arch. MPM 1018, f35r), a typical purchase of a recently published work. At S16, he bought ‘3 florilegium de Bry sine appendix fo’ (Arch. MPM 1020, f9r). The final part of the flower book was announced in the Q15 Frankfurt fair catalogue.

Lit: Warner (1955)

160. Johan Jacob Wallhausen, *Alphabetum pro tyrone pedestri, Oder: Der Soldaten zu Fueß ihr A. B. C. Welches seyn die Handgriff und erste Elementa, so ein jeder anfangender Soldat zu Fuß, Musquetierer und Piquenierer so hochnöthig zu wissen, als ein Schuler in den Schulen das A. B. C. hat, und ohne diese Wissenschaft kein Musquetierer oder Piquenierer den Namen, als der KriegsDisciplin Liebhaber, mit recht führen mag. Zu Nutz und Wolgefallen, Allen ankommenden Tyronibus oder anfangenden Soldaten, so wol im Kriegswesen als in Außschussen, in Herrschaften und Städten.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 24 pp., 4 ill.

Copies: BL 1609/1172; HAB A 25 Bell. (4); Kungl. Bibl. Stockholm, 133 A Br.

Add.: Printed by Erasmus Kempffer. Dedicated by the author to Johan Speiman, a Danzig burgomaster.

Lit: —

161. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *De Monstro Lausannae equestrium exciso, anno domini MDCXIV quinta Augusti, stylo veteri, Narratio historica, & anatomica.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 16 pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL 976.h.3 (4); UB Kiel, 5 An Kd 709; UB Basle, Lf X 4:5

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Kaspar Bauhin.

Lit: —

162. Franz Kessler, *Unterschiedliche bißhero mehrern Theils Secreta oder verborgene geheime Künste; Deren die Erste genant, Ortforschung, dadurch einer dem andern durch die freye Lufft hindurch uber Wasser und Land, von sichtbarn zu sichtlichen Orten, alle Heimlichkeiten offenbahren, und in kurtzer Zeit zuerkennen geben mag Die Ander, Wasserharnisch, dadurch jemand etliche Stunden, ohne Schaden Leibes und Lebens unter Wasser seyn kan, nach belieben sein Vorhaben zuverrichten. Die Dritte, Luffthosen, mit welchen man wunderbarlich uber See und Wasser, nach Wolgefallen gantz künstlichen gehen kan. Sampt beygefügetem wolerdachten Schwim[m]gürtel, welchen jederman, so wol bey jetztbenenten Wasserkünsten, als sonst andern Wasserraisen, zur Noht zugebrauchen hätte. Alles ohne Zauberey und*

Schwartzkunst, den Recht-göttlich-natürlichen Geheimnüssen Liebhabern zugefallen beschrieben. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 79, [1] pp., 3 ill.

Copies: HAB A 515 Quod. (5)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated to Wolfgang Kämmerer of Worms, a local Oppenheim magistrate.

Lit: —

1616

163. Giorgio Basta, *Il Governo della cavalleria leggiera: trattato che concerne anche quanto basta alla Grave per intelligenza de Capitani.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 8, 73, [11] pp., 13 ill.

Copies: HAB A 17 Bell. 2° (3)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. First published in Italian by Basta and Girolamo Sirtori in 1612. The dedication by Girolamo Sirtori, the Italian editor, to Don Baltasar Marradas, general in the service of Rudolf II, was copied.

Lit: —

164. Johan Jacob Wallhausen, *Art militaire à Cheval. Instruction des principes et fondements de la Cavallerie & de ses quatre especes, Ascavoir Lances, Corraßes, Arquebus & drageons, avec tout ce qui est de leur charge & exercice. Avec quelques nouvelles inventions de Batailles ordonnees de Cavallerie, Et demonstrations de la necessite, utilite et excellence de l'art militaire, sur toutes aultres arts & sciences.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 135, [1] pp., 43 ill.

Copies: BL 534.l.10; HAA Weimar, Bh 1228; St.Bibl. Maastricht, SB 48 A 12

Add.: Printed by Paul Jacobi, dedicated to Frederick V of the Palatinate. De Bry obtained a privilege from the King of France for six years.

Lit: —

165. Johan Jacob Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Pferdt. Darinnen gelehret werden, die initia und fundamenta der Cavallery, aller vier Theilen: Als Lantzierers, Kührissierers, Carbiners und Dragoens, was von einem jeden Theil erfordert wirdt, was sie praestiren können, sampt deren exercitien. Newe, schöne Inventionen etlicher Batailien mit der Cavallerey ins Werck zustellen. Mit dargestellten Beweistumben,*

was an den edelen Kriegskünsten gelegen: Und deren Fürtrefflichkeiten, uber alle Kunst und Wissenschaften. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 141, [3] pp., 43 ill.

Copies: BL ML 2b 23; HAB A 17 Bell. 2° (2); UBL 1372 E 11 (2)

Add.: Printed by Paul Jacobi. De Bry obtained an Imperial privilege for this work (*Jahrbuch* XX (1899), nr. 17346). Wallhausen dedicated the book to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel.

Lit: —

166. Bonaiuto Lorini, *Das sechste Buch, Von der Fortification, Bonajuti Lorini Florentinischen Edelmanns, In welchem Von Defension der Vestungen, Gebrauch deß Geschützes, sampt der Practic und Erfahrung, welche die Canonirer haben sollen, gehandelt wirt. Deßgleichen Wie man Grundriß machen, und Distantzen messen soll, beneben andern nohtwendigen Sachen mehr, durch welche gemeldte Defension recht zuwegen zubringen.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 82, [2] pp., 9 ill.

Copies: HAB N 181.2° Helmst. (2); UB Zürich M 6269: 2; Krigsarkivet Stockholm, Saca 4

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated to Joachim Ernst, Marcgrave of Brandenburg, to whom the first five books (nr. 96) had also been dedicated. Translated from the Italian original by an unknown translator. The sixth book was originally added to the first five in 1609 in Venice (*Le fortificationi... con l'aggiunta del sesto libro*).

Lit: —

167. Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Les Dieux predisans les destinées. Et leurs Prophetes, Pretres, Phoebades, Sibylles & Devins. Avec leurs effigies, & un traicté premis de la divination & enchantemens magiques.* [Hanau?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 305, [7] pp., 60 ill.

Copies: H.F. Dupont Winterthur Museum, BF 1750 B68

Add.: Referred to on both the poster catalogue of the De Bry firm, and in the Q16 Frankfurt fair catalogue, this is the German translation of nr. 158. Although the title is in French—written in manuscript on a preliminary blank leaf—the text is in German. The original title-page is missing from the only copy I found, so it is impossible to establish the work's official title.

Lit: —

168. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *De dysenteria Liber unus: In quo hujus morbi causae, signa, prognostica, & praeservatio continentur: Item, quomodo symptomata, quae huic morbo supervenire solent, sint removenda*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [6], 157, [11] pp., 3 ill. (all woodcuts)

Copies: BL 1190.f.1 (3); HAB A 75.3 Med. (2)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to a number of his friends. A second edition probably appeared in the same year (nr. *173).

Lit: —

169. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *Geistliche Lieder und Gesäng in vielen Anligen, Nöhten, Verfolgungen, Creutz und auss göttlicher Schrifft zusammen gelesen: auff die Melody der Psalmen gericht*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 111, [1] pp., no ill.

Copies: UB Basle FP V2 8:1

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Anna Kemmerin of Worms.

Lit: —

170. Kaspar Bauhin, *Institutiones anatomicae Hippoc. Aristot. Galeni auctorita. illustratae*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [16], 260, [44] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL 548.e.16; HAB A 82.3 Phys.; UBL Thysia 460

Add.: Printed by Paul Jacobi. This was the fifth edition of Bauhin's *Institutiones anatomicae*, of which the first edition had appeared in Basle in 1604. Dedicated by the author to Zbygneus Martianus and Johannes de Goray.

Lit: —

*171. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Willem Lodewijcksz, and Gerrit de Veer, *Dritter Theil Indiae Orientalis Darinnen erstlich das ander Theil der Schifffahrten Joann Huygens von Lintschotten auß Holland, so er in Orient gethan, begriffen, und fürnemlich alle Gelegenheit derselbigen Landen, Insulen, Meerpforten, &c. so unterwegen auffstossen, und dann in India fürkommen, Wie auch alles, was der Author allda im Land, und nachmals auff seiner Widerreyse nach Holland gesehen und erfahren, eygendlich beschrieben wirt. II. Der Holländer Schiffahrt in die Orientliche Insulen, Javan und Sumatra, sampt Sitten, Leben und Superstition, &c. der Völcker. III. Drey Schifffahrten der Holländer nach obermelten Indien, durch das Mitternächte oder EyßMeer, darinnen viel unerhörte Abentheuer*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 219, [125] pp., 58 ills., 3 maps.
 Copies: BL 568.i.1 (3); HAB M Cd 4° 29 (3–4); NSA A IV–1 4b2
 Add.: Second edition of *Ind.Or.* III in German, printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated to Phillip Christoph of Franckenstain, an Oppenheim magistrate.

Lit: —

*172. Franz Kessler, *Unterschiedliche bißhero mehrern Theils Secreta Oder Verborgene geheime Künste. Deren die Erste genant, Ortforschung, dadurch einer dem andern durch die freye Lufft hindurch über Wasser und Land, von sichtbaren zu sichtlichen Orten, alle Heimlichkeiten offenbahren, und in kurtzer Zeit zuerkennen geben mag. Die Ander, Wasserharnisch, dadurch jemandt etliche Stunden, ohne Schaden Leibes und Lebens unter Wasser seyn kan, nach belieben sein Vorhaben zuverrichten. Die Dritte, Luffthosen, mit welchen man wunderbarlich über See und Wasser, nach Wolgefallen gantz künstlichen gehen kan. Sampt beygefügtten woller-dachten Schwimgürtel, welchen jederman, so wol bey jetzbenenten Wasserkünsten, als sonst andern Wasserraisen, zur noth zugebrauchen hette. Alles ohne Zauberey und Schwartzkunst, den Recht-Göttlich-natürlichen Geheimniüssen Liebhabern zugefallen beschrieben.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 80 pp., 1 ill.

Copies: HAB A 102.3 Rhet (2)

Add.: Second edition of nr. 162, printed by Hieronymus Galler. The same dedication to Wolfgang Kämmerer of Worms, a local Oppenheim magistrate, was included, but with a different date (1 Sept. 1616 instead of 1 Sept. 1615).

Lit: —

*173. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *De dysenteria, hoc est, cruento alui fluore; Liber unus: In quo hujus morbi causae, signa, prognostica, curatio, praeservatio continentur, & instrumenta ab authore inventa, adumbrantur: Item, quomodo symptomata, quae huic morbo supervenire solent, sint removenda, traditur.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 22, [2], 157, [11] pp., 4 ills. (incl. 3 woodcuts)

Copies: BL 1190.f.1 (2); UBU N Oct 25 (2)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Marginally extended title-copy of nr. 168. The same dedication as in the first edition was included.

Lit: —

1617

174. Phillip Zigler and Nicolaus Herborn, *America, Das ist, Erfindung und Offenbahrung der Newen Welt, deroselbigen Völcker Gestalt, Sitten, Gebräuch, Policy und Gottesdienst, in dreyßig vornemste Schifffahrten kürztlich unnd ordentlich zusammengefasst, und mit feinen Marginalien unnd Register erkläret*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [16], 433, [9] pp., 134 ills., 4 maps.

Copies: BL G6831; HAB A 44 Hist. 2° (3); UBA 1804 B 11, without the dedication.

Add.: First abridgement of the *America*-series, printed by Nicolaus Hoffmann. Dedicated to Maximilian, Archduke of Tirol. De Bry obtained an Imperial privilege for this work. In the request he emphasised the Catholic background of the compiler (*Jahrbuch* XX (1899), nr. 17363).

Lit: —

175. Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris scilicet et minoris metaphysica, physica atque technica historia in duo Volumina secundum cosmi differentiam divisa. Authore Roberto Flud aliàs de Fluctibus, Armigero & in Medicina Doctore Oxoniensi Tomus Primus De Macrocosmi Historia in duos tractatus divisa. Quorum Primus de Metaphysico Macrocosmi et Creaturaru[m] illius ortu. Phÿsico Macrocosmi in generatione & corruptione progressu. Secundus de Arte Naturae simia in Macrocosmo producta & in eo nutrita & multiplicata, cujus filias praecipuas hic anatomia viva recensuimus nempe Arithmeticam. Musicam Geometriam. Perspectivam. Artem pictoriam. Artem militarem. Motus. Temporus. Scientiam. Cosmographiam. Astrologiam. Geomantiam*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [2], 206, [6] pp., 62 ills.

Copies: BL 536.i.11; HAB Xb 4° 8 (1); UBL Thysia 2254

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. First part of Fludd's four-volume work on the macrocosm and microcosm (1617–21). Dedicated to King James I of England. De Bry twice tried to obtain an Imperial privilege for this work in 1618, but did not succeed (*Jahrbuch* XX (1899), nr. 17389).

Lit: Yates (2002); Putscher (1983); Godwin (1979)

176. Robert Fludd, *Tractatus Theologo-Philosophicus, In Libros tres distributus Quorum I. de vita. II. de morte. III. de resurrectione. Cui inseruntur nonnulla Sapientiae veteris, Adami infortunio superstitis, fragmenta: ex profundiori sacrarum Literarum sensu & lumine, atque ex limpidiori & liquidiori saniorum Philosophorum fonte hausta atque collecta*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 126 pp., no ills.
 Copies: BL 478.a.33; HAB A 231.11 Theol. (3); BNF 32113508
 Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Written by Fludd under the pseudonym of 'Rudolfo Otreb Britanno', and dedicated on the title-page to 'the Rosicrucian brothers'.
 Lit: Yates (2002)

177. Giorgio Basta, *Il Maestro di Campo Generale, Das ist, Außfürliche Anzeig, Bericht, und Erklärung, von dem Ampt eines General Feldt-Obersten, wie er nemlich tragenden hohen Ampts und Befehls halben, das Feldt bestellen, und sein Kriegsheer führen und regieren sol.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 90, [14] pp., 12 ills.
 Copies: HAB M Jb 4° (1); UBL 1372 E 11 (3); ÖNB 72.R.26
 Add.: Printed by Nicolaus Hoffmann. Translated from the original Italian edition (*Il maestro di campo generale*, Venice 1606) by an unnamed translator. Dedicated to Georg Frederick, Count of Hohenlohe. De Bry obtained an Imperial privilege for this work (*Jahrbuch* XX (1899), nr. 17363).

Lit: —

178. Giorgio Basta, *Le maistre du camp general, cest a dire. Description et instruction de la charge du maistre de camp, touchant la conduite & gouvernement d'une armée.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [4], 76, [6] pp., 12 ills.
 Copies: JCBL U101.B324
 Add.: French translation of nr. 177. Printed by Paul Jacobi. The suggestion is put forward on the title-page that Johan Theodore de Bry himself translated this work from either German or Italian into French, but this seems unlikely.

Lit: —

179. Michael Maier, *Jocus Severus, hoc est, tribunal aequum, quo noctua regina avium, phoenice arbitro post varias disceptationes et querelas Volucrum eam infestantium pronuntiatur, & ob sapientiam singularem, Palladi sacrata agnoscitur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 76 pp., no ills.
 Copies: BL 837.g.23 (1); HAB A 46 Med. (3); UBL 2011 E 33
 Add.: Printed by Nicolaus Hoffmann. De Bry is mentioned on the title-page as 'Theodor de Brij'. Dedicated by the author to the 'chymiae amantibus'.
 Lit: Klossowski de Rola (1988)

180. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *De gangraena et sphacelo, Tractatus Methodicus; In quo Horum morborum Differentiae, Causae, Signa, Prognostica, ac denique Methodica curatio continentur. Editio decima & ultima, Omnium locupletissima; Observationibus etiam raris, nec non instrumentis necessariis ab Autore inventis, ita aucta; ut planè nova recenseri possit.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 241, [13] pp., 17 ill. (incl. 14 woodcuts)

Copies: BL 783.h.6; HAB A 34.3 Med. (2); UBL 523 D 14 (4)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Jakob Rembold and Hieronymus im Hoff, both from Augsburg. Supposedly the tenth edition of this work, the first to appear in the De Bry firm. First published in Cologne in 1593.

Lit: —

181. Michael Maier, *Examen fucorum pseudo-chymicorum detectorum et in gratiam veritatis amantium succincte refutatorum.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 47, [1] pp., no ill.

Copies: BL 1033.l.6 (2); HAB A 46 Med. (4); UBL 2011 E 32

Add.: Printed by Nicolaus Hoffmann. De Bry is mentioned on the title-page as ‘Theodor de Brij’. The year of printing erroneously reads M. CDXVII.

Lit: Klossowski de Rola (1988)

182. Phillip Weber, *Thermarum Wisbadensium descriptio. Complectens antiquitatem et utilitatem harum thermarum, victus commoditatem, regimen utentium, modum adhibendi cum et sine acidulis Langenschwalbacensibus, accidentia thermarum, eorundemque remedia, & tandem particularium morborum, qui per thermas has curantur enumerationem.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 8, 146 pp., no ill.

Copies: BL 1171.g.23 (6); Staatsbibl. Berlin, Js 11323; BNF 31628241

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Ludwig of Nassau, and to the population of Wiesbaden.

Lit: —

183. Franciscus Ravellin, *Ars memoriae: hactenus ab eius primo autore, huiusce Secundo quidem incognito, ita obscure studio tradita, ut legere nedum intelligere quis posset Iam Vero in gratiam et usum iuventutis explicata, exemplis aucta.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 107, [5] pp., 1 ill. (& 1 woodcut)

Copies: BL 8309.aa.18; HAB A 101 Rhet. (4); ÖNB 74.Y53 (3)

Add.: Printed by Nicolaus Hoffmann. Dedicated by the author to the professors of Heidelberg University.

Lit: —

184. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *Traité de la dysenterie, c'est à dire, du flux du ventre sanguinolent: contenant ses causes, signes, prognostique curation & preservation*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 15, [3], 102, [2] pp., 3 ill. (all woodcuts).

Copies: BNF 30414778; UB Lausanne, AA 7301

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. French version of nr. 168. The name of the translator is unknown.

Lit: —

*185. Girolamo Benzoni, *America pars quarta. Sive, Insignis & Admiranda Historia de reperta primùm Occidentali India à Christophoro Columbo Anno M. CCCCXCII Scripta ab Hieronymo Bezono Mediolanense, qui istic a[n]nis XIII. versatus, dilige[n]ter omnia observavit. Addita ad singula ferè capita, non contemnenda scholia, in quibus agitur de earum etiam gentium idololatria. Accessit praeterea illarum Regionum Tabula chorographica*. [Frankfurt?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 145, [53] pp., 24 ill. 1 map.

Copies: BL G6633 (4); UBA 1802 B 8 (4)

Add.: Second edition of Volume IV of the *America*-series. The name of the printer is unknown.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keazor (1998); Caraci (1991); Keen (1976)

*186. Girolamo Benzoni, *Americae pars quinta. Nobilis & admiratione plena Hieronymi Bezoni Mediolanensis, secundae sectionis Hia: Hispanorum, tum in Nigritas servos suos; tum in Indos crudelitatem, Gallorumq[ue] pirataru[m] de Hispanis toties reportata spolia; Adventu[m] item Hispanoru[m] in Novam Indiae continentis Hispaniam, eorumq[ue] contra incolae eius regionis saevitiam explicans. Addita ad singula fere Capita scholia, in quibus res Indiae luculenter exponuntur*. Frankfurt, Th. de Bry

Coll.: 2°: [2], 72, [50] pp., 22 ill., 3 maps.

Copies: BL 215.c.15 (1); UBA 1802 B 8 (5)

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Occ.* V in Latin. The name of the printer is unknown.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976)

*187. Girolamo Benzoni and Nicolas le Challeux, *Americae pars sexta. Sive Historiae ab Hieronymo Be[n]zono Mediolane[n]se scriptae, sectio tertia, res no[n] minus nobiles & admiratione plenas continens, quàm praecedentes duae. In hac enim reperies, qua ratione Hispani opule[n]tissimas illas Peruani regni*

provincias occuparint, capto Rege Atabaliba: dei[n]de or inter ipsos Hispanos in eo regno civilia bella. Additus est brevis de Fortunatis insulis Com[m]entariolus in duo capita distinctus. Item additiones ad singula Capita Historiam illustrantes. [Oppenheim?], Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 78, [62] pp., 28 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL 215.c.15 (2); UBA 1802 B 9 (1)

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Occ.* VI in Latin. Probably printed by Hieronymus Galler.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976); Collon-Gevaert (1966b)

*188. Ulrich Schmidel, *Das VII. Theil America. Warhafftige und liebliche Beschreibung, etlicher fürnnehmen Indianischen Landschafften und Insulen, die vormals in keiner Chronicken gedacht.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [2], 51, [9] pp., 4 ills.

Copies: BL G6625 (8/8*); HAB Gx 2° 9 (7); ÖNB 253767–D.7 Fid

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Occ.* VII in German, printed by Hieronymus Galler. According to the information on the title-page, this was the third edition of this volume, and the work has a page with the date 1624 separating texts from illustrations. The corresponding illustrations are added to this edition.

Lit: —

*189. Jan Huygen van Linschoten and Willem Lodewijksz, *Vierdter Theil Der Orie[n]talischen Indien, in welchen erstlich gehandelt wirt, von allerley Thiern, Früchten, Obs und Bäumen, Item von allerhand Würtz, Specereyen und Materialien, Auch von Perlen und allerley Edelgesteinen, so in gemelten Indien gefunden, wo und wie sie wachsen, daselbst geschätzet, gekaufft und genant werden.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 121, [45] pp., 21 ills.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (4); UB Dresden, Geogr.B.21–1/5, misc.4; NSA A IV–1 4b2

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Or.* IV, printed by Hieronymus Galler. The same plates and translation were used as for the first edition of 1600, and the dedication to Frederick I of Württemberg was again included.

Lit: —

*190. Jean Errard, *La fortification reduicte en art et demonstree.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 98, [2] pp., 60 ills. (incl. 13 woodcuts).

Copies: HAB Xb 4° 305; UBL Thysia 1614

Add.: Second extended De Bry edition of 81, printed by Paul Jacobi. Different dedications—to the nobility and the King of France (UBL Thysia 1614), also printed in the first edition, and a new one to Wolfgang Ernst of Isenburg-Büdingen (HAB Xb 4^o 305)—were included.

Lit: —

*191. Franz Kessler, *Unterschiedliche bißhero mehrern Theils Secreta oder verborgene geheime Künste. Deren die erste genannt: Ortforchung, dardurch einer dem andern durch die freye Lufft hindurch über Wasser und Land, von sichtbarn zu sichtlichen Orten, alle Heimblichkeiten offenbaren, und in kurtzer zeit zu erkennen geben mag. Die Ander, Wasserharnisch, dardurch jemand etliche Stunden, ohne schaden Leibes und Lebens unter Wasser seyn kan, nach belieben sein Vorhaben zuverrichten. Die dritte, Luffthosen, mit welchem man wunderbarlich über See und Wasser, nach wolgefallen gantz künstlichen gehen kan. Sampt beygefügtem wolerdachten Schwimm[m]gürtel, welchen jederman, so wol bey jetztbenenten Wasserkünsten, als sonst andern Wasserreisen, zur Noht zugebrauchen hätte. Alles ohne Zauberey und Schwartzkunst, den recht-göttlich-natürlichen Geheimnussen Liebhabern zugefallen beschrieben.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8^o: 79, [1] pp., 3 ills.

Copies: HAB Xb 7458

Add.: Third edition of nr. 162, printed by Hieronymus Galler. The same dedication to Wolfgang Kämmerer of Worms as in the second edition was included.

Lit: —

1618

192. Amerigo Vespucci, Ralph Hamor, and John Smith, *Zehender Theil Americae Darinnen zubefinden: Erstlich, zwo Schiffarten Herrn Americi Vesputii unter König Ferdinando in Castilien vollbracht. Zum andern: Ein gründlicher Bericht von dem jetzigen Zustand der Landschafft Virginien, wie nemlich der Friede mit den Indianern, vollnzogen und von den Englischen zum Schutz deß Lands allda etliche Stätt und Vestung erbawet worden. Beneben einer Heyrath deß Königs Powhatans in Virginien Tochter, mit einem vornemmen Englischen [...] Zum dritten: Ein warhafftige Beschreibung deß newen Engellands, einer Landschafft in Nord-Indien, eines Theils in America [...] neben ein Discurs, wie er auff der andern Reyse von den Frantzosen gefangen, und widerumb Anno 1616. erlediget worden.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 73, [29] pp., 12 ill., 1 map.
 Copies: BL G6626 (3); HAB A 44 Hist. 2° (1); BNF 30171596
 Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler, and the first volume of the collection of voyages to be published in Oppenheim.

Lit: —

193. Amerigo Vespucci, Robert Coverte [and an anonymous Englishman], *Eilffter Theil Der Orientalischen Indien, Darinnen erstlich begriffen werden zwei Schiffahrten Herrn Americi Vesputii, welche er auß Befehl Königs Emanuelis von Portugall Anno 1501. in Ost Indien vorgenommen. Zum andern, ein warhafftiger und zuvor nie erhörter Bericht eines Englischen, welcher, nach dem er in einem Schiff, die Auffahrt genandt in Cambaja dem eussersten Theil Ost Indiens Schiffbruch gelidten, zu Land durch viele unbekandte Königreich und grosse Stätte gereiset, und was ihm überall begegnet und zuhänden gestossen. Zum dritten, ein historische Beschreibung von Erfindung und Beschaffenheit der Landschaft Spitzberg, &c. Item, ein kurtze Erzählung, was alle andere Fischer Anno 1613. von den Englischen erlidten, neben angehängter Protestation, wider der Engelländer angemäßen Erbgerechtigkeit, uber gedachte Landschaft Spitzberg, &c.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 8, 53, [27] pp., 10 ill.

Copies: BL G6608 (5); UB Göttingen, 4 ITIN I, 3844/a:11 RARA; NSA A IV-1 4b4

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler.

Lit: —

194. Robert Fludd, *Tractatus Secundus De naturae simia seu Technica macrocosmi historia in partes undecim divisa.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 784 (1–408, 413–788), [12] pp., 273 ill. (& many woodcuts)

Copies: BL 536.i.11; HAB Xb 4° 8 (2); UBL Thysia 2254

Add.: Second volume of Fludd's four-part work (1617–21). Printed by Hieronymus Galler.

Lit: Yates (2002); Putscher (1983); Godwin (1979).

195. Michael Maier, *Atalanta fugiens, hoc est, emblemata nova de secretis naturae chymica, Accommodata partim oculis & intellectui, figuris cupro incisis, adjectisque sententiis, Epigrammatis & notis, partim auribus & recreationi animi plus minus 50 Fugis Musicalibus trium Vocum, quarum duae ad unam simplicem melodiam distichis canendis peraptam, correspondeant, non absq[ue] singulari jucunditate videnda, legenda, meditanda, dijudicanda, canenda & audienda.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 211, [5] pp., 51 ill.

Copies: BL 1033.k.7 (1); HAB 196 Quod. (1); UBL 2318 H 28

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Christopher Reinart, magistrate of the town of Mühlhausen in Thüringen. An otherwise identical version also appeared with the imprint 1617.

Lit: De Jong (2002); Klossowski de Rola (1988)

196. Michael Maier, *Viatorium, hoc est, de montibus planetarum septem seu Metallorum; Tractatus tam utilis, quàm perspicuus, quo, ut Indice Mercuriali in triviis, vel Ariadnêo filo in Labyrintho, seu Cynosurâ in Oceano Chymicorum errorum immenso, quilibet rationalis, veritatis amans, ad illum, qui in montibus sese abdidit De Rubra-petra Alexicacum, omnibus Medicis desideratum, investigandum, uti poterit.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: 138, [2] pp., 7 ill.

Copies: BL 1034.h.20 (3); HAB A 218 Quod. (2); UBL Thysia 1302 (3)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Christian I of Anhalt-Bernburg.

Lit: Klossowski de Rola (1988)

197. Franz Kessler, *Holtzsparkunst, Das ist, Ein solche new, zu vorn niemahln gemein, noch am Tag gewesene invention etlicher unterschiedlichere Kunststößen, Vermittelst deren Gebrauch jedes Jahrs insonderheit, uber hundertmahl tausent Gulden, (doch unabbrüchlicher Notturfft,) können ersparet werden.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [8], 67, [9] pp., 5 ill.

Copies: BL 1509/2211; HAB A 218 Quod. (3); ÖNB 20.T.34

Add.: Printed by Anthoni Hummen. Dedicated by the author to local magistrates of numerous towns in the Holy Roman Empire.

Lit: —

198. Herman Lignaridus, *Obletamenta academica: exarata, eo fine, quo Juventus Academica, post studia graviora, animum honestè & utiliter reficiat. Seria seriò, Jucunda jocosè, Omnia moderatè.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 12^o: 387, [9] pp., 6 ill.

Copies: BL 12330.a.50; HAB 592 Quod. (1); BNF 30819000

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to the sons of Maurice of Hesse-Kassel.

Lit: —

*199. Michael Maier, *Atalanta fugiens, hoc est, emblemata nova de secretis naturae chymica, Accommodata partim oculis & intellectui, figuris cupro incisis, adjectisque sententiis, Epigrammatis & notis, partim auribus & recreationi animi*

plus minus 50 Fugis Musicalibus trium Vocum, quarum duae ad unam simplicem melodiam distichis canendis peraptam, correspondeant, non absq[ue] singulari jucunditate videnda, legenda, meditanda,, intelligenda, dijudicanda, canenda & audienda. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 211, [5] pp., 51 ill.

Copies: UB Halle, AB 155330

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to Christopher Reinart, magistrate of the town of Mühlhausen in Thüringen. According to the fingerprint-analysis, this is a different edition than nr. 195, although the title-pages are identical.

Lit: De Jong (2002); Klossowski de Rola (1988)

1619

200. Amerigo Vespucci, Ralph Hamor, and John Smith, *Americae pars decima: Qua continentur, I. Duae Navigationes Dn. Americi Vesputii, sub auspiciis Castellani Regis, Ferdinandi susceptae. II. Solida narratio de moderno provinciae Virginiae statu, qua ratione tandem pax cum Indianis coaluerit, ac castella aliquot ad regiones praesidium ab Anglis extracta fuerint: additâ historiâ lectu jucundissimâ, quomodo Pokahuntas, Regis Virginiae Powhatani filia, primori cuidam Anglo nupserit; Authore Raphe Hamor Virginiae Secretario. III. Vera descriptio Novae Angliae, quae Americae pars ad Septentrionalem Indiam spectat, à Capitaneo Johanne Schmidt, Equite atque Admirali delineata: cui accessit discursus, quomodo in secunda navigatione à Gallis captus, Anno 1616. demum liberatus fuerit.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 72, [28] pp., 12 ill., 1 map.

Copies: BL c.115.h.4 (2); HAB M Gx 2° 7; UBL Thysia 708 II

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Latin version of nr. 192. The identity of the translator is unknown.

Lit: —

201. Willem Schouten, *Historische Beschreibung, Der wunderbarlichen Reyse, welche von einem Holländer, Willhelm Schouten genandt, neulicher Zeit ist verrichtet worden: Darinnen angezeigt wird, Durch was Mittel und Weise, er gegen Mittag, der Magellanischen Strassen, einen neuen und bißhero unbekandten Weg in die Sud-See eröffnet habe: Auch Was für Lander, Insuln, Völcker, und wunderbarlicher Sachen, ihme in gemelter Sud-See auffgestossen seyen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 35, [21] pp., 9 ill., 3 maps.

Copies: BL G6626 (4); HAB A 44 Hist 2° (2); BNF 31329185

Add.: Eleventh part of the German *America*-series. Printed by Paul Jacobi.

Lit: Van Groesen (2006b)

202. Willem Schouten, *Americae pars undecima: Seu descriptio admirandi itineris a Guilielmo Schouten Hollando peracti: qua ratione in meridionali plaga freti Magellanici novum hactenusque incognitum in mare Australe transitum patefecerit: Quas item terras, insulas, gentes, resque mirabiles in dicto Australi Oceano obvias habuerit*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 49, [23] pp., 9 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL 215.h.16 (1); UBL Thysia 708 II

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Latin version of nr. 201. The name of the translator is unknown.

Lit: Van Groesen (2006b)

203. Amerigo Vespucci, Robert Coverte [and an anonymus Englishman], *Indiae Orientalis pars undecima, quâ continetur I. Duarum navigationum, quas jussu Emanuelis Portugalliae Regis in Indiam Orientalem Ann. 1501. Dn. Americus Vesputius instituit, historia. II. Vera atque hactenus inaudita Angli cujusdam relatio, qui nave quadam, cui Ascensionis nomen, in extremam Indiae Orientalis oram Cambajam vectus, ac naufragium ibidem passus, postea quàm plurimas nobis incognitas regiones, amplissimasque urbes peragravit, inque iis multa lectu audituque jucunda observavit. III. Descriptio regionis Spitzbergae: additâ simul relatione injuriarum, quas Ann. 1613. alii piscatores ab Anglis perpassi sunt: & protestatione contra Anglos, qui sibi solis omne jus in istam regionem vendicarunt*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 62, [4], [20], [2] pp., 10 ills.

Copies: BL 986.h.21 (1); HAB M Cd 4° 26 (2); UBA 1802 C 5 (6)

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Latin version of nr. 193.

Lit: —

204. [Jakob Spindler], *Kunstbüchlein Von Geschütz unnd Feuerwerck, auch von gründlicher Zubereitung allerley Gezeug, und rechtem Brauch der Feuerwerck, wie die im Schimpff und Ernst von der Handt, auß Bölern oder Feuerbüchsen, zu Lust und Schimpff, oder zum Ernst gegen den Feinden, sollen und können geworffen, geschossen, in Stürmen, in- unnd auß den Besatzungen gebraucht werden*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 36 pp., 2 ills.

Copies: BL 8715.k.4; HAB A 10.3a Bell. 2°; ÖNB 72.R.25

Add.: Printed by Paul Jacobi.

Lit: —

205. Robert Fludd, *Tomus secundus de supernaturali, naturali, praeternaturali et contranaturali Microcosmi historia, in Tractatus tres distributa*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 277, [3] pp., 22 ills. (& several woodcuts)

Copies: BL 536.i.11; HAB 111 Quod. 2° (1); UBL Thysia 2254

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. First part of the third volume of Fludd's four-volume series (1617–21).

Lit: Yates (2002); Putscher (1983); Godwin (1979)

206. Louise Bourgeois, *Ein gantz new, nützlich und nohtwendig Hebammen Buch, Darinn von der Fruchtbareit und Unfruchtbareit der Weiber, zeitigen und unzeitigen Geburt, Zustand der Frucht in und ausserhalb Mutterleib, zufälligen Kranckheiten so wol der Kindbetterin als deß Kindes, wie auch dero Cur und Mitteln, zusampt dem Ampt einer ehrlichen Wehemutter oder Hebammen weitläuffig gehandelt wirt*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 186 (1–177, 168–75, 175), [10] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: HAB A 38.1 Med. (1)

Add.: First part of Bourgeois' *Hebammen Buch*, printed by Hieronymus Galler. Translated from the French original (*Observations diverses...*, Paris 1617). Bourgeois had been midwife to Maria de' Medici, Queen of France.

Lit: —

207. Louise Bourgeois, *Hebammen Buchs ander Theil, Darinn von Fruchtbareit und Unfruchtbareit der Weiber, zeitiger und unzeitiger Geburt, Kranckheiten und Zuständen, so wol der Kindbetterin als der newgebornen Kindlein, sampt dero Unterhaltung und Erziehung gehandelt wirt. Wie dann auch von dem Ampt und Gebühr einer Hebammen weitläuffiger Bericht geschicht, alles auß fleissiger Wahrnehmung und Auffmerckung vieler wunderbarer und gemeiner Geschichten, so sich bey unterschiedlichen Personen begeben, verzeichnet*. Oppenheim, Joh.

Th. de Bry

Coll.: 4°: 172, [10] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: HAB A 38.1 Med. (2)

Add.: Second part of nr. 206, printed by Hieronymus Galler. Translated from the French original (*Observations diverses...*, Paris 1617).

Lit: —

208. Louise Bourgeois, *Hebammen Buchs dritter Theil, In welchem Von dem vierden Theil der weiblichen Gebärmutter, von der Zeit der Bildung deß Kinds in Mutterleib, wann sich dasselbige zu regen beginne, wie es in demselben wachse*

und zunemme, gehandelt wirt. Mit angehengtem Bericht Was für ein sonderbar und wunderlich Werck deß Allmächtigen sey die Geburt deß Menschen, auß dem Leib seiner Mutter auff diese Welt, und wie dasselbige zugehe. Oppenheim, Joh.

Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: 67, [5] pp., 11 ill.

Copies: HAB A 38.1 Med. (3)

Add.: Third part of 206, printed by Hieronymus Galler. Translated from the French original (*Observations diverses...*, Paris 1617). Some of the illustrations were earlier used in nr. 87.

Lit: —

209. Julius Zingref, *Emblematum Ethico-Policorum Centuria*. [Oppenheim], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [16], [204] pp., 100 ill.

Copies: BL 1568/4540; HAB S Alv. Ke 92 (1); UBL Thysia 1425 (1)

Add.: Probably produced in Oppenheim and printed by Hieronymus Galler, as all books of authors at the court of the Elector Palatine, like Zingref, were printed in the Palatinate. Almost all of the engravings were made by Matthaeus Merian. Dedicated to Frederick V, Elector Palatine.

Lit: Adams, Rawles and Saunders (1999–2002) F632; Klossowski de Rola (1988); Henkel and Wiemann (facs. 1986); Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1879)

210. Franz Kessler, *Espargne-Bois, c'est à dire, nouvelle et par ci-devant non commune, ni mise en lumiere, invention de certains et divers fourneaux artificiels, par l'usage desquels, on pourra annuellement espargner une infinite de bois & autres matieres nourissantes le feu & neantmoins entretenir es poiles une chaleur commode & plus salubre.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: 72, [10] pp., 3 ill.

Copies: BL 1044.i.24; UB Rostock, Vc-1007; BNF 30679746

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Translated from the German (nr. 197) by an unnamed translator.

Lit: —

211. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *Observationum et curationum chirurgicarum Centuria Quarta. Epistolis nonnullis Virorum doctissimorum, simul & instrumentis ab authore inventis illustrata. Accessit eiusdem authoris epistolarum ad amicos, eorundemque ad ipsum Centuria Prima. In qua passim Medica, Chirurgica, aliaque lectione digna, continentur.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [16], 458, [10] pp., 20 ill. (all woodcuts)
 Copies: BL 1170.k.1; UB Kiel, Kd 608; BNF 30414786
 Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to
 Georg Frederick, Margrave of Baden and Hochberg.

Lit: —

212. Gotthard Artus, a.o., *Electio et coronatio sereniss. potentiss. et invictiss. principis et dn. dn. Ferdinandi II. Electi Rom. Imperat. semper Augusti, ac Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae, &c. Regis, Archiducis Austriae, Ducis Burgundiae, Stiriae, Carinthiae, Carniolae & Wirtembergae, &c. Comitis Tirolis, &c. Wahl und Krönung Des Allerdurchleuchtigsten, Großmächtigsten und unüberwindlichsten Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Ferdinandi des andern, Erwählten Römischen Keyzers, zu allen Zeiten Mehrern des Reichs, in Germanien, zu Hungern, Böhem, Dalmatien, Croatien, und Sclawonien, etc. Königs, Ertzhertzogen zu Oesterreich, Hertzogen zu Burgund, zu Steyer, zu Crain, zu Wirtemberg, Grafen zu Tyrol, etc.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [2], 10 pp., 10 ill.

Copies: BL 601.m.26 (2)

Add.: Printed by Erasmus Kempffer. De Bry used exactly the same engravings as for the depiction of Matthias' coronation in 1612 (nr. 134), and only renewed the title-page.

Lit: —

213. Johan Ludwig Gottfried, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon plerarumq[ue] historica naturalis moralis ἐκφράσις*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: [24], 351, [1] pp., 16 ill.

Copies: BL 1001.c.18; UB Halle AB 61040 (1); BNF 30000773

Add.: The printer of the work is unknown. This book is the only classical text in the De Bry catalogue. Dedicated by the author to Georg Altroggius, an Oppenheim physician and magistrate.

Lit: —

*214. Girolamo Benzoni, *Das sechste Theil Americae oder Der Historien Hieron. Benzo von Meylandt, Das dritte Buch. Darinnen erzehlet wirt, wie die Spanier die Goldreiche Landschafften deß Peruavischen Königreichs eingenommen, den König Atabalibam gefangen und getödet. Auch wie sie endlich sich selbst untereinander auffgerieben haben. Sampt einem kurtzen zu end angehengten Tractätlein von den glückhafftigen Inseln*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [6], 121, [61] pp., 28 ill., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6625 (7); HAB Gx 2° 8 (6); ÖNB 253767–D.6 Fid

Add.: Second edition of *Ind. Occ.* VI, printed by Hieronymus Galler. On the title-page an Imperial privilege was mentioned, yet it is

uncertain if this refers to the first one, obtained by Theodore de Bry for the first edition, or to a fresh one for the second edition. The same translation and plates were used for the second edition as for the first. The dedication to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel was also repeated.

Lit: Greve (2004); Keen (1976); Collon-Gevaert (1966b)

1620

215. Joris van Spilbergen, *Appendix Deß eilfften Theils Americae, Das ist: Warhafftige Beschreibung der wunderbahren Schifffahrt, so Georgius von Spielbergen, als von der Niderländischen Indianischen Societet bestellter Oberster über sechs Schiffe, durch die Magellanische Strasse, und in der Suder See, vom Jahr 1614. biß in das 1618. Jahr verrichtet. In welcher die neue Schifffahrt durch die Suder See, auch viel unbekannte Landschafften, Inseln und Völcker, neben allem was ihm auff derselben Reyse fürkommen und zu handten gangen.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 38, [46] pp., 20 ills.

Copies: BL G6626 (4*); UB Erlangen-Nürnberg, H61/2 TREW.C 568; BNF 30914454

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. By this time, Johan Theodore de Bry had already returned to Frankfurt. Translated by Gotthard Artus from the Dutch original (*Oost- ende West-Indische Spiegel*, Leiden 1619).

Lit: —

216. Joris van Spilbergen, *Americae tomi undecimi appendix. seu admiranda navigationis a Georgio a Spilbergen classis belgicae cum potestate Praefecti, per fretum Magellanicum & Mare meridionale, ab Anno 1614. usq[ue] ad Annum 1618. inclusivè peractae, descriptio. Qua novi per fretum magellanicum et mare meridionale in indiam orientalem transitus, incognitarumque hactenus terrarum & gentium ut & omnium quae terra mariq[ue] acciderunt & visa sunt memorabilium.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 34, [44] pp., 20 ills.

Copies: BL 216.c.16 (2); HAB M Gx 2° 7; UBL Thysia 708 II

Add.: Printed by Johan Hofer. Translated by Gotthard Artus.

Lit: —

217. Salomon de Caus, *Hortus Palatinus a Friderico Rege Boemiae Electore Palatino Heidelbergae extractus.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [6], 60 pp. (fol. 1–30), 30 ills.

Copies: BL 441.k.4; BSB 2 Germ.sp. 31 d; UBL 677 A 16

Add.: The preface is in French, otherwise the work is identical to nr. 218.

Lit: Zimmermann (facs. 1980–86)

218. Salomon de Caus, *Hortus Palatinus a Friderico Rege Boemiae Electore Palatino Heidelbergae exstructus*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 60 pp. (fol. 1–30), 30 ills.

Copies: BL G6636; HAB 11 Geom. 2° (1); BNF 30207812

Add.: The dedication, to Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate, and the preface are in German. The plates are identical to nr. 217.

Lit: Zimmermann (facs. 1980–86)

219. Robert Fludd, *Tomi secundi Tractatus primi, sectio secunda, De technica Microcosmi historia, in Portiones VII. divisa*. [Oppenheim], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 191, [13] pp., 18 ills. (& several woodcuts)

Copies: BL 536.i.11; HAB 111 Quod. 2° (2); UBL Thysia 2254

Add.: Second part of the third volume of Fludd's four-volume work on the macrocosm and microcosm (1617–21). The place of publication is probably Oppenheim, as all of Fludd's works were printed in the Palatinate.

Lit: Yates (2002); Putscher (1983); Godwin (1979)

220. Phillip Zigler, *Harmonia und Harpffe Davids auff 8. seiten. Das ist, Einhellige zusam[m]enstim[m]ung von dem Wandel, Lehr und Leben unsers Herrn und Heylands Jesu Christi, nach den Prophete[n], Aposteln, Evangelisten, Alten unnd Newen Kirchenlehrern*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [10], 432 pp (fol. 1–216), 1 ill.

Copies: HAB 432 Theol. 2° (1)

Add.: Printed by Johan Hofer, dedicated by the author to Carolus Relinger von Burgwalden. This work was already announced in the Q17 Frankfurt fair catalogue, destined to be published later that same year.

Lit: —

221. Balduinus Clodius & J[ohan] E[rnst] B[urggrav], *Balduini Clodii Weyland gewesenen Fürstlichen Marggrävischen zu Durlach, demnach Fürstlichen Anhaltischen zu Dessau Rahts und Leib Medici. Officina Chymica. Das ist: Künstliche Spagyrischen Zuzubereitung der Animalischen, Vegetabilischen, Metallischen und Mineralischen Medicamenten, sampt deroselben heylsamen Gebrauch, und Würckung zur Gesundheit Menschliches Leibes. Sampt beygefügetem*

Consilio, wie man sich in Pestilenzischen Läuften verhalten soll. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 189, [7] pp., no ills.

Copies: BL 1033.h.34; UB Göttingen, 8 CHEM I, 877; UBL 1432 F 106

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by Burggrav to six physicians in Oppenheim and elsewhere in the Palatinate.

Lit: —

222. Johannes Tilenius, *De jurisdictione et imperio, In quo Theoricorum & Practicorum opiniones inter se conferuntur, falsae refutantur; sententiae verò Practicorum confirmantur & pulchris quaestionibus ad hanc materiam pertinentibus illustrantur & adornantur.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 72 pp, no ills.

Copies: HAB A 36.3 Jur. (5); VU XG.05796

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler. Dedicated by the author to a group of seven men in the service of Ludwig IV of Hesse-Marburg.

Lit: —

223. Johan Ludwig Lange, *Libellus de pactis, in quo conventionum et contractuum natura aliq[ue] Iuris Articuli, Antinomiarum dissolutiones, pluresque doctrinae, ab Interpretibus non animadversae enucleantur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 8°: 346, [38] pp., no ills.

Copies: HAA Bibl. Weimar, 28, 7: 16 (1); UBU Duod. 24 (5); BNF 30734298

Add.: Printed by Erasmus Kempffer. Dedicated by the author to the city government of Nuremburg.

Lit: —

*224. Thomas Harriot, *Wunderbarliche, doch warhafftige Erklärung, von der Gelegenheit und Sitten der Wilden in Virginia, welche newlich von den Engelländern, so im Jahr 1585. vom Herrn Reichard Greinvile, einen von den Ritterschafft, in gemeldte Landschafft, die zubewohnen, geführt waren, ist erfunden worden.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 31, [69] pp., 28 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6625 (1); HAB Gx 2° 8 (1); ÖNB 253767–D.1 Fid

Add.: Third edition of *Ind. Occ.* I in German, printed by Hieronymus Galler. The original dedication to Christian I, Elector of Saxony is again included. The illustrations carry the imprint 1619.

Lit: Greve (2004)

*225. Johan Jacob Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß, Darinnen gelehret und angewiesen werden: I. Die Handgriff der Mußquet und deß Spiesses, jedes insonderheit. II. Das Exercitium, oder wie man es nennet, das Trillen, mit einem Fähnlein gantz perfect, nach der gewöhnlichen Praxi deß Durchleuchtigen, Fürtrefflichsten Kriegshelden Mauritii Printzen von Oranien, Graffen von Nassau, etc. angewiesen, gemehret und gebessert. III. Schöne neue Batailie, oder Schlachtordnungen mit einem Fähnlein, wie auch einem gantzen Regiment Knecht. Neue Invention besonderer Art Flügel an ein Fähnlein und gantzes Regiment, darneben die Quartierung im Feldzug und Läger mit gutem leichten Vortheil alles zu verrichten, und was bey einem Regiment weiters zu wissen nöthig. IV. Der Ungerischen bißhero geführten Regimente[n] KriegsDisciplin zu Fuß, nach behörlicher Art der rechte[n] edle[n] Kriegskunst gebessert und in ein richtigere und nützlichere Ordnung gebracht; Alles mit schönen Kupfferstücken angewiesen. Zu hochnöthigem Nutzen und Besten nicht allein allen ankommenden Soldaten, sondern auch in Abrichtung eines gemeinen Landvolcks und Außschuß in Fürstenthummen und Stätten insoderheit und in gemein.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [12], 126, [2] pp., 36 ill.

Copies: HAB Jb 4° 60 (1); UBL 1372 E 11 (1); Krigsarkivet Stockholm, Sa.01 a (4)

Add.: Second edition of nr. 156, printed by Erasmus Kempffer. On the title-page, an Imperial privilege was mentioned, almost certainly the six-year privilege obtained in 1615. The author's dedication to Maurice of Hesse-Kassel of 1615 was repeated.

Lit: —

*226. Jean Errard, *Fortificatio, Das ist, Künstliche und wolgegründte Demonstration und Erweisung, wie und welcher Gestalt gute Festungen anzuordnen, und wider den Feind, so mit Heereskrafft nach allem Vortheil möchte angreifen, zuverwahren und zuversichern, auff allerley Oerter und Gelegenheiten, wie die mögen zu befestigen vorfallen, gerichtet.* Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [2], 102 pp., 47 ill.

Copies: Forschungs- und Landesbibl. Gotha, K II 2° 74/3 (1), incomplete.

Add.: Second extended edition of nr. 82, printed by Hieronymus Galler.

Lit: —

*227. Kaspar Bauhin, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani aeneis formis expressae.* [Frankfurt?], Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 265, [1], 21, [1] pp., 140 ill.

Copies: BL 548.h.2 (1); HAB M Mb 19 (2); UB Basle, Lb III 4
 Add.: Second, extended edition of nr. 94. The illustrations were taken from Bauhin's *Theatrum anatomicum*, first published by the De Brys in 1605 (nr. 87). They were issued in corrected form with 10 new plates, and were intended either for separate use or to accompany the unillustrated 1621 edition of *Theatrum anatomicum* (nr. *234). Dedicated to Johan Bernard, Count of Kunovitz.

Lit: —

1621

228. Robert Fludd, *Tomi Secundi tractatus secundus, De praeternaturali utriusque mundi historia. In Sectiones tres divisa, In Quarum Prima, de Meteororum tam Macro, quam Microcosmicorum causis, earumque effectibus in genere agitur. Secunda, de particularibus Meteororum, tam ad prosperam, quam adversam valetudinem, impressionibus: deque indicij ea praeterita, praesentia, & futura praesagientibus tractatur. Tertia, pessimos & malesanos Meteororum eventus futuros avertendi, praesentes ipsorum insultus debellandi, & sanitatis denique pristinae jam amissae restituendae ratio ad amussim explicatur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [12], 199, [1] pp., 7 ills. (& several woodcuts)

Copies: BL 536.i.11; HAB 111 Quod. 2° (3); UBL Thysia 2254

Add.: Printed by Erasmus Kempffer. Fourth and final volume of Fludd's work on the macrocosm and microcosm (1617–21). Probably the first work of Fludd which was printed in Frankfurt. One of Theodore de Bry's grotesques of the 1580s ornates the title-page.

Lit: Yates (2002); Putscher (1983); Godwin (1979)

229. Robert Fludd, *Veritatis proscenium in quo aulaeum erroris tragicum dimovetur siparium ignorantiae scenicum complicatur, ipsaque veritas à suo ministro in publicum producitur, Seu demonstratio quaedam analytica, in qua cuilibet comparationis particulae, in appendice quadam à Joanne Kepplero, nuper in fine Harmoniae suae Mundanae edita; factae inter Harmoniam suam mundanam, & illam Roberti Fludd, ipsiſſimis veritatis argumentis respondetur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 54 pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL 30.g.10.a (2); HAB 111 Quod. 2° (4); UB Basle Jg I 9:2

Add.: Printed by Erasmus Kempffer.

Lit: Yates (2002)

230. *Christlich Schreiben, An deß Hochlöblichen Christlichen Ordens, alle samptliche Herrn Fratres Rosae Crucis abgangen. In welchem zu gleich Ehrngedachter Fraterniter Lehr, Leben und Wandel, wider anderer Leut jrrigen Wahn und Meynung klärlich an Tag gegeben.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 7, [1] pp., no ills.

Copies: Staatsbibl. Berlin, 6 in: Nb 9115 R

Add.: The author of this rosicrucian letter dated February 1621 described himself as 'Bonamicus bene notus'. The printer of the work is unknown.

Lit: —

231. *Scriptum amicabile ad Laudatissimam & venerandam fraternitatem Rosie crucis directum, in quo praeter alia praedicti pii ordinis doctrina, totius vitae adversus Impostores quosdam inverecundos descriptio evidenter defenditur & declaratur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: 7, [1] pp., no ills.

Copies: UB Greifswald, 558/Fj 617; BNF 33598870

Add.: The Latin translation of nr. 230.

Lit: —

*232. Bonaiuto Lorini, *Fünff Bücher Von Vestung Bawen, Bonaiuti Lorini, Florentinischen vom Adel. In welchen, durch die allerleichteste Reguln, die Wissenschaft sampt der Practick, gelehret wirdt, wie man Stätte und andere örter, auff unterschiedlicher Situs gelegenheit sol befestigen: Und da insonderheit, Im ersten, von der Wissenschaft sampt den Reguln und Ursachen, wie man alle Grundtrisse der Vestungen auffreissen, und zu einem volkömlichen Ende bringen sol, gehandelt, Im andern, die Practick, mit welcher man ein Vestung wirklichen anlegen und bawen sol, gezeigt, Im dritten, Unterschiedliche Grundrisse gesetzt, und wie man die best verstandneste darunder außlesen sol, gelehret, Im Vierten, der underscheid der Situs, oder Gelegenheit der örter, und wie man dieselbigen befestigen sol, erkläret, Im fünfften und letzten, die Mechanische Künste, sampt einem underricht, wie man vierlerley Werckzeuge und Instrumenta machen sol, beides mit einem kleinen Gewalt sehr grosse Läste zuheben, wie auch gar auff einen leichten Weg die Sachen zu wegen zubringen, so beyde in Friedens und Kriegszeiten deß Menschen Leben am nötigsten sindt, gelehret, Und alles, durch beygefügte Lehren und Underricht, so zu verstandt gedachter Materien gereichen kan, auffß deutlichste erkläret wirdt.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 178, [72] pp., 36 ills.

Copies: HAB N 181.2° Helmst. (1)

Add.: Second edition of nr. 96, printed by Erasmus Kempffer. The same German translation by David Wormbser was used as for the first edition of 1607.

Lit: —

*233. Diego Ufano, *Archeley, Das ist: Gründlicher, unnd eygentlicher Bericht von Geschütz unnd aller Zugehör, beneben außführlicher Erklärung was einem General oder Obersten uber das Geschütz beydes in einem Läger, und in einem belägerten Ort oblige, und befohlen. Item, wie Batterien und Contrabatterien, Brücken, Steg, Minen und verborgene Gäng, beneben allerhand zum Krieg gehörige unnd der Archeley anhängige Maschinen, auch mancherley Feuerwerck, den Feindt zu Wasser und zu Landt damit zubeschädigen, wol anzuordnen*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: 132, [72] pp., 29 ill.

Copies: BL 1605/217; HAB Jb 4^o 5 (2); Krigsarkivet Stockholm, Sdac (4)

Add.: Second edition of nr. 147. Printed by Erasmus Kempffer. The same dedication, to Frederick V, Elector Palatine, was included as in the first edition.

Lit: —

*234. Kaspar Bauhin, *Theatrum anatomicum*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: [16], 664, [16] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL 548.h.2 (2); HAB 9.1 Phys. (1); ÖNB 250803–C Fid.

Add.: Second edition of nr. 87, without the illustrations. The name of the printer is unknown. The plates to accompany this book were printed in 1620 (nr. *227). Although the original dedication to Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel was repeated, it was also newly dedicated to William V of Hesse.

Lit: —

1622

235. Robert Fludd, *Monochordum mundi symphonicum, Seu replicatio Roberti Flud, aliàs de Fluctibus, Armigeri & in Medicina Doctoris Oxon. ad apologiam viri clariss. et in mathesi peritiß. Ioannis Kepleri, adversus Demonstrationem suam Analyticam, nuperrime editam, in qua Robertus validioribus Ioannis obiectionibus, Harmoniae suae legi repugnantibus, comiter respondere aggreditur*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: 83, [1] pp., 1 ill.

Copies: BL 478.a.9 (1); HAB 46 Astron. (2); BNF 30444929

Add.: A second edition (2^o) was included in Fludd's *Anatomiae Amphitheatrum* (nr. 239). The name of the printer is unknown.

Lit: Yates (2002)

*236. Job Kornthauer, *De Peste Aureoli Theophrasti Paracelsi Tractatus. So er an die Statt Störtzingen geschrieben, Cum Commentariis Jobi Kornthaueri, Illustriss. Principis ac D. D. Ludovici Landgravii Hassiae, &c. Medici, so er seinen beyden Discipulis, Georgio Rittero Medico Badensi, und Philippo à Sayer explicirt. Darinnen und damit auch etlicher fürnemmer innerlicher und eusserlicher Kranckheiten und Schäden Cura, so beydes inner- und ausserhalb der Pest den Menschen begegnen mögen: Auß rechtem Grundt unnd gewisser Experientz Theophrastischer und anderer Medicinalischer Kunst beschrieben, zufinden ist.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4^o: 103, [1] pp., no ills.

Copies: BL 1033.i.9 (2); HAB M Mi Kapsel 4 (14); UBL 2318 H 2

Add.: Second edition of nr. 136, printed by Erasmus Kempffer. The same dedication as in the first edition of 1613, to Georg Eger, was again included.

Lit: —

1623

237. Antonio de Herrera, Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos, [and Petrus Bertius], *Zwölffter Theil der Newen Welt, Das ist: Gründliche vollkommene Entdeckung aller der West Indianischen Landschafften, Insuln und Königreichen, Secusten, fliessenden und stehenden Wassern, Port und Anlendungen, Gebürgen, Grentze[n], und Auftheilung der Provincie[n] sampt eygentlicher Beschreibung der Stätte, Flecken und Dörffer, Herrschafft und Regierung, Bistummen, Stifft und Clöster, wie starck dieselben an Inwohnern, wie reich an Einkommen, was jedes Orts Gewerh, Handthierung und Bequemlichkeiten, Fruchtbarkeit und Nutzung, alles nach jetziger Gestalt und Beschaffenheit von newem entdeckt und beschrieben [...]* Item Gewisse Anzeig der jenigen, so durch die gefährliche Enge der Magellanischen Strassen oder Sunds hindurch passirt, und den Erdt Kreiß rings umbfahren haben. Item Petri Ordonnez de Cevallos Beschreibung der West Indianischen Landschafften, sampt andern Anhängen. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [4], 131, [1], 38, [2] pp., no ills., 19 maps.

Copies: BL G6626 (5); HAB Gx 2^o 8 (12); UB Basle, EU I 18

Add.: The last volume of the collection of voyages to appear during Johan Theodore's lifetime. The name of the printer is unknown. The text was printed in two columns.

Lit: —

238. Johan Ernst Burggrav, *Introductio in vitalem philosophiam. Cui cohaeret omnium morborum Astralium & Materialium; seu, Morborum omnium, Elementatorum & haereditariorum ex Libro Naturae, Codice philosophicae & medicae veritatis, additis Veterum placitis, Hippocratis, Galeni, Celsi, aliorum, Explicatio atque Curatio. in speciali explicatione morborum agitur de Curationum mysteriis, Indicationum compendiis, Remediorum arcanis. Et primum Galeni & aliorum veterum medicamenta proferuntur: deinde Paracelsi, Törnheuseri, Quercetani aliorumq[ue] Neotericorum Philosophorum experientia demonstratur, medicamenta omnium morborum ex Anatomia & Arte Signata, tam Simplicia, quàm Composita ostendendo.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry and Johan Ammon.

Coll.: 4°: [8], 166 pp., no ills.

Copies: BL 718.e.37; HAB A 25.5 Quod. (4); BNF 30177852

Add.: Printed by Hartmann Palthenius. The same title-page was used as for nr. 195. Dedicated to Hartmann Beyer, a Frankfurt physician who had been a close friend of both Johan Theodore and his father.

Lit: —

239. Robert Fludd, *Anatomiae amphitheatrum effigie triplici, more et conditione varia.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 4°: [4], 285, [1] pp., 45 ills. (& several woodcuts)

Copies: BL 30.g.11; HAB A 39 Med. 2° (1); BNF 30444923

Add.: Printed by Erasmus Kempffer. Dedicated by the author to Johannes Thornburgh, the bishop of Worcester. An 'in memoriam' for Johan Theodore, written by Johan Ammon, was included in the preliminaries, a second edition of nr. 235 was attached to this work (nr. *242).

Lit: Yates (2002)

240. Johan Phillip Pareus, *Theatrum philosophiae christianae, in quo abstrusi sapientiae christianae thesauri eruuntur, enodantur atque explicantur.* Frankfurt, Johan Ammon.

Coll.: 4°: 8, 466, [2] pp., no ills.

Copies: HAB A 20.9 Eth. (1)

Add.: Printed by Hartmann Palthenius. The work was a co-operative effort of Ammon and Johan Theodore. Dedicated by the author to Johan Jakob and Johan Porsius Dominicus.

Lit: —

*241. Jacob van Neck, *Fünffter Theil Der Orientalischen Indien, Eygentlicher Bericht und warhafftige Beschreibung der gantzen vollkommenen Reyse oder Schiffahrt, so die Holländer mit 8. Schiffen in die Orientalische Indien, sond[er]lich aber in die Javanische und Molukische Inseln, als Bantam, Banda, unnd Ternate, &c. gethan haben, welche von Amsterdam abgefahren im Jahr 1598. unnd zum theil Anno 1599. zum theil aber in jüngst abgelauffenen 1600. Jahr, mit grossem Reichthumb von Pfeffer, Muscaten, Negelein, und anderer köstlichen Würtz wid[er] anheym gelanget.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 58, [44] pp., 20 ill.

Copies: BL 568.i.1 (5); UB Dresden, Geogr.B.21-1/5,misc.5; NSA A IV-1 4b3

Add.: Second edition of Van Neck's account for *Ind.Or.* V in German. Printed by Johan Friedrich Weiß.

Lit: —

*242. Robert Fludd, *Monochordum mundi symphonicum, Seu replicatio Roberti Flud, alias de fluctibus, armigeri et in Medicina Doctoris Oxon. ad apologiam viri clariss. et in mathesi peritiß. Ioannis Kepleri, adversus Demonstrationem suam Analyticam, nuperrime editam, in qua Robertus validioribus Ioannis obiectionibus, Harmoniae suae legi repugnantibus, comiter respondere aggreditur.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: 45 (287-331), [1] pp., no ill.

Copies: Wellcome Libr., 2328 (2); HAB A 39 Med. 2° (1); BNF 30444923

Add.: Second edition of Fludd's work which was originally published as a quarto-edition (nr. 235). Printed by Erasmus Kempffer, and added to Fludd's *Anatomiae amphitheatrum* (nr. 239).

Lit: Yates (2002)

A. Antonio de Herrera, Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos [and Petrus Bertius], *Novi Orbis pars duodecima. Sive descriptio Indiae Occidentalis, Auctore Antonio de Herrera, Supremo Castellae & Indiarum autoritate Philippi III. Hispaniarum Regis Historigrapho. Accesserunt et aliorum Indiae Occidentalis*

Descriptiones, uti & navigationum omnium per Fretum Magellanicum succincta narratio. Quibus cohaerent paralipomena Americae, in quibus res plurimae memoria & observatione dignissimae, imprimu regionum natura, aeris constitutio, temperamenta elementorum, incolarum ingenia quae in magno opere historico aut omittuntur, aut leviter attiguntur, iucunda non minus quam erudita descriptione pertractantur.

Frankfurt, heirs of Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [6], 308 (fol. 1–154) pp., 19 ill., 15 maps.

Copies: BL c.115.h.4 (5); UBL Thysia 708 II

Add.: The name of the printer is unknown. Dedicated by Johan Theodore on 1 August 1623, a week before his death, to Johan Ludwig von Hagen, the Imperial book commissioner in Frankfurt. This volume was announced in the S22 catalogue as “America prs XII”, to be published by Hendrick Laurensz in Amsterdam. The two editions, one published by Laurensz in Amsterdam and the other published as *Ind.Occ. XII*, are identical.

Lit: —

1625

B. Samuel Braun, *Anhang der Beschreibung deß Königreichs Congo. Innhaltend, Fünff Schiffarten Samuel Brauns Burgers und Wundarzt zu Basel, so er kurtz verwichener Jahren in unterschiedliche weit entlegene frembde Königreich und Landschaften glücklich gethan, Nemlich In Africam und dessen Provinzien Congo, Bansa Loanga, Angola, Guinea, Morenland, Bennin, Amboisa, und zu dem Festen Castell Nassaw in More. Item gen Alexandriam in Syrien, in Portugal, Hispanien, Italien, wie auch unterschiedliche Insuln, Als da sind die Canarien, Medera, Cales Males, Malta, Candia, Cypern, Sicilien, Sardegna, Corfu, und ander mehr; biß zu seiner wider Ankunfft in Holland.* Frankfurt, heirs of Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2^o: [4], 56 pp., 11 ill.

Copies: BL 10003.e.9; HAB Gv 4^oo Mischbd. 1 (3); NSA A IV-1 4b1

Add.: Printed by Kaspar Rötzel. The same title-page was used as for *Ind.Or. VII*.

Lit: Melzer (1996)

C. Samuel Braun, *Appendix Regni Congo. Qua continentur navigationes quinque Samuelis Brunonis, Civis et Chirurgi Basileensis, quas recenti admodum memoria animosè suscepit & feliciter perfecit. I. In Africam, euisq[ue] regna ac provincias Congum, Bansam Loangam, Angolam & Insulas, Mederam Canariasq[ue], II. In*

eiusdem Africa regna, Guineam, Beninum, Aethiopiam, Ambosiam, Insulasq[ue], Principis, Annabonam, & S. Thomae, aliasq[ue]. III. In eandem Africam, ad Castellum munitissimum Nassovium, in Provincia Morensi Regni Guineae. IV. In Orientales maris Mediterranei regiones, Syriam, Aegyptum, Alexandriam, Insulasq[ue], Maltam, Cretam, Cyprum. V. In Lusitaniam, ubi Naufragium passus, in reditu Granatam, Italiam, Apuliam, Calabriam, Venetias, Fretum Herculeum, & Insulas Siciliam, Sardiniam, Corcyram, Gades adivit, tandemq[ue] in Bataviam reversus est. Frankfurt, heirs of Joh. Th. de Bry.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 86, [2] pp., 12 ills.

Copies: BL G6612 (1*); Forschungs- und Landesbibl. Gotha, Geogr 4° 03338/02 (1a);

Add.: Printed by Kaspar Rötzel, and translated by Johan Ludwig Gottfried, who dedicated the book to the Frankfurt merchant Johannes Fama. The title-page was previously used for the first edition of *Ind.Or.* VII. Latin version of nr. B.

Lit: Melzer (1996)

1626

1627

D. Various authors, *Continuatio Americae, Das ist: Fortsetzung der Historien von der Newen Welt, oder Nidergängischen Indien, waran es auff diese Zeit noch anhero ermangelt. Darinnen erstlich ein sattsame und gründtliche Beschreibung deß Newen Engellandts, welches die Englische das New erfundene Landt nennen, so bißher noch nicht an Tag kommen. Zum Andern, Ein außführlichere Erzehlung von Beschaffenheit der Landtschafftten Virginia, Brasilia, Guiana, und Insul Bermuda, deren man bißhero schlechte und unvollkommene Wissenschaftt gehabt. Drittens, Gantz newer aber doch warhafftiger Bericht, von dem bißher noch unerkannten grossen Theil deß Erdekreises, Terra Australis oder Incognita, darvon noch in keiner Reise oder Schiffarth meldung beschehen. Sampt allem denjenigen, was in einer und andern beschriebenen Landtschafft, nichts außgescheiden, denckwürdigs zu sehen, und mit Lust und Verwunderung anzuhören. Am Ende ist umb gleichheit der Materien willen, hiebey gefügt ein weitläufftiger Discurs, wie die Statt S. Salvator unnd Baia in Brasilien, respective verlohren und wider gewonnen worden.* Frankfurt, Matth. Merian.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 90, [2] pp., 8 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6626 (6); HAB Gx 2° 8 (13)

Add.: Volume XIII of the *America*-series, printed by Kaspar Rötel.
Identical to nr. *D apart from the title-page.

Lit: —

1628

*D. Various authors, *Dreyzehender Theil Americae, Das ist: Fortsetzung der Historien von der Newen Welt, oder Nidergängischen Indien, waran es auff diese Zeit noch anhero ermangelt. Darinnen erstlich ein sattsame und gründtliche Beschreibung deß Newen Engellandts, welches die Englische das New erfundene Landt nennen, so bißher noch nicht an Tag kommen. Zum Andern, Ein außführlichere Erzehlung von Beschaffenheit der Landtschafften Virginia, Brasilia, Guiana, und Insul Bermuda, deren man bißhero schlechte und unvollkommene Wissenschaft gehabt. Drittens, Gantz newer aber doch warhafftiger Bericht, von dem bißher noch unerkannten grossen Theil deß Erckreises, Terra Australis oder Incognita, darvon noch in keiner Reise oder Schiffarth meldung beschehen. Sampt allem denjenigen, was in einer und andern beschriebenen Landtschafft, nichts außgescheiden, denckwürdigis zu sehen, und mit Lust und Verwunderung anzuhören. Am Ende ist umb gleichheit der Materien willen, hierbey gefügt ein weitläufftiger Discurs, wie die Statt S. Salvator unnd Baia in Brasilien, respective verlohren und wider gewonnen worden.* Frankfurt, Matth. Merian.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 90, [2] pp., 8 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL 10003.e.3 (2)

Add.: Volume XIII of the *America*-series, printed by Kaspar Rötel.
Identical to nr. D apart from the title-page.

Lit: —

E. Various authors, *Der zwölffte Theil Der Orientalischen Indien. Darinnen etliche neue, gedenckwürdige Schiffarthen und Reysen, so von unterschiedlichen Völckern, sonderlich den Portugesen, Englischen, und Holländern, in Ost Indien, und deren anstossende Königreich, vom Jahr 1610. biß uff 1627. verrichtet worden. Sonderlich aber In das Königreich Indostan, oder deß grossen Mogols, das Königreich China, Persien, die Bandamischen Insuln, und andere umbligende Länder. Beneben Beschreibung der zwischen den Englischen, und Holländern entstandenen Strittigkeiten, und Scharmützel, in Jacatra, und den Bandamischen Insuln. Deßgleichen die Reyß und Schiffarth der Nassawischen Floth, so under dem Admiral Jacob v'Eremit, von den Holländern im Jahr 1623. 1624. 1625. und 1626. umb den gantzen Erdkreyß verrichtet worden.* Frankfurt, Will. Fitzer.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 75 (1–56, 59–77), [1] pp., 4 ills., 1 map.

Copies: BL G6608 (6); HAB 184.1 Hist. 2° (7); NSA A IV-1 4b4

Add.: Printed by Kaspar Rötzel. Contains sixteen travel accounts. The illustrations, only one of which was newly designed, were included in the text. According to Fitzer's dedicatory letter in nr. G [(?)2r] this title was a commercial success.

Lit: —

F. Various authors, *Historiarum orientalis Indiae tomus XII. in tres Libros sive Tractatus distributus. Quorum primus continet descriptiones Chorographicas et Topographicas Regnorum, Provinciarum, Insularum, Urbium, Castellorum, Emporiorum, Montium atque Fluviorum, totius illius Continentis, quae vulgo Orientalis Indiae nomine censetur: inprimis Chersonesi Aurea, Sinarum, Iaponum, Sinus Persici & Gangetici, Oceani Eoi & Littoris Africani: adiectis Incolarum moribus & ritibus, ipsiusque soli ingenio & Natura. Secundus habet Narrationes exquisitas aliquot Navigationum & Expeditionum Marinarum, ab Anglis Batavisque potissimum, in omnes illas Orientis & Austri partes susceptarum, ut & praeliorum aliquot navalium vario eventu commissorum: quibus accepsit Periplus Orbis terrae à Iacobo Eremita, Navarcho Batavo absolutus: quae historia incipit ab anno A.N.G. M.DC.XIII terminaturque initiis anni M.DC.XXVI. Tertius tribuitur descriptioni quarundam Septentrionalium Regionum atque Insularum, ante non satis cognitarum, nempe partis Scythiae, Moscoviae, quae magna pars est Sarmatiae Europaeae et Asiaticae, nec non Samogetiae, Islandiae, Gronlandiae & aliarum, quarum plenior notitia, expeditionibus Navarchorum felici industria in eas Orbis partes confectis, ad nos pervenit: à primis Aquilonarium Navigationum initiis ad nostra tempora.* Frankfurt, Will. Fitzer.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 208 pp., 14 ill., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6614 (5); Forschungs- und Landesbibl. Gotha, Geogr 4° 03338/02 (12)

Add.: Translated from English and Dutch into Latin by Johan Ludwig Gottfried. The name of the printer is unknown. The volume is dedicated to Josua von der Thann, a local nobleman. Latin version of nr. E.

Lit: —

G. Various authors, *Der dreyzehende Theil Der Orientalischen Indien, Darinnen beneben etlichen neuen, gedenckwürdigen Schiffarthen und Reysen, so von unterschiedlichen Völckern, sonderlich den Portugesen, Englichen und Holländern in Ost Indien, und dem anstossende Königreich, vom Jahr 1615. biß uff 1628. verrichtet worden. Auch insonderheit andere biß anhero unbekandte Königreich unnd Länder, sonderlich das Königreich Indostan, oder des Grossen Mogols, Königreich China, Persien, wie auch Moscau, Reussen, Groenlandt, Tartarey, Algier, und*

andere angränzenden Provintzen, von newem beschrieben, und mit erst erfundenen Landtaffeln vor Augen gestellet worden. Frankfurt, Will. Fitzer.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 184 pp., 10 ills., 2 maps.

Copies: BL G6608 (7); HAB Gv 4° 60.1 (2); NSA A IV-1 4b4

Add.: Printed by Kaspar Rötzel, and dedicated by Fitzer to Johan Ludwig von Hagen, the Imperial book commissioner. This volume contained the preface by Bernardus Paludanus first issued as part of *Ind.Or.* VIII app. (Ger). The same title-page was used as for *Ind.Or.* III.

Lit: —

H. Various authors, *Orientalische Indien. Das ist, Außführliche, und vollkommene Historische, und Geographische Beschreibung Aller, und jeden Schiffarten, und Reysen, welche von unterschiedlichen Nationen, mehrentheils den Engelländern, Spaniern, und Holländern, innerhalb hundert Jahren, vornemlich, von verschiedenem Sechzehnhundert vnd Ersten Jahr, biß auff 1627. in unterschiedliche Königreich, Insuln, und Provintzien der Orientalischen Indien vorgenommen und verrichtet worden. Sampt etlichen unterschiedtlichen neuen Schifffahrten, und Reysen, so von den Englichen und Holländern in das Königreich Indoston, oder deß grossen Mogols, China, Persien, un[d] die Bandanischen Insuln verrichtet worden, auch was sich sonst dero Orten zwischen den Portugesen, Englichen und Holländern zugetragen. Beneben Beschreibung der Reiß der Nassawischen Flothen, so unter dem Admiral Jacob l'Ermüt, im Jar 1623. 1624. und 1625. den gantzen Erdtkreyß umbsegelt.* Frankfurt, Will. Fitzer.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 566, [2], 75 (1–56, 59–77), [1] pp., 104 ills., 7 maps.

Copies: HAB Gv 4° 60.1 (1)

Add.: Printed by Kaspar Rötzel, and dedicated by Fitzer to Georg Friedrich von Greiffenklau, Archbishop of Mainz. This work contained *Ind.Or.* XII (Ger) and the extract published as part of nr. *H in 1629. The title-page was earlier used for *Ind.Or.* II.

Lit: —

1629

*H. Caesar Longinus, *Extract Der Orientalischen Indien. Das ist, Außführliche, und vollkommene Historische, und Geographische Beschreibung Aller, und jeden Schiffarten, und Reysen, welche von unterschiedlichen Nationen, mehrentheils den Engelländern, Spaniern, und Holländern, innerhalb hundert Jahren, vornemlich, von*

verschiednem Sechzehnhundert vnd Ersten Jahr, biß auff 1627. in unterschiedliche Königreich, Insuln, und Provintzien der Orientalischen Indien vorgenommen und verrichtet worden. Sampt etlichen unterschiedlichen newen Schifffahrten, und Reysen, so von den Englischen und Holländern in das Königreich Indoston, oder deß grossen Mogols, China, Persien, un[d] die Bandanischen Insuln verrichtet worden, auch was sich sonsten dero Orten zwischen den Portugesen, Englischen und Holländern zugetragen. [...] Beneben Beschreibung der Reiß der Nassawischen Flothen, so unter dem Admiral Jacob l'Ermit, im Jar 1623. 1624. und 1625. den gantzen Erdtkreyß umbsegelt. Frankfurt, Will. Fitzer.

Coll.: 2°: [8], 566, [2], 75 (1–56, 59–77), [1], 184 pp., 114 ills., 11 maps.

Copies: BL G6616

Add.: Printed by Kaspar Rötzel, and dedicated by Fitzer to Georg Friedrich von Greiffenklau, Archbishop of Mainz. This work contained *Ind.Or.* XII (Ger), *Ind.Or.* XIII (Ger) and summaries of all accounts previously published in the *Ind.Or.*-series. The title-page was earlier used for *Ind.Or.* II. Included on the poster catalogue of the De Bry firm as early as 1617 (nr. X6).

Lit: —

1630

J. Various authors, *Vierzehender Theil Americanischer Historien, Inhaltend, Erstlich, Warhafftige Beschreibung etlicher West-Indianischer Landen in dem Theil Americae gegen Mitternacht hinder Nova Hispania gelegen, Alß New Mexico, Cibola, Cinaloa, Quivira, und anderer, deren bißher in unserm West-Indianischen Werck theils gar nicht, theils sehr wenig gedacht worden, sampt Denckwürdigen Geschichten und Wunderwercken der Natur in Jucatan, Guatimala, Fonduras, und Panama, Wie auch vom Zustandt etlicher Englischen Colonien, wie sich die in lauffendem 1630. Jahr befinden. Zum Andern, Eine Schiffart der Holländer under dem Admiral Jacob Eremiten umb die gantze Welt, und was ihm auff dieser sehr langen und gefährlichen Reyse begegnet, alles in Form eines Journals oder Tagregisters fleissig verzeichnet. Zum Dritten, Historische Erzählung, welcher gestalt die sehr reiche Spanische Silberflotta durch Peter Hein, General der Holländischen Armada in dem Hafen Matanza der Insul Cuba im September deß Jahrs 1628. ertapt und heim gebracht worden. Zum Vierdten, Was massen die Statt Olinda de Fernambucco in Brasilien, sampt dem Meerport und dabey ligenden Castellen, durch die Holländer under dem General Heinrich Cornelis Lunck erobert worden, im Monat Februario deß Jahrs 1630.* Hanau, Matth. Merian.

Coll.: 2^o: [4], 72 pp., 14 ill., 2 maps.
 Copies: BL G6626 (7); Forschungs- und Landesbibl. Gotha, Geogr 2^o 03783/02 (14)
 Add.: Printed by David Aubry.
 Lit: —

1631

K. Johan Ludwig Gottfried, *Historia Antipodum oder Neue Welt. Das ist: Natur und Eigenschaft deß halben theils der Erden, so WestIndien genennt wird, der Eleme[n]ten, Geschöpffen Nationen und Inwohner, und wie diß alles durch mancherley Schiffahrten entdecket worden.* Frankfurt, Matth. Merian.

Coll.: 2^o: [12], 562, 72 pp., 173 ill., 6 maps.
 Copies: BL G6635; HAB Gx 2^o 5
 Add.: First abridgement of the *America*-series, translated by Johan Ludwig Gottfried. Dedicated to Phillip, Landgrave of Hesse. The work has a second title-page immediately following the first, where the work is titled *Neue Welt Und Americanische Historien*. Most of the illustrations were copied from the *Ind. Occ.*-volumes, but Merian added a substantial number of new plates.
 Lit: (facs. 1980, Fackelverlag Stuttgart)

1632

1633

1634

L. Various authors, *Decima Tertia Pars historiae Americanae, quae continet exactam et accuratam descriptionem I. Novae Angliae, Virginiae, Brasiliae, Guianae, & insulae Bermuda, quarum hactenus exigua & imperfecta notitia habita fuit. II. Terrae Australis incognitae, cuius chorographia antehac in nullo Itinerario aut Navigatione litteris tradita. III. Expugnationis urbis S. Salvatoris & Sinus Omnium Sanctorum ab Hollandis factae, & quomodo Hispani urbe & Sinu illo rursus potiti sint. IV. Novi Mexici, Cibolae, Cinaloae, Quivirae, rerum[ue] memorabilium, quae in Iucatan, Guatimala, Fonduris & Panama observatae sunt, nec non aliquot Anglicarum iis locis coloniarum. V. Navigationis Hollandorum per universum orbem,*

duce Iacobo Eremita. VI. Claßis Hispanicae praedivitis ab Hollandis, duce Petro Heinio, in portu insulae, qui Matanza dicitur, interceptae. VII. Urbis Olindae de Fernambucco in Brasilia ab Hollandis, duce Henrico Cornelio Lonckio, occupatae. Frankfurt, Matth. Merian.

Coll.: 2°: [4], 149, [1] pp., 21 ill., 6 maps.

Copies: BL c.115.h.4 (6); UBL Thysia 708 III

Add.: The name of the printer is unknown. Latin version of nr. D.

Lit: —

Attributed to the De Bry firm

?1. Georg Kranitz von Wertheim, *Delitiae Italiae, Das ist: Eigentliche Beschreibung, was durch ganz Welschland in einer jeden Statt unnd Ort, von Antiquiteten, Pallästen, Pyramiden, Lustgärten, Bildern, Begräbnüssen un[d] andern denckwüridgen Sachen, mit geringem Unkosten zusehen ist. Sampt einem Bericht, was vor Müntz durch Italien gangbar. Item etliche Dialogi, darauß die Welsche Sprach zur Notturfft gelernet kan werden.* Frankfurt, Joh Th. and Joh. Isr. de Bry (1599)?

Coll.: 12°: [22], 238, [2], 92 pp., no ill.

Copies: HAB T 273.12° Helmst.

Add.: Announced by the De Brys in the Q99 Frankfurt fair catalogues (Feyerabend, [C3v]; Lamberg, [D1v]). When it was published it carried the imprint of Phillip Engel, an otherwise entirely unknown Frankfurt publisher. The small size of the book, and the lack of illustrations make the attribution to the De Brys problematic.

Lit: —

?2. Franz Kessler, *Das ander neuwe vollkommene Fundament, Oder Neuwer gründlicher zuvor niemals an Tag kommener Bericht, von allerley Gattung Linienrechten Sonnuhren, wie und welcher gestallt dieselbige an alle gerad auff stehende oder ligende, Item für- oder hindersich gebogene oder henckende, gerad oder seitwärts, umb viel oder wenig gradus, von Mittag oder Mitternacht gegen der Sonnen Auff- oder Nidergang gelegene Orter, wie auch auff allerley eckichte cubos oder Klötze, auff eine leichte, behende und zuvor unerhörte Weiß, ohne Arithmetic, einzig und allein durch Zirkel und Linialen, auß Grundt der Sonnen Lauff, unfehlbar und künstlich zu machen.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry (1611)?

Coll.: 4°: [8], 138, [4] pp., 19 ills.
 Copies: BL 8507.b.35 (2); Forschungs- und Landesbibl. Gotha, Math. 4° 598/3 (4); UB Zürich, 1335
 Add.: Printed by Wolfgang Richter. The title was mentioned in the 1643 catalogue of Matthaeus Merian, among the other titles of the De Bry firm. Dedicated to the physician Daniel Laelius.

Lit: —

?3. Helisaeus Rösslin, *Grundliche und kurtze Anleitung zum Verstand der Offenbarung Johannis und Propheceyung Danielis. Durch sieben Kirchenstünd von der Apostel Zeit biß an jüngsten Tag, und vom zehenhörnigen und sibenhäuptigen Thier Apocalyps. 12. 13. 17. und Danielis am 7. Cap. Zur Erkündigung der Zeiten darinnen wir sind, und was noch biß an jüngsten Tag zu erfüllen uberig, zuwissen nohtwendig*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry (1611)?

Coll.: 8°: 16 pp., no ills.

Copies: Staatsbibl. Berlin Bt. 16240

Add.: Printed by Hieronymus Galler, and included on the De Bry poster catalogue. The publisher Johan Bössemesser from Öls printed a second edition in 1612, which referred on the title-page to the first edition printed by Galler. The name of the De Brys is not mentioned anywhere, and it may have been an independent enterprise by Galler.

Lit: Benzing (1969) nr. 109

?4. Johan Jakob Grasser, *Geistliche Sturm- unnd Bettglocke, das ist die Klaglieder Jeremiae, in 27. Predigten und Gebeten erkläret*. Oppenheim, Joh. Th. de Bry (1618)?

Coll.: 8°: ?

Copies: ?

Add.: Mentioned by Draudius, BG 248 (1611?). The first edition was published in Basle in 1613.

Lit: Benzing (1969) nr. 90

?5. Salomon Neugebauer, *Icones & vitae principum ac regum Poloniae*. Frankfurt, Lucas Jennis (1620)?

Coll.: 4°: [8], 144, [12] pp., 43 ills.

Copies: BL 281.k.16; HAB A 236 Hist. (1); UBU RIJS 169–35; KB 3113 B 27 (3)

Add.: Printed by Hartmann Palthenius with imprints of both De Zetter and Jennis, this work was included on the De Bry poster catalogue, and sold to Moretus at the S19 Frankfurt fair (Arch. MPM 1027, f19r). It must have been one of the works published by Jennis, of which the manuscript was given to him by Johan Theodore de Bry. Also appeared with the imprint 1619. Dedicated by the author to Andreas and Raphael Leszcinius.

Lit: —

?6. Salomon de Caus, *Hortus Palatinus a Friderico Rege Boemiae Electore Palatino Heidelbergae extractus*. Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry (Lat, 1620)?

Coll.: 2°: [4], 60 pp., 30 ill.

Copies: ?

Add.: Supposedly a Latin translation of nrs. 217 and 218.

Lit: —

?7. Wilhelm Fabry von Hilden, *Christliche Abmahnung von der Trunkenheit. Gesangsweiß, In der Melodey: O Mensch bewein dein Sünde groß, etc.* Frankfurt, Joh. Th. de Bry (1623)?

Coll.: 4°: 12 pp., no ill.

Copies: HAB A 180.12 Quod. (10); ÖNB 74.J.147

Add.: Attributed to De Bry by the Herzog August Bibliothek, based on a woodcut which was also used for Fabry von Hilden's *Christlicher Schlaftrunck* (1624), which carried a De Bry imprint.

Lit: —

Works to which the De Brys contributed as engravers

C1. *Biblia, Das ist: Die gantze heylige Schrifft Teutsch, Durch D. Mart. Luth. Jetzund in gewisse Verß abgetheilet. Auch mit gantzem fleiß nach der letzten edition D. Martin Luthers corrigirt.* Frankfurt, heirs to Christian Egenolff 1602.

Coll.: 8°: 688, 421, [3], 304, [8] pp., no ill.

Copies: HAB H A 98.8° Helmst.

Add.: Printed by Johan Saur. The title-page was illustrated by the De Brys.

Lit: —

C2 *Biblia sacra vulgatae Editionis Sixti V. Pont. Max. Iussu recognita Et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita*. Mainz, Johan Theobald Schönwetter and Jakob Fischer 1609.

Coll.: 2°: 574, [4], 226, [2], 263, [101] pp., 140 ills.

Copies: BL 3021.e.8; Staatsbibl. Berlin, Bibl. Diez 4° 116; UBU RIJS 002–54

Add.: Printed by Johan Albinus. Dedicated to Johan Schweikard, Archbishop of Mainz. The illustrations were made by Johan Theodore de Bry, Georg Keller, and Robert Boissard.

Lit: —

C3. *Beschreibung Der Reiß: Empfahung deß Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: und glücklicher Heimführung*. Heidelberg, Gotthard Vögelin 1613.

Coll.: 4°: [4], 195 (1–183, 163, 195–205), [1], 99, [1] pp., 19 ills.

Copies: BL c.64.h.17; HAB 197.15 Hist.; ÖNB 39.R.23; KB 344 H 16 (1, 2)

Add.: Almost all the illustrations were made and, unusually, signed by Johan Theodore de Bry and Georg Keller. The work was devoted to the return of Frederick V to the Palatinate, with his English bride Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of King James I.

Lit: —

C4. Johan Jacob Wallhausen, *L'art militaire pour l'infanterie*. Franeker, Balck 1615?

Coll.: 2°: [16], 148, [30] pp., 33 ills.

Copies: Oxford, All Souls n.8.10; UBL Thysia 1612 (1); BNF 31618531

Add.: The De Bry engravings were included, as well as Johan Theodore's dedication to Maurice of Nassau.

Lit: —

C5. Giorgio Basta, *Le Gouvernement*. Rouen, Berthelin 1616

Coll.: 2°: [12], 76 pp.; 12 ills.

Copies: BNF 30171546

Add.: The De Bry engravings were included.

Lit: —

Announced but never published by the De Bry firm

X1. Johan Adam Lonicer, *Libri II de mensuris et ponderibus ex optimis Authoribus diligenter collecti*.

Theodore de Bry obtained permission to publish this book from the Frankfurt magistrates in January 1594 (StAfr. ZBBP 16, f66v). It probably never appeared.

X2. Sebastian Brenner, *Cosmosceptica relatio oder allgemeiner Weltlauff, was sich in der gantzen Welt zugetragen von anno 1598 biss 1601*.

Announced in the Q01 Frankfurt fair catalogue, by Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry. A similar work by the same author, regarding the period August 1602–March 1603 eventually appeared on the author's expenses, and was to be found in the shop of the Frankfurt publisher Paul Brachfeld (*Cosmosceptia Catholica, Das ist, Allgemeiner Weltlauff*, Frankfurt 1603).

X3. Sebastian Brenner, *Cosmosceptia Catholica, h.e. Rerum per quatuor Mundi plagas gestarum ab anno 1598 usque ad annum 1601*.

Latin version of nr. X2, announced in the Q01 Frankfurt fair catalogue, by Johan Theodore and Johan Israel de Bry.

X4. Kaspar Bauhin, *Tractatus de transmutatione sexus muliebris in virilem*.

Referred to as having been published in 1611, in Georg Draudius' *Bibliotheca classica, sive Catalogus Officinalis* (Frankfurt 1625), a comprehensive account of Latin books. It almost certainly never appeared, and the title suggests it was a premature announcement of nr. 152.

X5. Diego Ufano, *Six advertissements necessaires, nouvellement ajoustés à l'Artillerie*.

Announced by Johan Theodore de Bry in the Q15 Frankfurt fair catalogue, to be printed by Egenolf Emmel, and to be added to nr. 146. It was the extension to the first edition of *Archeley/Artillerie*.

X6. *Extract aller Indianischen Schiffarten mit theils neuen Kupfferstücken beyde Lateinisch und Teutsch*.

Announced by Johan Theodore de Bry, presumably, on the poster catalogue where it was listed among titles published in 1617. Eventually an abridgement of the *India Orientalis*-series was published by William Fitzer in 1628 and 1629, but exclusively in German.

X7. Samuel Marolois, *Opera mathematica, das ist, Mathematisch Werck, in welchem die Geometria, Perspectiva, Architectura, oder Baukunst und Fortification, mit schönen Beschreibungen, Proportionen und Artihmetischen Rechnungen miet schönen Kupferstücken explicirt wirdt.*

Announced by Johan Theodore de Bry in the S17 Frankfurt fair catalogue. The work was supposed to be translated from French (*Opera mathematica ou Oeuvres mathématiques*... [The Hague 1614]) into German and Latin by Abraham de la Faye. A German edition was published by Johannes Janssonius in Arnhem and Amsterdam in 1618, and the appearance of this edition may have influenced De Bry's decision.

X8. *Dictionarium Harmonicum & plane novum in aliquot libris distributum.*

Announced in the Q22 Frankfurt fair catalogue, by Johan Theodore de Bry. Eventually published with the same title by Matthias Turnemann in four volumes (1625–30).

X9. *Bibliotheca historica seu Plutarchi Chaeronei Vitarum illustrium virorum succincta & jam diu desiderata Epitome: edita ab Arto Vigelio Heigerano.*

Announced in the Q22 Frankfurt fair catalogue, like the previous work. Eventually published with the same title in 1626, by Gottfried Bezzerus.

APPENDIX TWO

THE TRAVEL ACCOUNTS USED FOR THE DE BRY COLLECTION

Preliminary note

The editions the De Brys copied or translated for their collection have been indicated by the conventional numbering (1., 2., 3., etc.). These editions were not always first editions of the travel accounts. In these cases the first printed editions have been added, indicated by the symbol = Sometimes the De Brys used editions which contained multiple accounts, and in these cases first editions are given of all the included accounts. When the De Brys used manuscripts, the first available printed edition in the original language has been added. In a limited number of cases, it has not been possible to establish the printed sources the De Brys used for their adaptations.

India Occidentalis

I (Frankfurt 1590; Lat, Ger, Fre & Eng)

1. Thomas Harriot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London 1588).

II (Frankfurt 1591; Lat & Ger)

1. René de Laudonnière, et al., *L'histoire notable de la Floride situee es Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains Capitaines & Pilotes François, descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere, qui y a commandé l'espace d'un an trois moys: à laquelle a esté adiousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourgues* (Paris 1586).
2. Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *manuscript notes*.

III (Frankfurt 1592 (Lat), 1593 (Ger))

1. Hans Staden, *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden, Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newenwelt America gelegen, vor und nach Christi geburt im Land zu Hessen unbekant, biß uff dise ij. nechstvergangene jar, Da sie Hans Staden von Homberg auß Hessen durch seine eygne erfahrung erkant, und yetzo durch den truck an tag gibt* (Marburg 1557).

2. Jean de Léry, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam, quae et America dicitur. Qua describitur auctoris navigatio, quaeque in mari vidit memoriae prodenda: Villagagnonis in America gesta: Brasiliensium victus & mores, à nostris admodum alieni, cum eorum linguae dialogo: animalia etiam, arbores, atque herbae, reliquaque singularia & nobis penitus incognita* (Geneva 1586).

= Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique. Contenant la navigation, & choses remarquables, veues sur mer par l'auteur: Le comportement de Villegagnon, en ce païs là. Les meurs & façons de vivre estranges des Sauvages ameriquains: avec un colloque de leur langage. Ensemble la description de plusieurs Animaux, Arbres, Herbes, & autres choses singulieres, & du tout inconnues par deça* (La Rochelle 1578).

3. Only in Lat: Nicolas Barré, *Copie de quelques lettres sur la navigation du chevalier de Villegaignon es terres de l'Amerique oultre l'Aequinoctial, iuseques soubz le tropique de Capricorne: co[n]tenant sommairement les fortunes encourues en ce voyage, avec les meurs & façons de vivre des sauvages du pais* (Paris 1557).

IV (Frankfurt 1594; Lat & Ger)

1. Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia Indiae Occidentalis, Tomis duobus comprehensa. Prior, res ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestas, acerbum illorum in eas Gentes dominatum, insignéque in Gallos ad Floridam Insulam saevitiae exemplum describit* (Geneva 1586).

= Girolamo Benzoni, *La historia del Mondo Nuovo. Laqual tratta dell'isole & mari nuovamente ritrovati & delle nuove città da lui proprio vedute, per acqua & per terra in quattordecì anni, libro primo* (Venice 1565).

V (Frankfurt 1595; Lat & Ger)

1. Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia Indiae Occidentalis, Tomis duobus comprehensa. Prior, res ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestas, acerbum illorum in eas Gentes dominatum, insignéque in Gallos ad Floridam Insulam saevitiae exemplum describit* (Geneva 1586).

= Girolamo Benzoni, *La historia del Mondo Nuovo. Laqual tratta dell'isole & mari nuovamente ritrovati & delle nuove città da lui proprio vedute, per acqua & per terra in quattordecì anni, libro secondo* (Venice 1565).

VI (Frankfurt 1596 (Lat), 1597 (Ger))

1. Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia Indiae Occidentalis, Tomis duobus comprehensa. Prior, res ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestas, acerbum illorum in eas Gentes dominatum, insignèque in Gallos ad Floridam Insulam saevitiae exemplum describit* (Geneva 1586).

= Girolamo Benzoni, *La historia del Mondo Nuovo. Laqual tratta dell'isole & mari nuovamente ritrovati & delle nuove città da lui proprio vedute, per acqua & per terra in quattordecì anni, libro terzo* (Venice 1565).

2. Only in Lat: Nicolas le Challeux, *De Gallorum Expeditione in Floridam, & clade ab Hispanis non minus iniustè quàm immaniter ipsi illata, Anno 1565, Brevis Historia* (Geneva 1586).

= Nicolas le Challeux, *Discours de l'histoire de la Floride, contenant la cruauté des Espagnols contre les subiets du Roy, en l'an mil cinq cens soixante cinq. Redigé au vray par ceux qui en sont restez, Chose aut[n]t lamentable à ouir, qu'elle a esté proditoirement & cruellement executée par lesdits Espagnols: Contre l'autorité du Roy nostre Sire, à la perte & dommage de tout ce Royaume. Item, une requeste ay Roy, faite en forme de complainte par les femmes vefues, petits enfans orphelins & autres leurs amis, parens, & alliez de ceux qui ont esté cruellement envahis par les Espagnols, en la France anthartique, dite la Floride* (Dieppe 1566).

VII (Frankfurt 1597 (Ger), 1599 (Lat))

1. Ulrich Schmidel, *Neuwe Welt: Das ist, Warhafftige Beschreibunge aller schönen Historien von erfindung viler unbekanten Königreichen, Landschafften, Insulen, unnd Stedten, von derselbigen gelegenheit, wesen, bräuchen, sitten, Religion, künsten und handtierungen, Auch allerley gewechß, Metallen, Specereyen und anderer Wahr, so von inen in unsere Lande geführt und gebracht werden. Auch von allerley gefahr, streitt und scharmützeln, so zwischen inen und den unsern, beyde zu Wasser unnd zu Lande, sich wunderbarlich zugetragen, Item von erschrecklicher, seltzamer natur und Eygenschaft der Leuthfresser, Dergleichen vorhin in keinen Chronicken beschrieben, mit schönen Concordantzen und einem vollkommenen Register, zur fürderung des gemeinen nutzes zusammen getragen* (Frankfurt 1567).

VIII (Frankfurt 1599; Ger & Lat)

1. Walter Raleigh, *Waerachtighe ende grondighe beschryvinge van het groot ende Goudtrijck Coninckrijk van Guiana, gheleghen zijnde in America, by noorden de groote Riviere Orelliana, vanden vijfden graed by zuyden totten vijfden graed by noorden de Middellinie, in welcke beschrijvinghe de rechte gheleghentheyt vande groote ende rijcke Hooft-stadt Manoa, Macureguarai, ende andere steden des selvighen Coninckrijcks, ende van het groot Souten Meyr Parime, (zijnde ontrent 200. spaensche mylen lanck) verclaert wordt: Inghelijcks wat voor rijcke Waren daer te lande en[de] daer ontrent vallen; als namelick groote overvloet van Gout, costelick ghesteente, gheenaemt Piedras Hijadas, Peerlen, Balsem-olie, lanck Peper, Gincher, Suijcker, Wierooock, verscheyden Medicinale wortelen, Droogheryen, ende Gummen. Item Zyde, Cottoen ende Brasilie houdt...* (Amsterdam 1598).

= Walter Raleigh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empyre of Guiana, with a relation of the great and Golden Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) And of the provinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, and other Countries, with their rivers, adioyning* (London 1595).

VIII Additamentum (Frankfurt 1600; Ger); These accounts were included in *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Lat)

1. Nuno de Silva, *manuscript notes*.

= Nuno da Silva, *The voyage of Nunno de Silva a Portugal Pilot taken by sir Francis Drake at the yles of Cabo Verde, and caried along with him as farre as the haven of Guatulco upon the coast of New Spaine: with his confession made to the Viceroy of Mexico of all matters that befell, during the time that he accompanied sir Francis Drake* (in: Richard Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* (3 vols.; London 1598–1600) III, 742–48).

2. Walter Bigges and Lt. Croft, *Relation Oder Beschreibu[n]g der Rheiß und Schiffahrt auß Engellandt, in die (gegen dem undergang der Sonne gelegnen) Indien gethan, Durch Einen Englischen Ritter, Franciscum Drack genant, und was derselbig unterwegs mit seinem underhabenden Kriegsvolck allenthalben, sonderlich aber in den Inseln, S. Jacob, S. Dominico, S. Augustin und in oder umb Carthagena, auch anderstwo dero orten gesehen und außgericht hat* ([Cologne] 1589).

= Walter Bigges and Lt. Croft, *A summarie and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage, Where in were taken, the*

Townes of Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena & Saint Augustine (London 1589).

3. Lawrence Keymis, *Waerachtighe ende grondighe beschryvinghe vande tweede Zeevaart der Engelschen nae Guiana, en[de] de omliggende Landschappen: Waer inne seer bescheydelick beschreven worden alle de Zee-custen met de Eylanden, Hoofden, Voorgheberghen, Inwijcken, Havenen, Reeden, Diepten, Ondiepten, Clippen, versheyde Opdoeningen van Landen, de ghestaltenisse van winden, stroomen ende tyden des jaers. Met verclaringe vande rechte ghelegentheyte van 53. Rivieren, die aldaer inde Zee vloeyen, met benaminghe der steden daer op ghebouwt, van wat volcken die worden bewoont, wat voor zeden die selvighe hebben; hoedanighe Cassiken ofte Vorsten daer te lande regieren, ende hoe menigherley costelijcke waren aldaer vallen* (Amsterdam 1598).

= Lawrence Keymis, *A relation of the second Voyage to Guiana. Performed and written in the yeare 1596* (London 1596).

4. Francis Pretty, et al., *Beschryvinge vande overtreffelijcke ende wijdtvermaerde Zee-vaert vanden Edelen Heer ende Meester Thomas Candish, met drie Schepen wytgehvaren den 21. Julii, 1586. ende met een Schip wederom ghekeert in Pleymouth, den 9. September 1588. Hebbende (door 't cruycen vander Zee) gheseylt 13000. mylen. Vertellende zyne vreemde wonderlijcke avontueren ende gheschiedenissen: De ontdeckinge der Landen by hem beseylt. [...] Hier noch by ghevoecht de Voyagie van Sire François Draeck, ende Sire Ian Haukens, Ridderen, naer West-Indien, ghepretendeert Panama in te nemen met 6. van des Coningins Majesteyts Schepen, ende 21. andere, by haer hebbende 2500. mannen. Anno 1595.* (Amsterdam 1598).

= Francis Pretty, *The admirable Voyage of M. Thomas Candish esquire into the South Sea, and so round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yere 1586, and finished 1588* (London 1588).

= Thomas Cates, *manuscript notes*.

5. Only in Ger: Michiel Joostens van Heede, *Discours ende Beschryvinghe van het groot Eylandt Canaria, ende Gomera, midtsgaders het innemen, ende verlaten van dien. [...] Begrijpende alle de courssen ghedaen in dese Zeevaart, van daghe tot daghe, beghinnende vanden xxv. Meye 1599. tot op den tienden Septembris deszelven Jaers, stilo novo* (Rotterdam 1599).

IX (Frankfurt 1601 (Ger), 1602 (Lat))

1. Jose de Acosta, *Historie Naturael ende Morael van de Westersche Indien: Waer inne ghehandelt wordt van de merckelijckste dinghen des Hemels, Elementen, Metalen, Planten ende Gedierten van dien: als oock de Manieren, Ceremonien, Wetten, Regeeringen ende Oorloghen der Indianen* ([transl. J. Huygen van Linschoten], Enkhuizen 1598).

= Jose de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, en que se tratant les cosas notables del cielo y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas, y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y governio* (Seville 1590).

2. Barent Jansz, *Wijdtloopigh verhael van tgene de vijf Schepen (die int jaer 1598. tot Rotterdam toegerust werden, om door de Straet Magellana haren handel te dryven) wedervaren is, tot den 7. September 1599. toe, op welcken dagh Capiteijn Sebald de Weert, met twee schepen, door onweder vande Vlote versteken werdt. Ende voort in wat groot gevaer ende elende hy by de vier maenden daer naer inde Strate gheleghen heeft, tot dat hy ten lesten heel reddeloos sonder schuyt oft boot, maer een ancker behouden hebbende, door hooghdringhende noot weder naer huys heeft moeten keeren* (Amsterdam 1600).

IX Additamentum (Frankfurt 1602; Ger & Lat)

1. Olivier van Noort, *Beschryvinghe vande Voyagie om den geheelen Werelt Cloot, ghedaen door Olivier van Noort van Utrecht, Generael over vier Schepen, te weten: het Schip Mauritius als Admirael, dat wederom ghecome is, Hendrick Fredrick Vice-Admirael, het Schip de Eendracht, midtsgaders de Hope, wel ghemonteert van alle Ammonitie van Oorloghe ende Victualie, op hebbende 248. man, om te gaen door de Strate Magellanes, te handelen langhs de Custen van Cica Cili ende Peru, om den gantschen Aerden Cloot om te zeylen, ende door de Moluckes wederom thuys te comen. Te zeyl ghegaen van Rotterdam den tweeden July 1598. Ende den Generael met het Schip Mauritius is alleen weder ghekeert in de Maent van Augusti 1601. Daer in dat vertelt wort zyne wonderlijcke avontueren, ende in verscheyden Figueren afgeheelt, vele Vremdigheden dat hem is bejegent, 't welck hy ghesien, ende dat hem wedervaren is* (Rotterdam and Amsterdam [1602]).

X (Oppenheim 1618 (Ger), 1619 (Lat))

1. Amerigo Vespucci (the 'pseudo-Vespucci'), *Quattuor navigationes* (1507).

It is impossible to determine which edition the De Brys used.

2. Ralph Hamor, *A true discourse of the present estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of Iune. 1614. Together with a relation of the severall English Townes and forts, the assured hopes of that cuntry and the peace concluded with the Indians. The christening of Powhatans daughter and her mariage with an English-man* (London 1615).
3. John Smith, *A Description of New England: or the observations, and discoveries, of Captain John Smith in the North of America, in the year 1614: with the successe of sixe ships, that went the next yeare 1615; and the accidents befell him among the French men of warre: With the prooffe of the present benefit this Countrey affoordes, etc* (London 1616).

XI (Oppenheim 1619; Ger & Lat)

1. Willem Schouten, *Iournael Ofte Beschrijvinghe van de wonderlicke reyse, ghedaen door Willem Cornelisz Schouten van Hoorn, inde Jaeren 1615. 1616. en 1617. Hoe hy bezuyden de Strate van Magellanes een nieuwe Passagie tot inde groote Zuydsee ontdeekt, en voort den gheheelen Aerdkloot omgheseylt, heeft. Wat Eylanden, vreemde volcken en wonderlicke avontueren hem ontmoet zijn* (Amsterdam 1618).

XI appendix (Oppenheim 1620 (Ger) & Frankfurt 1620 (Lat))

1. N. N., *Oost ende West-Indische Spiegel Der 2 leste Navigatien, ghedaen in den Jaeren 1614. 15. 16. 17. ende 18. daer in vertoont wort, in wat gestalt Ioris van Speilbergen door de Magellanes de werelt rontom geseylt heeft, met eenighe Battalienen so te water als te lant, ende 2 Historien de een van Oost ende de ander van West-Indien, het ghetal der forten, soldaten, schepen, ende gheschut. Met de Australische Navigatien, van Iacob le Maire, die int suyden door een nieuwe Straet ghepasseert is, met veel wonders so Landen, Volcken, ende Natien, haer ontmoet zijn* (Leiden 1619).

XII (Frankfurt 1623 (Ger), 1624 (Lat))

1. Antonio de Herrera et al., *Novus Orbis, Sive Descriptio Indiae Occidentalis, Auctore Antonio de Herrera, Supremo Castellae & Indiarum auctoritate Philippi III. Hispaniarum Regis Historiographo. Metaphraste C. Barlaeo. Accesserunt & aliorum Indiae Occidentalis Descriptiones & Navigationis nuperae Australis Jacobi le Maire Historia, uti & navigationum omnium per Fretum Magellanicum succincta narratio* ([transl. C. Barlaeus], Amsterdam 1622).

= Antonio de Herrera, *Descripción de las indias occidentales* (Madrid 1607).

= Pedro Ordoñez de Cevallos, *Viage del mundo* (Madrid 1614).

= Petrus Bertius, *Petri Bertii Tabularum geographicarum contractarum libri septem: in quibus tabulae omnes gradibus distinctae, descriptiones accuratae, caetera supra priores editiones politiora auctioraque* (Amsterdam 1616).

2. Jose de Acosta, *Historie Naturael ende Morael van de Westersche Indien: Waer inne ghehandelt wordt van de merckelijckste dinghen des Hemels, Elementen, Metalen, Planten ende Gedierten van dien: als oock de Manieren, Ceremonien, Wetten, Regeeringen ende Oorloghen der Indianen* ([transl. J. Huygen van Linschoten], Enkhuizen 1598).

= Jose de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias, en que se tratant les cosas natabiles del cielo y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas, y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y governio* (Seville 1590).

XIII and XIV (Frankfurt 1628 (Ger), Hanau 1630 (Ger), Frankfurt 1634 (Lat))

Lat XIII = Ger XIII & XIV

1. Pedro Fernandes de Quir, (in a Dutch translation?)

= Pedro Fernandes de Quir, *Memorial dio a S. M. sobre el descubrimiento que hizo en 1606 de las tierras australes, y submario breve y derrotero del viaje que hizo el capitain P. F. Quiros...* (Madrid 1610)

2. Johann Gregor Aldenburgh, *West Indianische Reisz und Beschreibung der Belag und Eroberung der Statt S. Salvador in der Bahie von Todos os Sanctos in dem Landt von Brasilia. Welcher von anno 1623 bis ins 1626 verrichtet worden* (Coburgh 1627).

3. François Vasques de Cornado, (in a Dutch translation?)

4. Johannes van Walbeeck, *Diurnal und Historische Beschreibung der Reise der nassauischen Flotte* (Strasbourg 1629).

= Johannes van Walbeeck, *Iournael Vande Nassausche Vloot, Ofte Beschryvingh vande Voyagie om den gantschen Aerdt-kloot, ghedaen met elf Schepen: Onder 't beleyd vanden Admirael Iaques l'Heremite, ende Vice-Admirael Geen Huygen Schapenham, inde Iaeren 1623, 1624, 1625, & 1626* (Amsterdam 1626).

5. N. N., *Verooveringh van de stadt Olinda, gelegen in de capitania van Pernambuco, door [...] Heyndrick C. Lonck, generael te water en te*

lande. Mitsgaders; Diederick van Waerdenburgh, colonel over de militie te lande, van wegen de geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie, onder de [...] Staten Generael, ende den prince van Orangen, gouverneur generael der vereenighde Neder-landen (Amsterdam 1630).

6. And various other anonymous reports, often drastically abbreviated.

India Orientalis

I (Frankfurt 1597 (Ger), 1598 (Lat))

1. Odoardo Lopez and Filippo Pigafetta, *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade* (Rome 1591).

I appendix (Frankfurt 1625; Ger & Lat)

1. Samuel Braun, *Schiffarten: Welche er in etliche newe Länder und Insulen, zu fünff unterschiedlichen malen, mit Gottes Hülff, gethan* (Basle 1624).

II (Frankfurt 1598 (Ger), 1599 (Lat))

1. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert, van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selber Landen ende Zee-custen, met aenwysinge van alle de voornaemde principale Havens, Revieren, hoecken ende plaetsen, tot nochtue van de Portugesen ontdeckt ende bekend: Waer by ghevoecht zijn, niet alleen die Conterfeytsels vande habytten, drachten, ende wesen, so vande Portugesen aldaer residerende, als vande ingeboornen Indianen, ende huere Tempels, Afgoden, Huysinge, met die voornaemste Boomen, Vruchten, Kruyden, Speceryen, ende diergelijcke materialen, als ooc die manieren des selfden Volcks, so in hunnen Godts-diensten, als in Politie en[de] Huijs-houdinghe: maer ooc een corte verhalinge van de Coophandeligen, hoe en[de] waer die ghedreven en[de] ghevonden worden, met die ghedenckweerdichste geschidenissen, voorghevallen den tijt zijnder residentie aldaer* (Amsterdam 1596).
2. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Beschryvinghe van de gantsche Custe van Guinea, Manicongo, Angola, Monomatapa, ende tegen over de Cabo de S. Augustijn in Brasilien, de eyghenschappen des gheheelen Oceanische Zees; Midtsaders harer Eylanden, als daer zijn S. Thome, S. Helena, 't Eyland Ascencion, met alle hare Havenen, diepten, droochten, sanden, gronden, wonderlijcke vertellinghen vande Zeevaerden van die van Hollandt, als oock de beschryvinghe vande binnen landen. Midtsaders de voorder schryvinge op de Caerte van Madagascar, anders 't Eylandt S. Laurens ghenoeemt, met de ontdeckinge aller droochten, Clippen, mennichte van*

Eylanden in dese Indische Zee liggende, als oock de ghelegentheyt van 't vaste landt vande Cabo de boa Esperança, langhs Monomotapa, Zefala, tot Mossambique toe, ende soo voorby Quioloe, Gorga, Melinde, Amara, Baru, Magadoxo, Doara, &c. tot die Roo-Zee toe, en[de] wat u dan voort vande beschryvinge ontbreekt, hebby in t' boeck van Ian Huyghen van Linschoten int lange... (Amsterdam 1596).

III (Frankfurt 1599 (Ger), 1601 (Lat))

1. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert, van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selber Landen ende Zee-custen, met aenwysinge van alle de voornaemde principale Havens, Revieren, hoecken ende plaetsen, tot nochtot van de Portugesen ontdeekt ende bekend: Waer by ghevoecht zijn, niet alleen die Conterfeytsels vande habyten, drachten, ende wesen, so vande Portugesen aldaer residerende, als vande ingeboornen Indianen, ende huere Tempels, Afgoden, Huysinge, met die voornaemste Boomen, Vruchten, Kruiden, Speceryen, ende diergelijcke materialen, als ooc die manieren des selfden Volcks, so in hunnen Godts-diensten, als in Politie en[de] Huijs-houdinghe: maer ooc een corte verhalinge van de Coophandelinge, hoe en[de] waer die ghedreven en[de] ghevonden worden, met die ghedenckweerdichste geschiedenissen, voorgevallen den tijt zijnder residentie aldaer* (Amsterdam 1596).
2. Willem Lodewijksz [= G. M. A. W. L.], *D' Eerste boeck. Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avontueren die de Hollandtsche schepen bejeghent zijn: Oock een particulier verhael der Conditien, Religien, Manieren ende huijs-houdinge der volkeren die zy beseijlt hebben: wat Gelt, Specereye, Drogues ende Coopmanschappen by haer ghevonden wordt, met den prijs van dien; Daer by ghevoecht de Opdoeninghen ende streckinghen vande Eylanden ende Zee-custen, als oock de conterfeytsels der Inwoonderen, met veel Caertiens verciert; Voor alle Zee-varende ende curieuse lief-hebbers seer ghenuechlijck om lesen* (Amsterdam 1598).
3. Gerrit de Veer, *Waerachtighe beschryvinghe van drie seylagien, ter werelt noyt soo vreemt gehoort, drie jaeren achter malcanderen deur de Hollandtsche ende Zeelandtsche schepen by noorden Noorweeghen, Moscovia ende Tartaria, na de Coninkrijcken van Cathay ende China, so mede van de opdoeninghe vande Weygats, Nova Sembla, en[de] van 't landt op de 80. grade[n], dat men acht Groenlandt te zijn, daer noyt mensch gheweist is, ende vande felle verscheurende Beyren ende ander Zee-monsters ende ondrachlijcke koude, en[de] hoe op de laetste reyse tship int ys beset is, ende twolck op 76. graden op Nova Sembla een huijs ghetimmert, ende 10.*

maenden haer aldaer onthouden hebben, ende daer nae meer als 30. mylen met open cleyne schuyten over ende langs der Zee ghevaren. Alles met seer grooten perijckel, moyten ende ongeloofelijcke swaricheyt. (Amsterdam 1598).

IV (Frankfurt 1600 (Ger), 1601 (Lat))

1. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert, van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, inhoudende een corte beschryvinghe der selber Landen ende Zee-custen, met aenwysinge van alle de voornaemde principale Havens, Revieren, hoecken ende plaetsen, tot nochtue van de Portugesen ontdeckt ende bekend: Waer by ghevoecht zijn, niet alleen die Conterfeytsels vande habytten, drachten, ende wesen, so vande Portugesen aldaer residerende, als vande ingeboornen Indianen, ende huere Tempels, Afgoden, Huysinge, met die voornaemste Boomen, Vruchten, Kruyden, Speceryen, ende diergelijcke materialen, als ooc die manieren des selfden Volcks, so in hunnen Godts-diensten, als in Politie en[de] Huijs-houdinghe: maer ooc een corte verhalinge van de Coophandelinge, hoe en[de] waer die ghedreven en[de] ghevonden worden, met die ghedenckweerdichste geschidenissen, voorgevallende den tijt zijnder residentie aldaer* (Amsterdam 1596).
2. Willem Lodewijksz [= G. M. A. W. L.], *D' Eerste boeck. Historie van Indien, waer inne verhaelt is de avontueren die de Hollandtsche schepen bejeghent zijn: Oock een particulier verhael der Conditien, Religien, Manieren ende huijshoudinge der volckeren die zy beseijlt hebben: wat Gelt, Specereye, Drogues ende Coopmanschappen by haer ghevonden wordt, met den prijs van dien; Daer by ghevoecht de Opdoeninghen ende streckinghen vande Eylanden ende Zee-custen, als oock de conterfeytsels der Inwoonderen, met veel Caertiens verciert; Voor alle Zee-varende ende curieuse lief-hebbers seer ghenuechlijck om lesen* (Amsterdam 1598).

V (Frankfurt 1601; Ger & Lat)

1. N. N., *Journal ofte Dagh-register, inhoudende een waerachtigh verhael ende Historische vertellinge vande reyse, ghedaen door de acht schepen van Amsterdamme, onder 't beleydt van Iacob Cornelisz. Neck. als Admiraal, ende Wybrandt van Warwijck, als Vice-admiraal, van Amsterdam gheseylt in den jare 1598. den eersten dagh der Maent Martij. Van hare zeylagie ende ghedenckwaerdighste zaken ende gheschiedenissen, hun op de voorsz. Reyse bejeghent. Midtsgaders sekere afbeeldinghen van eenighe Eylanden, voghels ende ghedierten, ende van den handel ende wandel ende maniere van leven, ende de Zeevaart der inghesetene vande Molucken ende andere omliggende Eylanden* (Amsterdam 1600).

VI (Frankfurt 1603 (Ger), 1604 (Lat))

1. Pieter de Marees [= P. D. M.], *Beschryvinge ende Historische verhael, vant Gout Koninckryck van Gunea, anders de Gout-custe de Mina genaemt, liggende in het deel van Africa: met haren gelooven, opinien, handelingen, oft mangelingen, manieren talen, en[de] haere ghelegentheyte van Landen, Steden, Hutten, Huysen en[de] Persoonen: havenen ende Revieren, soo de selve tot noch toe bevonden worden. Mitsgaders oock een cort verhael vande passagie die de Schepen derwaerts langs de Custe van Manigette, tot aen Capo de Trespunctas, daer de Gout-custe begint: met noch voorts een weynich beschryvens vande Reviere[n] diemen versoect int verseylen vande Gout-custe, tot aende Capo Lopo Gonsalves, daermen zijn afscheyt neemt int t'Huyswaerts seyleen, alles perfect ende neerstich ondersocht ende beschreven, door eenen persoon die daer tot verscheyden tyden gheweest heeft* (Amsterdam 1602).

VII (Frankfurt 1605 (Ger), 1606 (Lat))

1. N. N., *t' Historiaal Journael, van tghene ghepasseert is van wegghen dry Schepen, ghenaeamt den Ram, Schaep ende het Lam, ghevaren wt Zeelandt vander Stadt Camp-Vere naer d'Oost-Indien, onder t' beleyt van Ioris van Spilberghen, General, Anno 1601* (Delft 1605).
2. Gasparo Balbi, *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali, di Gasparo Balbi, Gioielliero Venetiano. Nel quale si contiene quanto egli in detto viaggio hà veduto per lo spatio di 9. anni consumati in esso dal 1579 fino al 1588. Con la relatione de i datij, pesi, & misure di tutte le città di tal viaggio, & del governo del Re del Pegu, & delle guerre fatte da lui con altri rè d'Avua & di Sion* (Venice 1590).

VIII (Frankfurt 1606 (Ger), 1607 (Lat))

1. Roelof Roelofsz, *manuscript notes*.
 = Roelof Roelofsz, *Kort ende waerachtigh verhael van de tweede Schipvaerd by de Hollanders op Oost-Indien gedaen, onder den Heer Admiraal Iacob van Neck, getogen uyt het Journael van Roelof Roelofsz, vermaender op 't Schip Amsterdam, ende doorgaens uyt andere Schrijvers vermeerdert* (in: *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Amsterdam 1646) I [A1r–D2r].
2. Jan Harmensz van Bree, *manuscript notes*.
 = Jan Harmensz van Bree, *Historische Verhael, vande Reyse gedaen inde Oost-Indien, met 15 Schepen voor Reekeninghe vande vereenichde Gheoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie: Onder het beleydt van den*

Vroomen ende Manhaften Wybrandt van Waerwijck, als Admirael, ende Sebaldt de Weert, als Vice-Admirael. Wt de Nederlanden ghevaeren in den Iare 1602 (in: *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Amsterdam 1646) I [AAAAA1r–LLLLL4v].

VIII appendix (Frankfurt 1606 (Ger)); These accounts were included in *Ind.Or.* VIII (Lat).

1. Cornelis Claesz, *manuscript notes*.

= Cornelis Claesz, *Beschryvinghe van de drie resterende Schepen, Dort, Haerlem, ende Leyden, behoorende onder 't Admeraelschap van Jacob van Neck, met ses Schepen te samen uyt Nederlandt t'zeyl ghegaen den 28. Iunij 1600. ende den 12. October ontrent Annobon naer voor-gaende resolutie van den anderen ghescheyden* (in: *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Amsterdam 1646) I [D2r–D4r].

2. Cornelis van der Venne, *manuscript notes*.

= Cornelis van der Venne, *Kort verhaelt van de twee-jaerige Voyagie ghedaen door Cornelis van Veen, in de Oost-Indien* (in: *Begin ende Voortgangh*, Amsterdam 1646) I [DDD1v–DDD2r].

3. Stefan van der Hagen, *Kort ende warachtich verhael vande heerlicke victorie te weghe gebracht by de twaelf Schepen afgehevaren uyt Hollandt, onder t' ghebiedt vanden Generael ende Admirael der selve Schepen Steven Verhaghen, in de Eylanden vande Moluckes, alwaer zy twee Steden ende een kasteel ingenomen ende ses Kraken verbrandt hebben, wat haer meer bejeghent is* (Rotterdam 1606).

IX (Frankfurt 1612; Ger & Lat)

1. Johan Verken, *manuscript notes*.

IX appendix (Frankfurt 1613; Ger & Lat)

1. Johan Verken, *manuscript notes*.

X (Frankfurt 1613; Ger & Lat)

1. Hessel Gerritsz, ed., *Descriptio ac delineatio geographica detectionis freti, sive transitus ad Oceanum supra terras Americanas [...] recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono anglo. Item narratio S. Regi Hispaniae facta super tractu in quinta orbis terrarum parte cui Australiae incognitae nomen est, recens detecto, per capitaneum Pet. Fern. de Quir. Unà cum descriptione terrae Samoiedarum et Tingoësiorum in Tartaria ad ortum freti Waigats silae, nuperque imperio Moscovitarum subactae* (Amsterdam 1612).

= Henry Hudson, *Verhael van d'ontdeckinghe vande nieughesochte Strate int 't Noord-westen, om te seylen boven langhs de Landen van America en Japan, ghedaen door Mr. Henry Hudson* (Amsterdam 1612).

= Pedro Fernandes de Quir, *Memorial dio a S. M. sobre el decubrimiento que hizo en 1606 de las tierras australes, y submario breve y derrotero del viaje que hizo el capitain P. F. Quiros...* (Madrid 1610).

= Sigismund of Herberstein, *Rerum Muscoviticarum commentarii* (Vienna 1549).

2. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Voyagie, ofte Schip-vaert van Ian Huyghen van Linschoten, van by Noorden om langes Noorwegen de Noortcaep, Laplant, Vinlant, Ruslandt, de Witte Zee, de Custen van Candenoës, Swetenoes, Pitzora, &c. door de Strate ofte Engte van Nassau tot voorby de Revier Oby. Waer inne seer distinctelicken Verbaelsghewijse beschreven ende aenghewesen wordt, alle 't ghene dat hem op de selve Reyse van dach tot dach bejeghent en voorghecomen is* (Franeker 1601).

XI (Oppenheim 1618 (Ger), 1619 (Lat))

1. Amerigo Vespucci, *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle isole nuovamente trovate in quattro suoi viaggi*, vol. 3 and 4 (Florence 1504).
It is impossible to determine which edition the De Brys used.
2. Robert Coverte, *A true and almost incredible report of an Englishman, that (being cast away in the good Ship called the Assention in Cambaya, the farthest part of the East Indies) Travelled by land through many unknowne Kingdomes and great Cities. With a particular description of all those Kingdomes, Cities and People. As also relation of their commodities and manner of Traffique, and at what seasons of the yeere they are most in use. Faithfully related. With a discovery of a great Emperour called the Great Mogoll, a Prince not till now knowne to our English Nation* (London 1612).
3. Hessel Gerritsz, ed., *Histoire Du Pays nomme Spitsberghe. Monstrant comment qu'il est trouvée, son naturel & ses animaux, avecques La triste racompte des maux, que noz Pecheurs, tant Basques que Flamens, ont eu a souffrir des Anglois, en l'esté passée l'An de grace, 1613 [...] Et en apres une Protestation contre des Anglois, & annulation de tous leurs frivoles argumens, parquoy ils pensent avoir droict, pour se faire Maistre tout seul, dudict Pays* (Amsterdam 1613).

XII and XIII (Frankfurt 1628)

Lat XII = Ger XII & XIII

1. Samuel Purchas, ed., *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes* (4 vols.; London 1625).

= Robert Shirley, *A briefe Memoriall of the Travells of the Right. Hon. Sir Rob. Sherly Knight [...] now Ambassador from the Persian King to His Majestie and other Christian Kings* (manuscript, ca. 1609).

= Walter Peyton, *The second Voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East-Indies, in the Expedition, which was set forth by the East-India Company* (manuscript).

= Thomas Roe, *Observations collected out of the Journall of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Embassadour [...] to the Great Mogol* (manuscript).

= Arnold Brown, *Briefe Extracts of a Journall of Arnold Browne his Indian voyages [...] to Bantam, Patania, Japan, the Manillas, Macau, and the Coast of China, with other Indian Ports* (manuscript).

= Richard Swan, *Extract of a Journall of a Voyage to Surat and to Jasques in the Persian Gulfe [...] and therein Andrew Shilling Chiefe Commander of the whole Fleet* (manuscript).

= James Hall, *His voyage forth of Denmarke for the discovery of Greenland, in the yeare 1605* (manuscript)

2. Johannes van Walbeeck, *Iournael Vande Nassausche Vloot, Ofte Beschryvingh vande Voyagie om den gantschen Aerdt-kloot, ghedaen met elf Schepen: Onder 't beleyd vanden Admirael Iaques l'Heremite, ende Vice-Admirael Geen Huygen Schapenham, inde Iaeren 1623, 1624, 1625, & 1626* (Amsterdam 1626).
3. And one anonymous account of a voyage to China, three descriptions of English expeditions to Algeria, one Russian account, and various other English travels copied from Purchas.

APPENDIX THREE

THE ORIGINS OF THE ENGRAVINGS IN THE DE BRY COLLECTION

Abbreviations

orig	Original illustrations (and their place in the original sequence)
Bry	Numbered illustrations in the De Bry collection
Lat/Ger	Numbered illustrations in the De Bry collection, where the sequence in Latin and German diverges
-	Faithfully copied from the original set of illustrations
a	Slightly altered, not significantly changing the portrayal of the overseas world
A	Significantly altered, but based on an original illustration
c	Two or more original compositions combined into one plate
s	One original illustration separated into two or more plates
OrII vii	Re-print of the seventh illustration of <i>Ind. Or.</i> II
Inv	Invented by the De Brys
n/a	Not available
*	Additional comments or abbreviations

India Occidentalis

I (Frankfurt 1590; Lat, Ger, Fre & Eng)

Text: Thomas Harriot; illustrations: John White

orig	TB	TB	TB	TB	GV	GV	TB	TB	TB	TB	GV	TB	TB	TB
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv
	Inv	a	a	a	a	a	a	A	a	a	-	Inv	a	A

orig	GV	TB	TB		TB	TB			TB	TB	TB	TB	TB	TB
Bry	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	i	ii	iii	iv	v
	A	a	a	-	a	A	Inv	A	Inv	-	-	-	-	-

- * TB: Engraved and signed by Theodore de Bry
- * GV: Engraved and signed by Gijsbert van Veen
- * John White made 63 watercolours, mostly depicting the natural world
- * Illustration xxi is presumably derived from drawings by Jacques Le Moyne

II (Frankfurt 1591; Lat & Ger)

Text: René de Laudonnière, et al.; illustrations: Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues

orig												
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
	Inv?	Inv?	Inv?	Inv?	Inv?	Inv?	Inv?	A?	Inv	a	A?	Inv?

orig												
Bry	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiv
	Inv	A/c?	A?	Inv?	Inv?	A?	A?	Inv?	Inv	A?	Inv?	Inv

orig												
Bry	xxv	xxvi	xxvii	xxviii	xxix	xxx	xxxi	xxxii	xxxiii	xxxiv	xxxv	xxxvi
	-?	-?	Inv?	Inv?	-?	-?	A?	Inv	A?	-?	-?	-?

orig						
Bry	xxxvii	xxxviii	xxxix	xl	xli	xlii
	Inv	-?	-?	A?	Inv	Inv

* Although scholars have tended to ascribe most if not all the engravings in this volume to sketches made by Le Moyne, literature has increasingly doubted their origins. Secondary literature has been used, in combination with typical De Bry features observed elsewhere in the collection, as the foundation for the categorisations presented here. See: Hulton (1977) I 201–16 and the literature cited there, Hulton and Quinn (1964), Bennett (2001), Sturtevant (1968, 1976), Axtell and Sturtevant (1980), and particularly Feest (1988)

* Illustrations i–vii have been categorised as De Bry constructions because they combine elements from the map and from other engravings elsewhere in the same volume. Other elements used as indicators of the possible iconographic origins are the narrative compositions and/or the first words of the captions (xi, xv, xvii), other potential sources (ix, x, xi, xiv, xviii, xxxvii), and the addition of similar backgrounds comparable to the addition of natural backgrounds to White's watercolours in *Ind.Occ.* I (xxxi, xxxiii, xl)

* Le Moyne made drawings of the natural world not depicted by the De Brys

III (Frankfurt 1592 (Lat), 1593 (Ger))

Text: Hans Staden, Jean de Léry & Nicolas Barré; illustrations taken from the original accounts and from André Thevet, *Cosmographie Universelle* (2 vols.; Paris 1575)

orig										
	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
Lat	1/102/ 146	3	7/122	10/96	14/21	18	26	34	37	41
Ger	1/97	3	5	7	10	13	16/24	22	24	27
	Inv	A	A	A	A	Inv	A	A	A	A

orig										
	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx
Lat	43	52	56/68	59/248	66/76/ 120	71	74	78/208	89	106
Ger	29	35	37/45	39/245	52	48	50	54/189	56/80	70
	A	A	A	A/c	A	A	A	A	A	A

orig										
	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiv	xxv	xxvi	xxvii	xxviii	xxix	xxx
Lat	112/174	124	125/212	126/213	127	128	151	179	223	228
Ger	75/150	83	85/193	86/195	86	87	103	155	215	221
	A	A	A/c	A/c	A	A	A	A	A	Inv

* Illustrations i–xxvi belong to Staden’s account, illustrations xxvii–xxx to De Léry’s work

* The opening engraving of *Ind.Occ.* I, depicting the Fall of Man, was included as a separation between the two accounts (Lat 145, Ger 93)

* The first illustration was re-engraved for the second edition, and, in its new state, used for *Ind.Occ.* VII

* Illustration xiv was copied after a drawing by John White and/or an illustration to André Thevet’s *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique* (Paris 1557) f85v

orig											14	
Bry	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiv
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	A	Inv

orig			17	18
Bry	xxv	xxvi	xxvii	xxviii
	Inv	Inv	A	A

VII (Frankfurt 1597 (Ger), 1599 (Lat))

Text: Ulrich Schmidel

orig	
Bry	i
	<i>OccIII</i> i

VIII (Frankfurt 1599; Ger & Lat)

Text: Walter Raleigh, Walter Bigges and Lt. Croft, Francis Pretty, Lawrence Keymis & Michiel Joostens van Heede; illustrations taken from the Dutch translations of the original accounts

orig												
Ger	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
Lat	xiii	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xii	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	a

orig									
Ger	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv
Lat	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xiv	n/a	n/a	n/a
	a	a	a	Inv	Inv	Inv	-	Inv	Inv

* Illustrations i–vi (Ger, first set of ills.) are based on Walter Raleigh’s report on Guyana; illustrations i–iii (second set) on Ulrich Schmidel’s report included in *Ind. Occ.* VII; illustrations iv–ix on Drake’s expeditions; illustrations x–xii on Cavendish’s circumnavigation; illustrations xiii–xv on Joostens van Heede’s report not included in the Latin edition

VIII Additamentum (Frankfurt 1600, Ger): the accounts were included in *Ind.Occ.* VIII (Lat), except for the one by Van Heede

IX (Frankfurt 1601 (Ger), 1602 (Lat))

Text: Jose de Acosta & Barent Jansz; illustrations taken from the Dutch account

orig												
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv

orig			1	2		3		4	4	5	6	7	8
Bry	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiv	xxv
	Inv	Inv	-	-	Inv	A	Inv	-	A	A	A	A	A

* Illustrations i–xiv belong to Acosta’s treatise, xv–xxv to Barent Jansz’ narrative

* Illustrations xv, xvi, and xx were not mirrored

IX Additamentum (Frankfurt 1602; Ger & Lat)

Text: Olivier van Noort; illustrations taken from the original account

orig	1	2/3	4	5	6	7		9/10	13/14		15/16	18		24
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv
	-	c	-	-	-	-	Inv	c	c	Inv	c	-	Inv	-

* Illustrations i, iii, iv, v, viii, and xiii were engraved and signed (GK) by Georg Keller

X (Oppenheim 1618 (Ger), 1619 (Lat))

Text: ‘pseudo-Vespucci’, Ralph Hamor & John Smith

orig												
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv

* Illustrations i–vi belong to the Vespucci letters, vii–xi to Hamor’s report, and xii to Smith’s account

XI (Oppenheim 1619; Ger & Lat)

Text: Willem Schouten; illustrations taken from the original account

orig	1	3	5		6		8		7
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix
	-	-	-	Inv	-	Inv	-	Inv	-

* Illustration 2 from Schouten's report was included in *Ind.Occ.* XI appendix, illustrations 4 and 9 were included as separate maps

XI appendix (Oppenheim 1620 (Ger) & Frankfurt 1620 (Lat))

Text: N. N.; illustrations taken from the original account

orig	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

orig	12	13	14	15	16	18	20	21a	21b	2
Bry	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	s	s	a

* Illustration xx was copied from Schouten's report.

* Illustrations 1, 17, and 19 of the original account were maps, and were not included among the De Bry plates

XII (Frankfurt 1623 (Ger), 1624 (Lat))

Text: Antonio de Herrera, Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos & Petrus Bertius; illustrations taken from earlier De Bry volumes

orig										
Lat	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
page	86v	88v	96r	105r	108v	110r	111v	113v	115r	116v
	<i>OccIX</i> i	<i>OccIX</i> ii	<i>OccIX</i> iii	<i>OccIX</i> iv	<i>OccIX</i> v	<i>OccIX</i> vi	<i>OccIX</i> viii	<i>OccIX</i> vii	<i>OccIX</i> viii	<i>OccIX</i> ix

orig									
Lat	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix
page	119r	130r	132r	133v	135v	136v	142r	143v	150r
	<i>OccIX</i> x	Inv	<i>OccIX</i> xi	Inv	<i>OccIX</i> xii	<i>OccIX</i> xiii	<i>OccIX</i> xiii	<i>OccIX</i> xiv	Inv

* The German edition only included maps

XIII & XIV (Frankfurt 1628, Hanau 1630, Frankfurt 1634 (Lat XIII = Ger XIII & XIV))

Text: various authors; very few, if any original illustrations

orig											
Ger	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	i	ii	iii
pag	5	7	15	26	37	42	60	69	8	21	23
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	<i>OccVII</i> i	Inv	Inv
Lat	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii		ix	x
pag	4	5	11	18	25	28	46	87		99	102
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv		Inv	Inv

orig											
Ger	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv
pag	26	30	35	36	39	41	48	50	55	60	64
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	<i>OccX</i> xi	Inv	Inv	Inv
Lat	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi
pag	104	108	112	113	116	118	125	127	132	137	140
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	<i>OccX</i> xi	Inv	Inv	Inv

* The first eight German illustrations belong to *Ind.Occ. XIII*, the final fourteen to *Ind.Occ. XIV*.

India Orientalis

I (Frankfurt 1597 (Ger) & 1598 (Lat))

Text: Odoardo Lopez and Filippo Pigafetta; illustrations taken from the original account

orig			3	4	5	8	6	7	2	1				
Ger	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv
Lat	i	ii	iv	v	x	vi	vii	viii	ix	xi	iii	xii	xiii	xiv
	Inv	Inv	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	A	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv

* Illustrations iii and iv were copied and printed unmirrored

I appendix (Frankfurt 1625; Ger & Lat)

Text: Samuel Braun; illustrations were taken from earlier De Bry volumes

orig												
Ger	i	ii		iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
page	3	6		22	26	29	31	34	35	39	42	49
Lat	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
page	4	7	17	38	39	43	45	49	51	56	61	71
	<i>OrIV</i> ix	<i>OrIV</i> xi	<i>OrI</i> xiii	<i>OrVI</i> xxiv	<i>OrX</i> ii	<i>OrVI</i> xv	<i>OrIII</i> vii	<i>OrII</i> vi	<i>OrVi</i> xxi	<i>Or III</i> i	<i>OrVIII</i> xiv	<i>OrIII</i> ii

II (Frankfurt 1598 (Ger) & 1599 (Lat))

Text: Jan Huygen van Linschoten; illustrations: Jan & Baptista van Doetecum

orig			21		22			14	16	15		17	18	19
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv
	Inv	Inv	-	Inv	-	Inv	Inv	-	-	-	Inv	-	-	c

orig	24	20	9	23	25	1	26		2	3		4
Bry	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiv	xxv	xxvi
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Inv	-	-	Inv	-

orig							7	8	11	13	5	6
Bry	xxvii	xxviii	xxix	xxx	xxxi	xxxii	xxxiii	xxxiv	xxxv	xxxvi	xxxvii	xxxviii
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	-	-	-	-	-	-

* Illustrations 10 and 12 of the *Itinerario* were not included in the collection

III (Frankfurt 1599 (Ger) & 1601 (Lat))

Text: Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Willem Lodewijcksz & Gerrit de Veer; illustrations: Jan & Baptista van Doetecum, and taken from the original accounts

orig							2	3	4	5	6	7
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	A	-	A	a	-	a

orig	9	10	12	13	14	16	17	18	20	21	22	23
Bry	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiv
	-	a	-	-	-	A	-	A	-	a	-	-

orig	25	26/29	30	31	27	28	42	15	45	44	43	2
Bry	xxv	xxvi	xxvii	xxviii	xxix	xxx	xxxi	xxxii	xxxiii	xxxiv	xxxv	xxxvi
	-	c	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

orig	3	5	7	8/9	6	11	13	12	14/15	16		17/18
Bry	xxxvii	xxxviii	xxxix	xl	xli	xlvi	xlvi	xliv	xlv	xlvi	xlvi	xlvi
	-	-	-	c	-	-	-	-	a/c	-	Inv	c

orig	20	21	22	23	25	27	28	29	30	31
Bry	il	l	li	lii	liii	liv	lv	lvi	lvii	lviii
	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-	-	-

* Illustrations i–vi belong to Jan Huygen van Linschoten’s work, illustrations vii–xxxv to Willem Lodewijcksz’ account, illustrations xxxvi–lviii to Gerrit de Veer’s narrative. The numbers correspond to the different sequences of plates in the last two reports

* Illustrations 1, 2, 11, 19, 24, 46, and 47 from Lodewijcksz’ account were not copied by the De Brys. Ill. 49 was included in the text. Illustrations 1, 4, 10, 19, and 26 from De Veer’s account were not used. Ill. 24 was included as the final page of the volume.

* Illustrations viii, xii, xv, xvi, xvii, xxxiii, lvii, and lviii are not mirrored in comparison to the original plates

IV (Frankfurt 1600 (Ger) & 1601 (Lat))

Text: Jan Huygen van Linschoten & Willem Lodewijksz; illustrations: Jan & Baptista van Doetecum, and taken from the original account

orig					L34	H30	L32	L33	L8	L48	H28	H29
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	a	-	-	-	-	a	-	-

orig	H27a	L35	L36	L37	L38	L40	L41	L39	L5/7
Bry	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi
	a	a	-	s	-	-	-	-	c

* L34: the 34th illustration in Lodewijksz' account; H30: the 30th illustration in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's work.

V (Frankfurt 1601; Ger & Lat)

Text: N. N.; illustrations taken from the original account

orig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	a	-	-

orig	12/13	14	15	16	18	9/17	19	20/24	21/23	22
Bry	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx
	a/c	-	-	a	c	A/c	-	a/c	a/c	-

* Illustrations i, iii, iv, vi, xii, xiii, xvi, xix, and xx were not mirrored by the De Brys

VI (Frankfurt 1603 (Ger) & 1604 (Lat))

Text: Pieter de Marees; illustrations taken from the original accounts

orig	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
	-	-	a	-	-	-	-	Inv	-	a/c	-	-	-

orig	14		15	16	17	19	20				GK		18
Bry	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	xxiv	xxv	xxvi
	A/c	Inv	-	-	-	<i>Or</i> Ili	-	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	-

* GK: Engraved and signed by Georg Keller

VII (Frankfurt 1605 (Ger) & 1606 (Lat))

Text: Joris van Spilbergen & Gasparo Balbi; illustrations taken from the Dutch account

orig	GK	GK	GK									GK
Bry	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	c	-

orig											
Bry	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	

* Illustrations i–xii belong to the Dutch account on Van Spilbergen’s voyage, illustrations xiii to xii to Balbi’s account

* GK: Engraved and signed by Georg Keller

VIII (Frankfurt 1606 (Ger) & 1607 (Lat))

Text: Roelof Roelofsz, Jan Harmensz van Bree, Cornelis Claesz, Cornelis van der Venne & Stefan van der Hagen

orig						GK			GK
Ger	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix
Lat	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv

orig					GK				GK
Ger	x	xi	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii
Lat	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii
	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv

* GK: Engraved and signed by Georg Keller

XII & XIII (Frankfurt 1628 (Ger XII & XIII = Lat XIII))

Text: various authors; illustrations taken from earlier De Bry volumes

orig														
Ger	i	ii	iii	iv	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x
pag	3	13	26	28	11	17	27	50	72	86	102	107	148	157
	<i>OrVII</i> xii	Inv	<i>OrIII</i> xxiv	<i>OrII</i> xxviii	<i>OrII</i> vii	<i>OrV</i> ix	<i>OrI</i> xiv	<i>OrII</i> xvii	<i>OrII</i> xxix	<i>OrII</i> xxxii	Inv	Inv	Inv	Inv
Lat	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv
pag	26	31	91	94	95	97	130	132	134	147	152	160	163	202
	Inv	Inv	<i>OrII</i> xxix	<i>OrIII</i> xxiv	<i>OrII</i> xxviii	<i>OrII</i> xxxiii	<i>OecIX</i> x	Inv	<i>OrIII</i> vi	<i>OrII</i> vii	<i>OrV</i> ix	<i>OrII</i> xvii	<i>OrVII</i> xii	Inv

* The first four German illustrations belong to *Ind.Or.* XII, the final ten to *Ind.Or.* XIII.

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- , *Waerachtighe ende grondighe beschryvinge van het groot ende Goudt-ryck Coninckrijk van Guiana, ghelegghen zijnde in America, by noorden de groote Riviere Orelliana, vanden vijften graed by zuyden totten vijftien graed by noorden de Middellinie, in welcke beschrijvinghe de rechte ghelegghentheyte vande groote ende rijcke Hooft-stadt Manoa, Macureguarai, ende andere steden des selvighen Coninckrijcks, ende van het groot Souten Meyr Parime, (zijnde ontrent 200. spaensche mylen lanck) verclaert wordt: Inghelijcks wat voor rijcke Waren daer te lande en[de] daer ontrent vallen; als namelick groote overvloet van Gout, costelick ghesteente, ghenaemt Piedras Hijadas, Peerlen,*

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